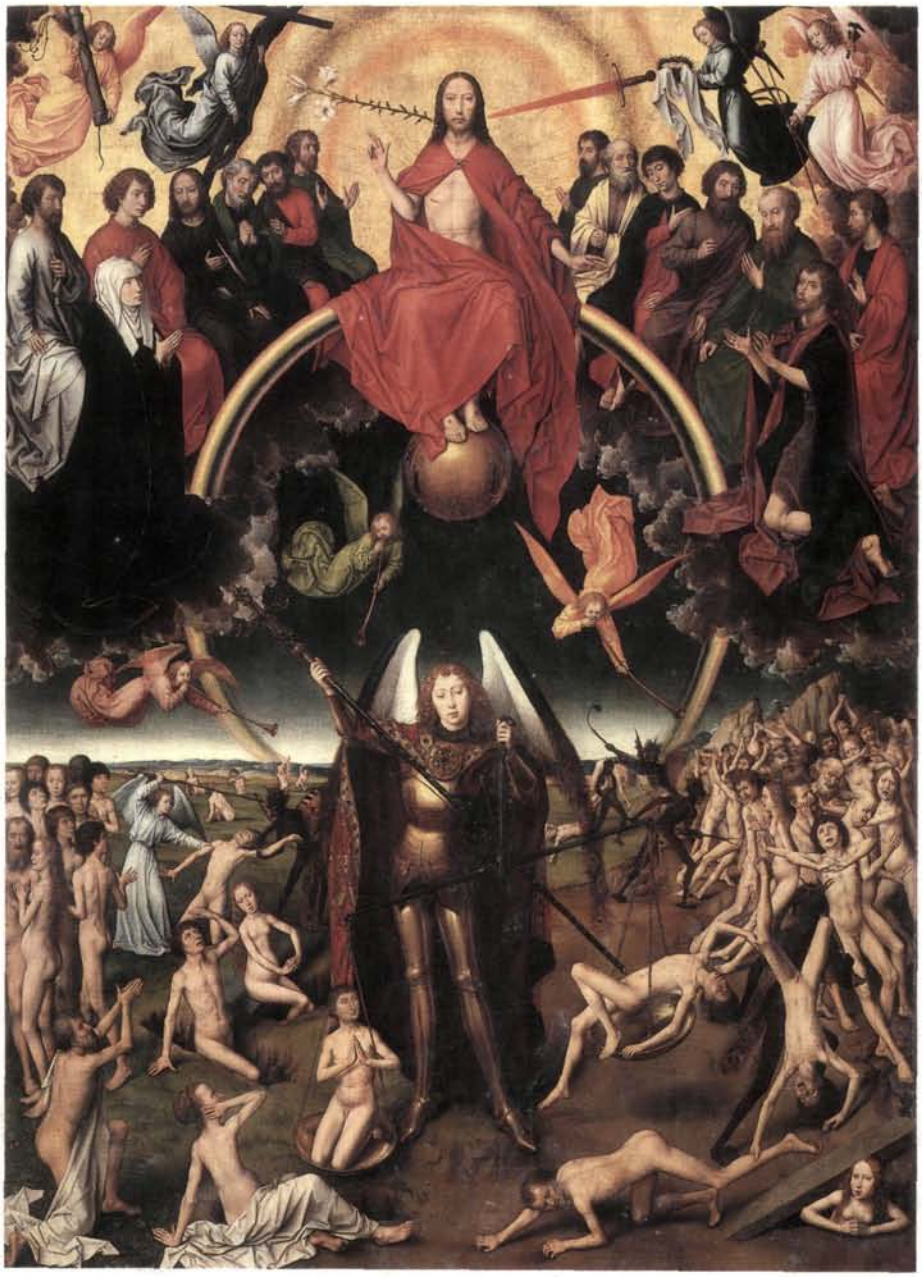
VOLUME 104 • NUMBER 5 • DECEMBER 1999

The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

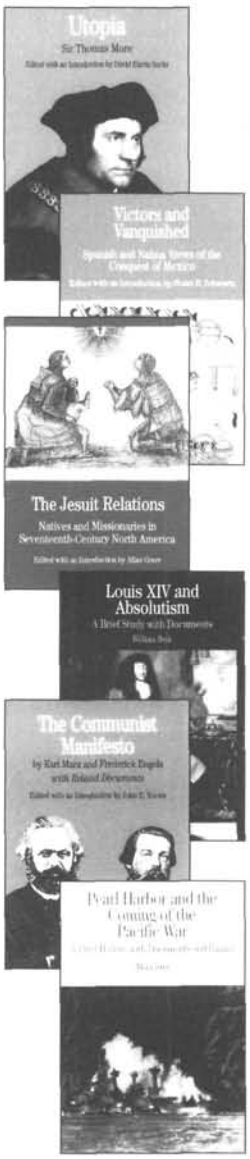


PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE BEDFORD SERIES IN HISTORY AND CULTURE

Advisory Editors: **Natalie Zemon Davis**, *Princeton University*
Ernest R. May, *Harvard University*

Selected Titles



UTOPIA
Sir Thomas More
David Harris Sacks, *Reed College*
1999/PAPER/192 PAGES

VICTORS AND VANQUISHED *NEW!*
Spanish and Nahua Views of the Conquest of Mexico
Edited with an Introduction by
Stuart B. Schwartz, *Yale University*
NOVEMBER 1999/PAPER/256 PAGES

THE JESUIT RELATIONS *NEW!*
Natives and Missionaries in Seventeenth-Century North America
Edited with an Introduction by
Allan Greer, *University of Toronto*
DECEMBER 1999/PAPER/208 PAGES

LOUIS XIV AND ABSOLUTISM *NEW!*
A Brief Study with Documents
William Beik, *Emory University*
JANUARY 2000/PAPER/212 PAGES

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO
by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels with Related Documents
Edited with an Introduction by
John E. Toews, *University of Washington*
1999/PAPER/176 PAGES

PEARL HARBOR AND THE COMING OF THE PACIFIC WAR
A Brief History with Documents and Essays
Akira Iriye, *Harvard University*
1999/PAPER/256 PAGES

For Examination Copies | **1-800-446-8923**
www.bedfordstmartins.com

BEDFORD
ST. MARTIN'S

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 104 • NUMBER 5 • DECEMBER 1999

The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889.

RECEIVED
DEC 21 1999
BALDWIN-WALLACE
RITTER LIBRARY

Elected Officers

President: ROBERT DARNTON, *Princeton University*
President-elect: ERIC FONER, *Columbia University*
Vice-Presidents: BARBARA D. METCALF, *University of California, Davis, Professional Division*
STANLEY N. KATZ, *Princeton University, Research Division*
LEON FINK, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Teaching Division*

Appointed Officers

Executive Director: ARNITA A. JONES
AHR Editor: MICHAEL GROSSBERG, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
Controller: RANDY NORELL

Elected Council Members

JOSEPH C. MILLER,
University of Virginia
Immediate Past President

NADINE ISHITANI HATA
El Camino Community College

EMILY B. HILL
Yale University

COLIN A. PALMER
Graduate School, City University of New York

VICKI RUIZ
Arizona State University

LINDA SHOPES
Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

MARILYN B. YOUNG
New York University

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cover illustration: "Last Judgement and Weighing of Souls," by the Flemish artist Hans Memling (1425/40–1494). The center panel of a triptych painted from 1467 to 1471, in the Narodowe Museum, Gdansk, Poland. Copyright by Erich Lessing, photographer, and Art Resource, New York City. See the special *Forum* on "Millenniums" in this issue.

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

The ***American Historical Review*** appears in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. It is published by the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202-544-2422) and is printed and mailed by Cadmus Journal Services, 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, Virginia 23228. The editorial offices are located at 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405 (812) 855-7609.
Our editorial e-mail address is ahr@indiana.edu.

The *AHR* is sent to members of the American Historical Association and to institutions holding subscriptions. Membership dues: Contributing Member, $155 annually; for incomes over $70,000, $126; over $55,000, $105; over $45,000, $94; over $35,000, $79; over $20,000, $68; under $20,000, $37; for students, $32; for teachers of K-12 (AHA/OHT/SHE/NHEN), $68; for K-12 with the *Review*, $94; for joint members or spouse/partners, $37; for associate members (nonhistorians), $47; a life membership is $2,600. The proportion of dues allocated to the *AHR* is $17.00. Subscription rates effective for volume 104: Class I, *American Historical Review* only, United States $120.00, foreign $132.00. Further information on membership, subscriptions, and the ordering of back issues is contained on the two pages—1(a) and 2(a)—immediately preceding the advertisements.

GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts should be sent to the Editor, *American Historical Review*, 914 Atwater, Bloomington, Indiana 47401. Texts, including quotations and footnotes, should be double-spaced with generous margins. Submissions sent from the North American continent should include four copies of the complete text (two copies if from abroad). Footnotes should be numbered consecutively throughout and should appear in a separate section at the end of the text. The editors prefer to work with manuscripts that are no more than 8,000 words in length, not counting notes, tables, and charts. The editors appreciate full addresses, including e-mail, in all correspondence. If accepted, your article will be needed in a disk version as well as paper. Especially helpful are word-processing files on 3.5-inch diskettes supported by MS-DOS and WIN 98 and, in particular, on WordPerfect. To check if your disk is compatible, call our Production Manager at (812) 855-7609.

No manuscript will be considered for publication if it is concurrently under consideration by another journal or press or if it has been published or is soon to be published elsewhere. Both restrictions apply to the substance as well as to the exact wording of the manuscript. If the manuscript is accepted, the editors expect that its appearance in the *Review* will precede republication of the essay, or any significant part thereof, in another work.

Other guidelines for the preparation of manuscripts for submission to and publication in the *AHR* will be sent upon request. Articles will be edited to conform to *AHR* style in matters of punctuation, capitalization, and the like. The editors may suggest other changes in the interest of clarity and economy of expression; such changes are not made without consultation with authors. The editors are the final arbiters of length, grammar, and usage.

Visit our web site at http://www.indiana.edu/~ahr/ for the policies regarding articles, book reviews, and film reviews.

Unsolicited book reviews are not accepted.

Postmaster: Please send notification (Form 3579) regarding undelivered journals to: American Historical Association, 400 A ST SE, Washington, DC 20003. Publication identification number: *American Historical Review* (ISSN 0002-8762).

The *AHR* disclaims responsibility for statements, either of fact or opinion, made by contributors.

© AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION 1999
All rights reserved

FOR PERMISSION TO REPRINT: Contact Sharon K. Tune, Assistant Director, Administration, American Historical Association, 400 A ST SE, Washington, DC 20003. Phone (202) 544-2422, fax (202) 544-8307.

FOR INQUIRIES ABOUT ADVERTISING: Contact Robert Townsend, Advertising Manager, at the above address, or e-mail at rtownsend@theaha.org.

Periodicals postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices.

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

Recycled Paper

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 104 • NUMBER 5 • DECEMBER 1999

The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Editor: MICHAEL GROSSBERG

Associate Editor: JEFFREY N. WASSERSTROM

Assistant Editors: MOUREEN COULTER
ALLYN ROBERTS

Contributing Editor: THOMAS PRASCH

Office Manager: BEVERLY SAMPLE

Production Manager: GINA DOGLIONE

Editorial Assistants: JOSE RAYMUND CANOY, JUSTIN NORDSTROM, MARGARET PUSKAR-PASEWICZ, SEAN QUINLAN, JUDE C. RICHTER, KELLY J. TUCKER, G. WILLIAM VAN ARRAGON

Advertising Manager: ROBERT TOWNSEND

Intern: JASON M. STAHL

Board of Editors

IRIS BERGER
State University of New York, University at Albany

MARY ELIZABETH BERRY
University of California, Berkeley

JOHN GILLIS
Rutgers University

MICHAEL J. HOGAN
Ohio State University

R. STEPHEN HUMPHREYS
University of California, Santa Barbara

ALLEN ISAACMAN
University of Minnesota

MARGARET C. JACOB
University of California, Los Angeles

WILLIAM C. JORDAN
Princeton University

BROOKE LARSON
State University of New York, Stony Brook

ROBERT G. MOELLER
University of California, Irvine

EDWARD W. MUIR, JR.
Northwestern University

MARIA N. TODOROVA
University of Florida

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Contents

VOLUME 104 • NUMBER 5 • DECEMBER 1999

In This Issue xiv

Articles

Gender, Vice, and the Political Imaginary in Nineteenth-Century France: Reinterpreting the Failure of the July Monarchy, 1830–1848
BY JO BURR MARGADANT 1461

Review Essay

Modernity Global and Local: Consumption and the Rise of the West
BY CRAIG CLUNAS 1497

AHR Forum: Millenniums

Introduction 1512

Chinese Millenarian Traditions: The Formative Age
BY DAVID OWNBY 1513

Millenarian Slaves? The Santidade de Jaguaripe and Slave Resistance in the Americas
BY ALIDA C. METCALF 1531

Demagogues or Mystagogues? Gender and the Language of Prophecy in the Age of Democratic Revolutions
BY SUSAN JUSTER 1560

"Redeemer Empire": Russian Millenarianism
BY DAVID G. ROWLEY 1582

The Secret
BY RICHARD K. EMMERSON 1603

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Millennium Review Essay

Time, Culture, and Christian Eschatology: The Year 2000 in the West and the World
BY PAUL A. COHEN 1615

Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

RUTH ROACH PIERSON and NUPUR CHAUDHURI, editors. *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race.*
By Reina Lewis 1629

ROGER HOROWITZ and ARWEN MOHUN, editors. *His and Hers: Gender, Consumption, and Technology.*
By David E. Nye 1630

FRITZ RINGER. *Max Weber's Methodology: The Unification of the Cultural and Social Sciences.*
By Alan Scott 1631

JOHN LUKACS. *The Hitler of History.*
By Milan Hauner 1632

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

THOMAS T. ALLSEN. *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles.*
By Leonard Helfgott 1632

PAVLA MILLER. *Transformations of Patriarchy in the West, 1500–1900.*
By Rachel G. Fuchs 1633

GESA MACKENTHUN. *Metaphors of Dispossession: American Beginnings and the Translation of Empire, 1492–1637.*
By Fernando Cervantes 1634

ROBIN BLACKBURN. *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern 1492–1800.*
By Joseph C. Miller 1635

KEVIN PHILLIPS. *The Cousins' Wars: Religion, Politics, and the Triumph of Anglo-America.*
By Edward Countryman 1636

PHILIP D. CURTIN. *Disease and Empire: The Health of European Troops in the Conquest of Africa.*
By William H. Schneider 1637

GIOVANNI FEDERICO. *An Economic History of the Silk Industry, 1830–1930.*
By Robert Y. Eng 1638

SUSAN STRASSER, CHARLES MCGOVERN, and MATTHIAS JUDT, editors. *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century.*
By Gary Cross 1639

TYRUS MILLER. *Late Modernism: Politics, Fiction, and the Arts Between the World Wars.*
By Carolyn J. Dean 1640

PETER CONRAD. *Modern Times, Modern Places.*
By Modris Eksteins 1641

JONATHAN E. HELMREICH. *United States Relations with Belgium and the Congo, 1940–1960.*
By Michael G. Schatzberg 1641

ARTHUR MARWICK. *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c. 1958–c. 1974.*
By Luisa Passerini 1642

MICHAEL E. HOBART and ZACHARY S. SCHIFFMAN. *Information Ages: Literacy, Numeracy, and the Computer Revolution.*
By Roy Rosenzweig 1643

ASIA

CHRISTOPH HARBSMEIER. *Science and Civilisation in China.* Volume 7, Part 1: *Language and Logic.*
By Rudolf G. Wagner 1644

LIONEL M. JENSEN. *Manufacturing Confucianism: Chinese Traditions and Universal Civilization.*
By Kai-wing Chow 1645

ROBERT B. MARKS. *Tigers, Rice, Silk, and Silt: Environment and Economy in Late Imperial South China.*
By David Faure 1646

JAMES A. MILLWARD. *Beyond the Pass: Economy, Ethnicity, and Empire in Qing Central Asia, 1759–1864.*
By Linda Benson 1647

GREGORY A. RUF. *Cadres and Kin: Making a Socialist Village in West China, 1921–1991.*
By Kenneth Pomeranz 1648

JOHN ISRAEL. *Lianda: A Chinese University in War and Revolution.*
By Laurence Schneider 1649

MURRAY A. RUBINSTEIN, editor. *Taiwan: A New History.*
By Hill Gates 1650

G. CAMERON HURST III. *Armed Martial Arts of Japan: Swordsmanship and Archery.*
By William B. Hauser 1651

BENEDICT ANDERSON. *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia, and the World.*
By Daniel Chirot 1651

NANDINI SUNDAR. *Subalterns and Sovereigns: An Anthropological History of Bastar, 1854–1996.*
By David Ludden 1652

SUMATHI RAMASWAMY. *Passions of the Tongue: Language Devotion in Tamil India, 1891–1970.*
By Parama Roy 1653

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

JAMES W. ST. G. WALKER. *"Race," Rights and the Law in the Supreme Court of Canada: Historical Case Studies.*
By Michael Brown 1654

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DONNA R. GABACCIA. *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Foods and the Making of Americans.*
By Andrew R. Heinze 1655

DANIEL WICKBERG. *The Senses of Humor: Self and Laughter in Modern America.*
By Nancy A. Walker 1656

LAWRENCE B. GLICKMAN. *A Living Wage: American Workers and the Making of Consumer Society.*
By Joseph A. McCartin 1657

PHILIP J. DELORIA. *Playing Indian.*
By Peter Iverson 1658

JILL LEPORE. *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity.*
By John Canup 1658

THEDA PERDUE. *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700–1835.*
By Margaret Connell-Szasz 1659

MICHAEL A. GOMEZ. *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South.*
By Roderick A. McDonald 1660

FRANK LAMBERT. *Inventing the "Great Awakening."*
By Jon Butler 1661

ROBERT F. DALZELL, JR. and LEE BALDWIN DALZELL. *George Washington's Mount Vernon: At Home in Revolutionary America.*
By John Michael Vlach 1662

JEAN M. YARBROUGH. *American Virtues: Thomas Jefferson on the Character of a Free People.*
By Jack Fruchtman, Jr. 1662

RICHARD BUEL, JR. *In Irons: Britain's Naval Supremacy and the American Revolutionary Economy.*
By Marc Egnal 1663

DONALD J. RATCLIFFE. *Party Spirit in a Frontier Republic: Democratic Politics in Ohio, 1793–1821.*
By Stephen Aron 1664

PETER S. FIELD. *The Crisis of the Standing Order: Clerical Intellectuals and Cultural Authority in Massachusetts, 1780–1833.*
By David W. Kling 1665

CYNTHIA LYNN LYERLY. *Methodism and the Southern Mind, 1770- 1810.*
By Frederick A. Bode 1666

CHRISTOPHER H. OWEN. *The Sacred Flame of Love: Methodism and Society in Nineteenth-Century Georgia.*
By Jon Sensbach 1667

DIANNE ASHTON. *Rebecca Gratz: Women and Judaism in Antebellum America.*
By Marc Lee Raphael 1668

AMY S. GREENBERG. *Cause for Alarm: The Volunteer Fire Department in the Nineteenth-Century City.*
By Paul A. Gilje 1669

NAN GOODMAN. *Shifting the Blame: Literature, Law, and the Theory of Accidents in Nineteenth-Century America.*
By David Ray Papke 1669

CHRIS DIXON. *Perfecting the Family: Antislavery Marriages in Nineteenth-Century America.*
By Ronald G. Walters 1670

JAMES MARTEN. *The Children's Civil War.*
By Kerry A. Trask 1671

STEVEN ELLIOTT TRIPP. *Yankee Town, Southern City: Race and Class Relations in Civil War Lynchburg.*
By David Goldfield 1672

LESLIE A. SCHWALM. *A Hard Fight for We: Women's Transition from Slavery to Freedom in South Carolina.*
By Lynda Morgan 1672

WILBERT L. JENKINS. *Seizing the New Day: African Americans in Post-Civil War Charleston.*
By Walter J. Fraser, Jr. 1674

RICHARD ZUCZEK. *State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina.*
By Brooks D. Simpson 1674

BROOKS D. SIMPSON. *The Reconstruction Presidents.*
By Michael Les Benedict 1675

DANIEL W. STOWELL. *Rebuilding Zion: The Religious Reconstruction of the South, 1863–1877.*
By Randall M. Miller 1676

WARD M. MCAFEE. *Religion, Race, and Reconstruction: The Public School in the Politics of the 1870s.*
By J. Morgan Kousser 1677

KARIN A. SHAPIRO. *A New South Rebellion: The Battle against Convict Labor in the Tennessee Coalfields, 1871–1896.*
By Crandall Shifflett 1678

GRETCHEN RITTER. *Goldbugs and Greenbacks: The Antimonopoly Tradition and the Politics of Finance in America.*
By Robert W. Cherny 1679

MARK WYMAN. *The Wisconsin Frontier*; JAMES E. DAVIS. *Frontier Illinois.*
By Roger L. Nichols 1679

ROBERT GOUGH. *Farming the Cutover: A Social History of Northern Wisconsin, 1900–1940.*
By Deborah Fink 1681

WILLIAM A. DOBAK. *Fort Riley and Its Neighbors: Military Money and Economic Growth, 1853–1895.*
By Frank N. Schubert 1681

LOUIS S. WARREN. *The Hunter's Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America.*
By Robin W. Doughty 1682

HAL K. ROTHMAN. *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West.*
By Terry Caesar 1683

MARY WARNER BLANCHARD. *Oscar Wilde's America: Counterculture in the Gilded Age.*
By Paul Giles 1684

JAMES F. O'GORMAN. *Accomplished in All Departments of Art: Hammatt Billings of Boston, 1818–1874.*
By Robert Muccigrosso 1685

MICHAEL HOLLERAN. *Boston's "Changeful Times": Origins of Preservation and Planning in America.*
By Karal Ann Marling 1686

MARK DYRESON. *Making the American Team: Sport, Culture, and the Olympic Experience.*
By George B. Kirsch 1686

DAVID DELANEY. *Race, Place, and the Law, 1836–1948.*
By Quintard Taylor 1687

LEON F. LITWACK. *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow.*
By David Farber 1688

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

W. FITZHUGH BRUNDAGE. *A Socialist Utopia in the New South: The Ruskin Colonies in Tennessee and Georgia, 1894–1901.*
By Robert S. Fogarty 1689

WILLIAM E. ELLIS. *Robert Worth Bingham and the Southern Mystique: From the Old South to the New South and Beyond.*
By Carl R. Osthaus 1690

LEROY DAVIS. *A Clashing of the Soul: John Hope and the Dilemma of African American Leadership and Black Higher Education in the Early Twentieth Century.*
By Raymond Wolters 1691

JOELLEN MCNERGNEY VINYARD. *For Faith and Fortune: The Education of Catholic Immigrants in Detroit, 1805–1925.*
By F. Michael Perko, S.J. 1692

ELIZABETH YORK ENSTAM. *Women and the Creation of Urban Life: Dallas, Texas, 1843–1920.*
By Ruth Crocker 1693

JUDITH N. MCARTHUR. *Creating the New Woman: The Rise of Southern Women's Progressive Culture in Texas, 1893–1918.*
By Rebecca Edwards 1693

ELLEN CAROL DUBOIS. *Harriot Stanton Blatch and the Winning of Woman Suffrage.*
By Elizabeth R. Varon 1694

SUSAN E. MARSHALL. *Splintered Sisterhood: Gender and Class in the Campaign against Woman Suffrage.*
By Thomas J. Jablonsky 1695

RALPH P. LOCKE and CYRILLA BARR, editors. *Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons and Activists since 1860.*
By William Weber 1696

JUNE SOCHEN. *From Mae to Madonna: Women Entertainers in Twentieth-Century America.*
By James M. Skinner 1697

KATHLEEN WEILER. *Country Schoolwomen: Teaching in Rural California, 1850–1950.*
By Alison Prentice 1698

LEILA ZENDERLAND. *Measuring Minds: Henry Herbert Goddard and the Origins of American Intelligence Testing.*
By Ellen Herman 1698

CHARLES H. MCCORMICK. *Seeing Reds: Federal Surveillance of Radicals in the Pittsburgh Mill District, 1917–1921.*
By James G. Ryan 1699

JEANNIE M. WHAYNE. *A New Plantation South: Land, Labor, and Federal Favor in Twentieth-Century Arkansas.*
By Clarence L. Mohr 1700

BARBARA H. FRIED. *The Progressive Assault in Laissez Faire: Robert Hale and the First Law and Economics Movement.*
By Herbert Hovenkamp 1701

THEODORE ROSENOF. *Economics in the Long Run: New Deal Theorists and Their Legacies, 1933–1993.*
By Robert M. Collins 1702

SANFORD M. JACOBY. *Modern Manors: Welfare Capitalism since the New Deal;* STEVEN A. SASS. *The Promise of Private Pensions: The First Hundred Years.*
By Joanne L. Goodwin 1703

ROBERT E. WEEMS, JR. *Desegregating the Dollar: African American Consumerism in the Twentieth Century.*
By John N. Ingham 1704

NINA MJAGKIJ. *Light in the Darkness: African Americans and the YMCA, 1852–1946.*
By Judith Weisenfeld 1705

JOHN DONALD GUSTAV-WRATHALL. *Take the Young Stranger by the Hand: Same-Sex Relations and the YMCA.*
By Susan K. Cahn 1706

LEWIS A. ERENBERG. *Swingin' the Dream: Big Band Jazz and the Rebirth of American Culture.*
By Scott DeVeaux 1707

DANIEL BELGRAD. *The Culture of Spontaneity: Improvisation and the Arts in Postwar America.*
By George H. Roeder, Jr. 1708

BRIAN WARD. *Just My Soul Responding: Rhythm and Blues, Black Consciousness, and Race Relations.*
By Cary D. Wintz 1709

WILLIAM H. WILSON. *Hamilton Park: A Planned Black Community in Dallas.*
By Tom Hanchett 1710

REGINALD KEARNEY. *African American Views of the Japanese: Solidarity or Sedition?*
By David M. Reimers 1711

BRENDA GAYLE PLUMMER. *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935–1960.*
By Ralph B. Levering 1711

ELLEN SCHRECKER. *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America.*
By Kenneth O'Reilly 1712

RICHARD J. ELLIS. *The Dark Side of the Left: Illiberal Egalitarianism in America.*
By Michael Kazin 1713

JACK IRBY HAYES, JR. *Dan Daniel and the Persistence of Conservatism in Virginia:* RONALD L. HEINEMANN. *Harry Byrd of Virginia*
. By William A. Link 1714

CLARENCE G. LASBY. *Eisenhower's Heart Attack: How Ike Beat Heart Disease and Held on to the Presidency.*
By H. W. Brands 1715

JAMES W. HILTY. *Robert Kennedy: Brother Protector.*
By Lawrence J. McAndrews 1716

TAYLOR BRANCH. *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years, 1963–65.*
By James Findlay 1717

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

HERBERT S. KLEIN. *The American Finances of the Spanish Empire: Royal Income and Expenditures in Colonial Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia, 1680–1809.*
By John H. Coatsworth 1718

WILL FOWLER. *Mexico in the Age of Proposals, 1821–1853.*
By Pedro Santoni 1719

EUGENIA RODRÍGUEZ SÁENZ, editor. *Entre silencios y voces: Género e historia en América Central (1750–1990).*
By Steven Palmer 1720

MARY MCCORMICK MAAGA. *Hearing the Voices of Jonestown.*
By Jon R. Stone 1721

VINCENT C. PELOSO. *Peasants on Plantations: Subaltern Strategies of Labor and Resistance in the Pisco Valley, Peru.*
By Charles F. Walker 1722

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

R. ANDREW CHESNUT. *Born Again in Brazil: The Pentecostal Boom and the Pathogens of Poverty.*
By Robert M. Levine 1723

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

CHRISTIAN HABICHT. *Athens from Alexander to Antony.*
By Gary Reger 1724

JON D. MIKALSON. *Religion in Hellenistic Athens.*
By Ronald Mellor 1724

STEPHEN C. MCCLUSKEY. *Astronomies and Cultures in Early Medieval Europe.*
By Albert Van Helden 1725

DANIEL G. RUSSO. *Town Origins and Development in Early England, c. 400–950 A.D.*
By Derek Keene 1727

THOMAS N. BISSON. *Tormented Voices: Power, Crisis, and Humanity in Rural Catalonia, 1140–1200.*
By Joseph Ziegler 1728

JOSEPH P. HUFFMAN. *Family, Commerce, and Religion in London and Cologne.*
By John France 1729

FAYE GETZ. *Medicine in the English Middle Ages.*
By Faith Wallis 1730

RONALD C. FINUCANE. *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles.*
By Mary Martin McLaughlin 1731

NORMAN GOLB. *The Jews in Medieval Normandy: A Social and Intellectual History.*
By Robin R. Mundill 1731

ROBIN R. MUNDILL. *England's Jewish Solution: Experiment and Expulsion, 1262–1290.*
By Cynthia J. Neville 1732

PAUL STROHM. *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399–1422.*
By Christopher Allmand 1733

CHRISTOPH ANZ. *Gilden im mittelalterlichen Skandinavien.*
By Ruth Mazo Karras 1734

OTTO GERHARD OEXLE and WERNER PARAVICINI, editors. *Nobilitas: Funktion und Repräsentation des Adels in Alteuropa.*
By John B. Freed 1735

GRAEME SMALL. *George Chastelain and the Shaping of Valois Burgundy: Political and Historical Culture at Court in the Fifteenth Century.*
By David Nicholas 1736

FRANK A. D'ACCONE. *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.*
By Ann E. Moyer 1737

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

JORGE ARDITI. *A Genealogy of Manners: Transformations of Social Relations in France and England from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Century.*
By Harvey Mitchell 1738

JAMES S. AMELANG. *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe.*
By Benjamin J. Kaplan 1739

MICHEL BLAY. *Reasoning with the Infinite: From the Closed World to the Mathematical Universe.*
By Timothy J. Reiss 1740

DAVID DUTTON. *The Politics of Diplomacy: Britain and France in the Balkans in the First World War.*
By Jan Karl Tanenbaum 1741

ANDREW MORAVCSIK. *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht.*
By William I. Hitchcock 1742

STEPHEN ALFORD. *The Early Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis, 1558–1569.*
By Howard Nenner 1743

ROBERT TITTLER. *The Reformation and the Towns in England: Politics and Political Culture, c. 1540–1640.*
By Tim Harris 1744

MURIEL C. MCCLENDON. *The Quiet Reformation: Magistrates and the Emergence of Protestantism in Tudor Norwich.*
By Ian Green 1745

DANIEL C. BEAVER. *Parish Communities and Religious Conflict in the Vale of Gloucester, 1590–1690.*
By Mark Stoyle 1745

ADRIANA MCCREA. *Constant Minds: Political Virtue and the Lipsian Paradigm in England, 1584–1650.*
By Andrew Shifflett 1746

VICTOR TREADWELL. *Buckingham and Ireland, 1616–1628: A Study in Anglo-Irish Politics.*
By Colm Lennon 1747

PAUL D. HALLIDAY. *Dismembering the Body Politic: Partisan Politics in England's Towns, 1650–1730.*
By Frank O'Gorman 1748

TONY CLAYDON and IAN MCBRIDE, editors. *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c. 1650–c. 1850.*
By William Palmer 1749

COLIN PODMORE. *The Moravian Church in England, 1728–1760.*
By Boyd Stanley Schlenther 1750

ADRIAN JOHNS. *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making.*
By C. John Sommerville 1751

HELENA M. PYCIOR. *Symbols, Impossible Numbers, and Geometric Entanglements: British Algebra through the Commentaries on Newton's* Universal Arithmetick.
By Mordechai Feingold 1752

JOHN GASCOIGNE. *Science in the Service of Empire: Joseph Banks, the British State and the Uses of Science in the Age of Revolution.*
By David Philip Miller 1753

AMANDA VICKERY. *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England.*
By Susan Dwyer Amussen 1754

ELAINE A. REYNOLDS. *Before the Bobbies: The Night Watch and Police Reform in Metropolitan London, 1720–1830.*
By Stefan Petrow 1754

IWAN RHYS MORUS. *Frankenstein's Children: Electricity, Exhibition, and Experiment in Early-Nineteenth-Century London.*
By Bernard Lightman 1755

BRIAN SHORT. *Land and Society in Edwardian Britain.*
By Mark Clapson 1756

ROY CHURCH and QUENTIN OUTRAM. *Strikes and Solidarity: Coalfield Conflict in Britain 1889–1966.*
By Peter Weiler 1757

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

N. J. CROWSON. *Facing Fascism: The Conservative Party and the European Dictators, 1935–1940.*
By Paul Addison 1758

N. PIERS LUDLOW. *Dealing with Britain: The Six and the First UK Application to the EEC.*
By Martin Chick 1759

JAMES KELLY. *Henry Flood: Patriots and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Ireland.*
By Thomas P. Power 1759

JAMES S. DONNELLY, JR. and KERBY A. MILLER, editors. *Irish Popular Culture, 1650–1850.*
By L. M. Cullen 1760

MARY PECKHAM MAGRAY. *The Transforming Power of the Nuns: Women, Religion, and Cultural Change in Ireland, 1750–1900.*
By Cliona Murphy 1761

PETER HART. *The I.R.A. and Its Enemies: Violence and Community in Cork, 1916–1923.*
By David W. Miller 1762

STUART CARROLL. *Noble Power during the French Wars of Religion: The Guise Affinity and the Catholic Cause in Normandy.*
By J. H. M. Salmon 1762

HENRY PHILLIPS. *Church and Culture in Seventeenth-Century France.*
By Norman Ravitch 1763

SYLVIE PERRIER. *Des enfances protégées: La tutelle des mineurs en France (XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles); Enquête à Paris et à Châlons-sur-Marne.*
By Albert N. Hamscher 1764

PIERRE CHAUNU, MADELEINE FOISIL, and FRANÇOISE DE NOIRFONTAINE. *Le basculement religieux de Paris au XVIII^e siècle: Essai d'histoire politique et religieuse.*
By David Hudson 1765

GÉRARD GAYOT. *Les draps de Sedan 1646–1870.*
By David Longfellow 1766

GILBERT SHAPIRO and JOHN MARKOFF. *Revolutionary Demands: A Content Analysis of the Cahiers de Doléances of 1789.*
By Lynn Hunt 1767

YVES LAISSUS. *L'Égypte, une aventure savante: Avec Bonaparte, Kléber, Menou 1798–1801.*
By Robert L. Tignor 1768

JOHN I. BROOKS III. *The Eclectic Legacy: Academic Philosophy and the Human Sciences in Nineteenth-Century France.*
By Robert A. Nye 1769

PAULA E. HYMAN. *The Jews of Modern France.*
By Michael R. Marrus 1770

GEORGE E. MELTON. *Darlan: Admiral and Statesman of France, 1881–1942.*
By Robert O. Paxton 1770

TONY JUDT. *The Burden of Responsibility: Blum, Camus, Aron, and the French Twentieth Century.*
By Jeffrey C. Isaac 1771

WILLIAM I. HITCHCOCK. *France Restored: Cold War Diplomacy and the Quest for Leadership in Europe, 1944–1954.*
By Frank Roy Willis 1772

HENRY KAMEN. *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision.*
By Thomas F. Glick 1773

MICHAEL RICHARDS. *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936–1945.*
By Shirley Mangini 1774

LAURA DESFOR EDLES. *Symbol and Ritual in the New Spain: The Transition to Democracy after Franco.*
By Carolyn P. Boyd 1775

CHARLES H. PARKER. *The Reformation of Community: Social Welfare and Calvinist Charity in Holland, 1572–1620.*
By J. L. Price 1776

THOMAS MAX SAFLEY. *Charity and Economy in the Orphanages of Early Modern Augsburg.*
By Christopher R. Friedrichs 1776

ROBERT R. TAYLOR. *The Castles of the Rhine: Recreating the Middle Ages in Modern Germany.*
By Celia Applegate 1777

PETER EXNER. *Ländliche Gesellschaft und Landwirtschaft in Westfalen, 1919–1969.*
By Jonathan Osmond 1778

DALIA OFER and LENORE J. WEITZMAN, editors. *Women in the Holocaust.*
By Ann Taylor Allen 1779

JEFFREY HERF. *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys.*
By Jerry Z. Muller 1780

ULRIKE OFFENBERG. *"Seid vorsichtig gegen die Machthaber": Die jüdischen Gemeinden in der SBZ und der DDR 1945 bis 1990.*
By Y. Michal Bodemann 1782

ERIK CARLSSON. *Sverige och tysk motståandsrörelse under andra världskriget.*
By Byron J. Nordstrom 1783

MAIJA RUNCIS. *Steriliseringar i folkhemmet.*
By Tim Tilton 1783

JUSSI PIKKUSAARI. *Vaikea vapaus: Sosialidemokratian häviö kirkolle 1850-luvulta 1920-luvulle käydyssä Suomen kulttuuritaistelussa* [A Difficult Freedom: Social Democracy's Defeat to the Church in the Finnish Cultural Struggle].
By Keijo Virtanen 1784

JUKKA RANTALA. *Sopimaton lasten kasvattajaksi! Opettajiin kohdistuneet poliittiset puhdistuspyrkimykset Suomessa 1944–1948.*
By Niilo Kauppi 1785

GIOVANNI CIAPPELLI. *Carnevale e quaresima: Comportamenti sociali e cultura a Firenze nel rinascimento.*
By Dale Kent 1786

EMANUELE CUTINELLI-RÈNDINA. *Chiesa e religione in Machiavelli.*
By Julius Kirshner 1787

MARINA ROGGERO. *L'alfabeto conquistato: Apprendere e insegnare nell'Italia tra Sette et Ottocento.*
By Elmiro Argento 1788

ROBERT MALLETT. *The Italian Navy and Fascist Expansionism. 1935–1940.*
By R. J. B. Bosworth 1789

MONTE S. FINKELSTEIN. *Separatism, the Allies, and the Mafia: The Struggle for Sicilian Independence, 1943–1948.*
By Alan Cassels 1789

JERZY JEDLICKI. *A Suburb of Europe: Nineteenth-Century Polish Approaches to Western Civilization.*
By Larry Wolff 1790

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PETER D. STACHURA, editor. *Poland between the Wars, 1918–1939.*
By Edward D. Wynot, Jr. 1792

JOST SOOM. *"Avancement et fortune": Schweizer und ihre Nachkommen als Offiziere, Diplomaten und Hofbeamte im Dienst des Zarenreiches.*
By Alfred Erich Senn 1792

DMITRY SHLAPENTOKH. *The Counter-Revolution in Revolution: Images of Thermidor and Napoleon at the time of Russian Revolution and Civil War.*
By Hugh Ragsdale 1793

MARTIN A. MILLER. *Freud and the Bolsheviks: Psychoanalysis in Imperial Russia and the Soviet Union.*
By Hannah S. Decker 1794

VLADIMIR BROVKIN. *Russia after Lenin: Politics, Culture and Society, 1921–1929.*
By Glennys Young 1795

ELENA ZUBKOVA. *Russia After the War: Hopes, Illusions, and Disappointments, 1945–1957.*
By Hiroaki Kuromiya 1796

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

LILA ABU-LUGHOD, editor. *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East.*
By Mary C. Wilson 1797

JAMES JANKOWSKI and ISRAEL GERSHONI, editors. *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East.*
By William Ochsenwald 1798

NELLY HANNA. *Making Big Money in 1600: The Life and Times of Isma'il Abu Taqiyya, Egyptian Merchant.*
By Kenneth M. Cuno 1799

A. REZA SHEIKHOLISLAMI. *The Structure of Central Authority in Qajar Iran, 1871–1896.*
By Gavin R. G. Hambly 1800

ANDREW SHRYOCK. *Nationalism and the Genealogical Imagination: Oral History and Textual Authority in Tribal Jordan.*
By Rashid I. Khalidi 1801

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

DAVID LEE SCHOENBRUN. *A Green Place, a Good Place: Agrarian Change, Gender, and Social Identity in the Great Lakes Region to the Fifteenth Century.*
By Thomas Spear 1802

MARTIN LYNN. *Commerce and Economic Change in West Africa: The Palm Oil Trade in the Nineteenth Century.*
By Jan Hogendorn 1803

HAKIM ADI. *West Africans in Britain, 1900–1960: Nationalism, Pan-Africanism and Communism.*
By Paul Rich 1803

CAROLYN HAMILTON. *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention.*
By Alan R. Booth 1804

Film Reviews

PASSION AND WAR IN THE BACKLANDS OF CANUDOS *[Pax ão e Guerra no Sert ão de Canudos]* Directed by Antônio Olavo.
GUERRA DE CANUDOS. Directed by Sergio Rezende.
By Darién J. Davis 1807

TEA WITH MUSSOLINI. Directed by Franco Zeffirelli.
By Stanislao G. Pugliese 1809

STEP BY STEP: BUILDING A FEMINIST MOVEMENT, 1941–1977. Produced by Joyce Follet, Mimi Orner, and Terry Rockefeller.
By Gayle V. Fischer 1810

XIUXIU: THE SENT-DOWN GIRL [*Tian yu*]. Directed by Joan Chen and Alice Chan.
By Zhiwei Xiao 1811

Collected Essays

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

STANLEY L. ENGERMAN, editor. *Terms of Labor: Slavery, Serfdom, and Free Labor.* 1813

MICHAEL HANAGAN and CHARLES TILLY, editors. *Extending Citizenship, Reconfiguring States.* 1813

MRINALINI SINHA, DONNA GUY and ANGELA WOOLLACOTT, editors. *Feminisms and Internationalism.* 1813

ASIA

JAMES L. MCCLAIN and WAKITA OSAMU, editors. *Osaka: The Merchants' Capital of Early Modern Japan.* 1813

RUDRANGSHU MUKHERJEE and LAKSHMI SUBRAMANIAN, editors. *Politics and Trade in the Indian Ocean World: Essays in Honour of Ashin Das Gupta.* 1814

HIRANMAY KARLEKAR, editor. *Independent India: The First Fifty Years.* 1814

OCEANIA AND PACIFIC ISLANDS

MARGARETTE LINCOLN, editor. *Science and Exploration in the Pacific: European Voyages to the Southern Oceans in the Eighteenth Century.* 1814

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

JAMES GILREATH, editor. *Thomas Jefferson and the Education of a Citizen.* 1814

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KENNETH R. BOWLING and DONALD R. KENNON, editors. *Inventing Congress: Origins and Establishment of the First Federal Congress.* 1815

KATHERINE J. ADAMS and LEWIS L. GOULD, editors. *Inside the Natchez Trace Collection: New Sources for Southern History.* 1815

THOMAS J. DURANT, JR. and J. DAVID KNOTTNERUS, editors. *Plantation Society and Race Relations: The Origins of Inequality.* 1815

GABOR S. BORITT, editor. *Jefferson Davis's Generals.* 1815

DAVID K. ADAMS and CORNELIS A. VAN MINNEN, editors. *Religious and Secular Reform in America: Ideas, Beliefs, and Social Change.* 1815

MARK J. WHITE, editor. *Kennedy: The New Frontier Revisited.* 1816

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

IAN WOOD, editor. *Franks and Alamanni in the Merovingian Period: An Ethnographic Perspective.* 1816

JOSEPH CANNING and OTTO GERHARD OEXLE, editors. *Political Thought and the Realities of Power in the Middle Ages/Politisches Denken und die Wirklichkeit der Macht im Mittelalter.* 1816

ALFRED HAVERKAMP and HANNA VOLLRATH, editors. *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages.* 1816

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

CHANTAL GRELL, WERNER PARAVICINI, and JÜRGEN VOSS, editors. *Les princes et l'histoire du XIV^e au XVIII^e siècle.* 1817

MARCO BELLABARBA and REINHARD STAUBER, editors. *Identità territoriali e cultura politica nella prima età moderna/Territoriale Identität und politische Kultur in der Frühen Neuzeit.* 1817

ALEXANDER KOLLER, editor. *Kurie und Politik: Stand und Perspektiven der Nuntiaturberichtsforschung.* 1817

KARIN MAAG, editor. *The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe.* 1818

MARTIN DAUNTON and RICK HALPERN, editors. *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600–1850.* 1818

MARTIN I. MOIR, DOUGLAS M. PEERS, and LYNN ZASTOUPIL, editors. *J. S. Mill's Encounter with India.* 1818

SAM WHIMSTER, editor. *Max Weber and the Culture of Anarchy.* 1819

LUCIANO GUERCI and GIUSEPPE RICUPERATI, editors. *Il coraggio della ragione: Franco Venturi intellectuale e storico cosmopolita.* 1819

T. MICHAEL RUDDY, editor. *Charting an Independent Course: Finland's Place in the Cold War and in U.S. Foreign Policy.* 1819

CATRIONA KELLY and DAVID SHEPHERD, editors. *Russian Cultural Studies: An Introduction.* 1819

Documents and Bibliographies 1820
Other Books Received 1823
Communications 1830
Annual Index 1833
Topical Index 1879
Index of Advertisers 54(a)

Topical Table of Contents

Administration
1703, 1768, 1773, 1776, 1785, 1792, 1800

Agriculture
1646, 1681, 1700, 1778

Anthropology
1652

Archaeology
1731

Architecture
1662, 1686

Art
1684, 1708

Biography
1632, 1662, 1668, 1675, 1691, 1694, 1714, 1715, 1716, 1717, 1736, 1739, 1743, 1747, 1759, 1770, 1787

Business/Finance
1630, 1639, 1679, 1683, 1701, 1704, 1718, 1729

Childhood/Youth
1671, 1731, 1764, 1776

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Civil Wars
1671, 1762, 1774

Class
1633, 1657, 1669, 1672, 1723, 1735

Colonial/Postcolonial
1629, 1634, 1637, 1641, 1652, 1653, 1658, 1718, 1768, 1798, 1803, 1804

Comparative
1639, 1642, 1718

Crime and Violence
1678, 1721, 1728, 1754, 1773, 1779

Cultural
1630, 1632, 1634, 1640, 1641, 1642, 1643, 1644, 1645, 1651, 1653, 1655, 1656, 1658, 1659, 1660, 1661, 1666, 1669, 1671, 1676, 1683, 1684, 1696, 1697, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1711, 1712, 1724, 1725, 1731, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1736, 1737, 1739, 1754, 1760, 1761, 1763, 1765, 1770, 1771, 1774, 1775, 1777, 1780, 1784, 1786, 1787, 1793, 1795

Diasporas
1660, 1782

Economic
1638, 1639, 1641, 1646, 1647, 1648, 1650, 1657, 1663, 1679, 1681, 1693, 1701, 1702, 1703, 1704, 1718, 1722, 1732, 1742, 1757, 1759, 1766, 1772, 1790, 1795, 1799, 1803

Education/Students
1649, 1677, 1691, 1692, 1698, 1730, 1769, 1785, 1788, 1803

Empire
1634, 1647, 1741, 1753, 1768

Environment
1646, 1682, 1802

Ethnicity
1647, 1654, 1655, 1692, 1731, 1732, 1770, 1792

Exploration/Travel
1637

Family
1633, 1670, 1671, 1729, 1731, 1754, 1761, 1764, 1783

Film
1641, 1697

Foreign Relations/Diplomatic
1641, 1711, 1741, 1742, 1758, 1759, 1770, 1772, 1783, 1789, 1792

Frontiers/Borderlands
1647, 1664, 1679, 1681, 1682

Gay/Lesbian
1684, 1706

Gender
1629, 1630, 1633, 1659, 1669, 1670, 1672, 1706, 1720, 1779, 1797

Genocide
1779, 1780

Health/Disease
1637, 1715, 1730

Historiography
1629, 1632, 1749, 1796, 1798

Ideology
1662, 1686, 1699, 1713, 1719, 1784, 1785, 1797, 1798

Immigration/Migration
1679, 1692, 1792, 1802, 1803

Indigenous Peoples
1652, 1658, 1659

Institutions
1649, 1734, 1735, 1754, 1773, 1782, 1789

Intellectual
1631, 1640, 1641, 1644, 1651, 1656, 1662, 1665, 1684, 1689, 1698, 1702, 1708, 1712, 1725, 1733, 1740, 1746, 1752, 1763, 1765, 1769, 1771, 1775, 1787, 1790, 1793, 1794

Journalism
1690, 1711

Labor
1635, 1657, 1669, 1678, 1703, 1722, 1757

Language/Linguistics
1643, 1644, 1645, 1653, 1802

Legal/Legislative
1654, 1669, 1675, 1687, 1695, 1701, 1716, 1728, 1764

Literature
1640, 1641, 1642, 1651, 1658, 1669, 1739, 1746, 1751, 1797

Local/Regional
1635, 1646, 1648, 1664, 1665, 1666, 1667, 1672, 1674, 1676, 1678, 1679, 1681, 1682, 1686, 1689, 1690, 1699, 1700, 1710, 1714, 1722, 1728, 1731, 1745, 1748, 1756, 1762, 1766, 1786, 1789, 1801, 1802

Material Culture
1632, 1662, 1725, 1766, 1777

Medicine
1637, 1730, 1783

Memory
1777, 1780

Methods
1631, 1634, 1724, 1767

Military
1651, 1663, 1681, 1741, 1768, 1789, 1792

Music
1696, 1707, 1709, 1737

National Histories
1636, 1650, 1655, 1658, 1662, 1686, 1687, 1707, 1719, 1736, 1749, 1762, 1770, 1789, 1790, 1792, 1795, 1796, 1804

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nationalism
1651, 1653, 1749, 1759, 1777, 1798, 1801

Oral History
1796, 1801

Peasants
1722

Philanthropy
1668, 1696, 1705, 1776

Philosophy
1631, 1645, 1740, 1769

Political
1632, 1636, 1641, 1648, 1650, 1652, 1662, 1664, 1665, 1674, 1675, 1679, 1688, 1690, 1693, 1694, 1695, 1699, 1702, 1705, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1714, 1715, 1716, 1719, 1723, 1724, 1733, 1736, 1741, 1743, 1744, 1745, 1746, 1747, 1748, 1753, 1754, 1756, 1758, 1759, 1760, 1762, 1763, 1765, 1767, 1771, 1772, 1774, 1775, 1778, 1780, 1783, 1784, 1785, 1789, 1790, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1799, 1800, 1801, 1804

Psychology/Psychiatry
1698, 1794

Public History
1686

Race/Racism
1629, 1635, 1654, 1660, 1667, 1672, 1674, 1675, 1676, 1677, 1687, 1688, 1690, 1691, 1704, 1705, 1709, 1710, 1711, 1717, 1732, 1803, 1804

Radicalism
1678, 1689, 1699

Religion
1636, 1645, 1661, 1665, 1666, 1667, 1668, 1676, 1677, 1705, 1706, 1721, 1723, 1724, 1729, 1731, 1732, 1744, 1745, 1749, 1750, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1765, 1773, 1776, 1782, 1784, 1786, 1787

Revolution/Social Movements
1632, 1649, 1695, 1717, 1767, 1783, 1793

Rural
1681, 1698, 1700, 1756, 1778, 1788

Science
1644, 1698, 1725, 1740, 1751, 1752, 1753, 1755, 1769, 1794

Sexuality
1706, 1783

Slavery
1635, 1660, 1662, 1670, 1672, 1687, 1803

Social History
1633, 1639, 1648, 1650, 1651, 1655, 1656, 1658, 1667, 1669, 1672, 1679, 1681, 1686, 1688, 1693, 1694, 1700, 1707, 1710, 1712, 1723, 1728, 1731, 1734, 1735, 1737, 1738, 1739, 1745, 1750, 1755, 1760, 1762, 1764, 1766, 1767, 1770, 1776, 1786, 1788, 1792, 1799

Social Policy
1693, 1698, 1701, 1703, 1742, 1745, 1772, 1774, 1783, 1788

Sports
1651, 1686

Technology/Industry
1630, 1638, 1643, 1751, 1755, 1757

Theory
1631, 1733, 1775

Tourism
1683

Trade
1632, 1638, 1742, 1799, 1803

Urban
1674, 1686, 1692, 1693, 1710, 1727, 1734, 1737, 1744, 1754, 1756

Wars
1636, 1649, 1663, 1711, 1724, 1758, 1762, 1770, 1783, 1789

Women
1659, 1668, 1672, 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697, 1698, 1720, 1721, 1754, 1761, 1779, 1797

World
1638

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In This Issue

This issue contains a special *Forum* and *Review Essay* on Millenniums. The *Forum* presents analyses of millenarian moments in China, Brazil, the United States, and the Soviet Union and a comment by a medievalist. The review essay surveys recent studies of millennialism. In addition, there is an article that presents a cultural interpretation of the Louis-Philippe monarchy in nineteenth-century France, and a review essay that assesses a multi-volume history of consumption. Finally, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews.

Article

Jo Burr Margadant offers a cultural interpretation of the failure of Louis-Philippe's July Monarchy in mid-nineteenth-century France. She argues that his regime faced two insurmountable problems: the absence of any cultural underpinning for dynasticism, and the widely held suspicion, propagated in the press, that self-interest and greed motivated the king just like others in public life. Margadant explores the gendered dimension of this crisis of legitimacy by examining representations of the royal family in political caricatures and in their public performances. She contends that these sources reveal an important transformation in the imagery of the monarchy. Early in the regime, both the royal family and its critics relied on feminine imagery to represent the monarchy. The queen figured prominently in royal representations, while caricatures feminized the king's appearance or portrayed him, in relations to France, the constitution or the press, as a monster brutalizing women. By 1835, when the stakes of political combat had intensified, the symbolic repertoire of caricature became masculinized and, gradually, so did the royal family's appearances in public, which became increasingly restricted to the king and his sons in military uniform. In contrast to domestic images of monarchy in Britain, she observes, Louis-Philippe was trapped in an imagery of masculine battle that left no space for a monarchy that transcended politics. This changed imagery set the stage for his violent overthrow by Parisians. Margadant thus makes a significant contribution to our understanding of political history by drawing on often ignored sources to demonstrate the significance of studying the relationship between political institutions and political culture and public representations of gender.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Review Essay

Craig Clunas critically assesses three volumes published under the broad rubric of "Culture and Consumption in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." He explains that these and other related works have come to be seen as propagating notions such as "the birth of a consumer society" and a "consumer revolution." However, Clunas argues, contentions like these are more or less explicitly imbricated with assumptions regarding "the rise of the West." And his analysis reveals that there is no real level of internal agreement about the validity of these concepts among the participating authors, despite the way the works have come to be referenced. He also discusses the methodological evolution of the idea of "consumption" over the course of the three volumes. And he critiques the overt concentration on Anglo-American evidence in the construction of this idea. Clunas concludes his thoughtful review by drawing attention to some examples of what he considers good historical practice to argue for attention to consumerisms and modernities as multiple and not unitary phenomena.

AHR Forum

David Ownby begins the *Forum* on "Millenniums" with a synthesis of recent work on the history of China's millenarian traditions. He contends that China's early medieval period (200–600 CE) was the formative era during which its major apocalyptic themes and motifs were first elaborated. And, he notes, many of these have continued to circulate up to the present. Drawing on recent research on the history of Daoism, Ownby gives pride of place to this indigenous Chinese religious tradition. He traces millenarian elements in both elite and popular Daoist texts from the end of the Han (206–220 CE) through the early Tang (618–906 CE). And he demonstrates that Daoist and other Chinese groups served to transform Indian and Serindian Buddhism, which entered China toward the end of the Han dynasty, into a potentially apocalyptic faith. Most important, he argues that these millenarian movements should be understood as populist or fundamentalist reactions from within Chinese culture rather than as the results of the importation of foreign beliefs or as expressions of self-conscious dissidence. In developing this argument, Ownby hopes to assist those attempting to compare millenarian experiences across time and space.

Alida C. Metcalf takes the *Forum* to sixteenth-century Brazil. She investigates the sect known as Santidade de Jaguaripe, in which Indian and African slaves created a vibrant millenarian movement in the 1580s. Metcalf argues that the Santidade de Jaguaripe is one of the few documented examples of a slave millenarian movement in the Americas. Using the Christian vocabulary and the evangelization rituals learned from the Jesuits, slaves constructed their own community and predicted divine intervention to punish the evils of the emerging slave system. Slaveholders, threatened by the number of runaway slaves from sugar plantations, and Jesuits, fearful of the corruption of Christianity, joined the governor to destroy the sect.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Subsequent episodes of slave resistance and idolatry, however, suggest that the kind of multi-ethnic community symbolized by the Santidade de Jaguaripe did not disappear from the landscape of colonial Brazil. Metcalf's compelling reconstruction of this movement not only documents an example of slave millenarianism, it also provides a suggestive way of understanding the responses of Indians and Africans to the emerging colonial order.

Susan Juster brings eighteenth-century North America and Britain into the *Forum*. She notes that, when viewed from the perspective of Europe, millennialism in the United States during the revolutionary era looks remarkably benign and apolitical. While, in England, charismatic figures like Richard Brothers and Joanna Southcott were gathering thousands of supporters to await the end of the world and the second coming of Christ, and generating considerable concern among the British political establishment, millennial fever in North America was confined to a handful of obscure local sects of no lasting influence. But if few inspired prophets appeared to give voice to apocalyptic fears, millennial expectations nonetheless ran deep in American political culture. These hopes and desires for a better world found expression more in the realm of print than in direct action. Juster develops that argument by examining the writings of male and female millennialists in the revolutionary era. She argues that male prophetic writers adopted the rhetoric and hermeneutic stance of republican theorists while female prophets rejected rationalist, enlightened discourse for a more mystical and allegorical mode of communication. By contrasting the "demagoguery" of male prophets with the "mystagoguery" of female prophets, Juster places male and female modes of prophetic discourse in current debates over the democratic public sphere and its gendered nature.

David G. Rowley provides the last example of millenarianism in the *Forum* by comparing two apparently similar Russian millenarians. He does so to contend that, while there is a common idea that underlies all manifestations of millenarianism, scholars have paid insufficient attention to a critical distinction between two different social expressions of that ideal. The predominant focus of millenarian studies has been on popular, counter-cultural movements, and millenarianism is usually treated as a religious social pathology. However, Rowley uses the example of United States "Manifest Destiny" to assert that a different form of millenarianism emerges when it is expressed in elite politics as secular and metaphorical. He also posits a connection between this form of millennialism and imperial beliefs. Rowley then turns to Russia to distinguish between a Russian religious millenarian tradition of counter-cultural protest and a Russian secular millenarian tradition of czarist imperialism. As a result of this distinction, he contends that Anatolii Lunacharsky was part of a movement, the Communist revolution, that was only metaphorically millennial and that most closely resembles the outlook of Russian secular imperialism. On the other hand, he places a present-day millenarian, Valerii Khatiushin, in the religious, "crisis cult" Russian millenarian tradition. Rowley's intriguing essay has three primary aims: to distinguish clearly between a "religious" application of the term millenarian that signifies a counter-cultural movement and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

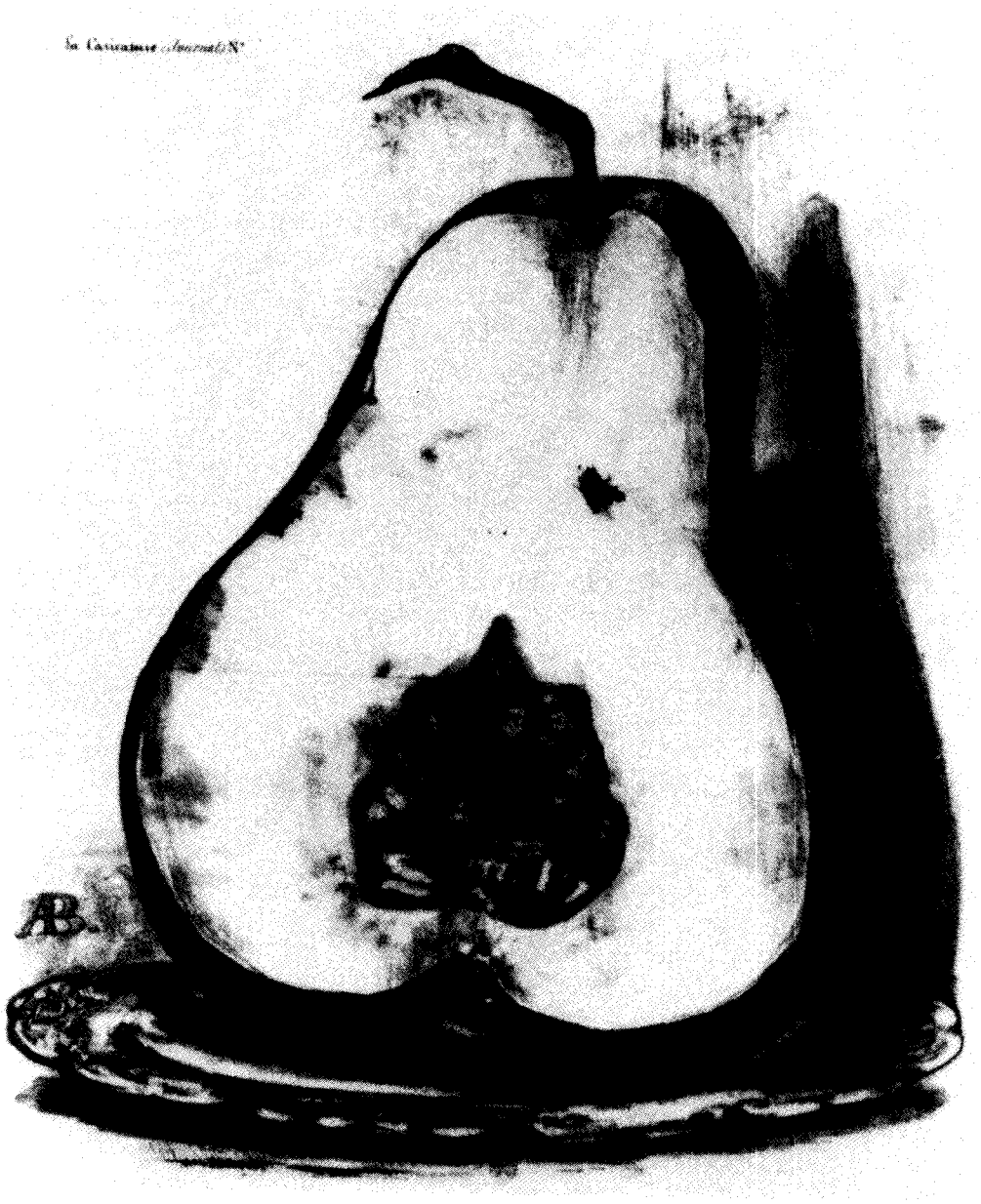
a "secular" one that signifies a mainstream movement; to show that Russian czarism was millennial through its imperial mission and not through its connection to the Orthodox Church; and to show that the Russian Revolution of 1917 can be considered "millennial" only in the secular, metaphorical, and imperial sense. Consequently, it helps us avoid the indiscriminate use of millenarianism by clarifying its divergent uses in the past and present.

Richard K. Emmerson, a medievalist, concludes the *Forum* with a comment on the four essays. Because the essays range widely over time and geography and examine a diverse set of phenomena, he does not respond to each in depth. Instead, Emmerson assesses each essay's contribution to comparative millenarian studies and analyzes how each one highlights the potential problems that historians face in studying millenarian thought. He stresses in particular the problems that often arise from the scholarly difficulty in understanding the belief systems of millenarian groups. Rather than impose sociological or other paradigms on millenarianism, Emmerson argues, scholars should seek to understand the discourse of millenarian groups and thus to discover what is so compelling about such discourse that it leads people throughout the world and in many ages to join such groups. He also addresses another problem faced by comparative studies of millenarianism evident in the essays: the lack of terminological clarity. Emmerson concludes his comment by offering some definitions of common terms and distinctions between related phenomena that could lead to greater clarity in future studies.

Millennium Review Essay

Paul A. Cohen contributes a review essay to the special section on millenniums. He begins his essay by raising several problems concerning the year 2000. The most important of these, he argues, is that the significance of this year as "end time" is grounded in a particular method of reckoning the passage of time that does not have the same meaning for all peoples. The four books that Cohen discusses, although focusing on such diverse themes as the meaning of the twentieth century, fins de siècle in British history, and various manifestations of apocalypticism, all are overwhelmingly centered on the West. Cohn, as a Jew and a historian of China, questions the applicability of these themes in societies (or communities) where Christianity does not predominate and where the Gregorian calendar, though widely used, tends to have a somewhat different meaning. Many of the inhabitants of such societies, he argues, structure their lives around two different systems of marking time, one solar, the other lunar, which gives them a deeper sense of the constructedness of time than is perhaps available to many in the Christian West. With respect to China, he advances the further point that, for modern-spirited Chinese at the beginning of the twentieth century, embracing Western chronology was viewed as a mark of progressiveness, a way of differentiating the new China from the old; at the end of the century, the Western calendar, shorn of Christian eschatological meaning, continues to serve as a vehicle, partly practical, partly symbolic, for China's participation in a modern world order.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



FRONTISPIECE: Design by Auguste Bouquet, lithograph by Becquet (6, rue Furstemberg), "La poire et ses pépins" (The Pear and Its Seeds), *La caricature*, no. 139, plate 289 (July 4, 1833).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gender, Vice, and the Political Imaginary in Postrevolutionary France: Reinterpreting the Failure of the July Monarchy, 1830–1848

JO BURR MARGADANT

THE POWER OF THE MEDIA to shape our own political perceptions doubtless explains in part the recent flurry of scholarly works that examine representations of royalty in the popular press, beginning as early as the sixteenth century. How did royal figures fare, these studies ask, once political pamphlets, caricatures, and the serial press turned politics into an imagined world, onto which men and women, variously positioned in the social order, might fasten fears, hatreds, and some notion of themselves? Robert Darnton set the stage for such inquiries years ago with his pathbreaking study of the scabrous publications of the "low enlightenment" in eighteenth-century Paris. Following in his wake but armed with new concerns, several historians have recently reshaped investigations of the fate of monarchy in France and England by focusing on gendered imagery in battles over royalty.[1] No

A fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies and the generosity of Santa Clara University made the research for this article possible. John Merriman, Peter McPhee, Timothy Tackett, André Burguière, Sarah Hanley, Mary Louise Roberts, Catherine Kudlick, Karen Offen, Jonathan Beecher, and Keith Baker made especially helpful suggestions for improving the article at various points in its development, but I also profited from comments by graduate students and other colleagues at various conferences and colloquiums where I presented earlier versions of this work: Conference in Honor of Professor Eugen Weber, Clark Library, University of California, Los Angeles, April 20, 1996; the Tenth George Rudé Seminar (1996), Melbourne, Australia: Research Colloquium, History Department, Santa Clara University (1997); Guest Lecture, History Department of the University of California, Irvine (1998); and Stanford University's French Culture Workshop (1999). Several anonymous readers for the *AHR* encouraged me to place this analysis in a comparative perspective; without Michael Grossberg's patient prodding, though, I might not have seen how to incorporate such comments into my own vision for this work. As always, Ted Margadant has served, with his customary generosity, as my most important sounding board and supportive reader.

The Photographic Service of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France kindly provided all illustrations that did not appear in *Le charivari* and *La caricature* and two illustrations from those publications. I am particularly grateful to Santa Clara University for a grant to defray the cost of copyright fees.

[1] Of the large literature on this subject, the works most important in shaping my own reflections on France are Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992); Sarah Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France* (Berkeley, 1993), esp. 167–211; Lynn Hunt, "Pornography and the French Revolution," in Hunt, ed., *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500–1800* (New York, 1993), 301–40; Sarah Maza, "The Diamond Necklace Affair Revisited (1785–1786): The Case of the Missing Queen," and Lynn Hunt, "The Many Bodies of Marie Antoinette: Political Pornography and the Problem of the Feminine in the French Revolution," in *Eroticism and the Body Politic*, Hunt, ed. (Baltimore, Md., 1991), 63–89, 108–30; Jacques Revel, "Marie-Antoinette in Her Fictions: The Staging of Hatred," in *Fictions of the French Revolution*, Bernadette Fort, ed. (Evanston, Ill., 1991); and Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988). On the British monarchy, see especially Margaret Homans, *Royal Representations: Queen Victoria and British Culture,*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one has turned that scholarly optic yet on the failed monarchical experiments of postrevolutionary France. The purpose of this article is to offer a new interpretation of the failure of a French constitutional monarchy by examining the hopelessly contradictory symbolic order that a French royal family had to embody after 1830. The vulnerability of constitutional monarchy in France owed its origins, the analysis argues, to particular features of the gendered political imaginary of the French elite. That judgment leads naturally in the conclusion to a brief comparison with the very different fate of Britain's constitutional monarchy in the nineteenth century.

To link the differing fates of constitutional monarchy in nineteenth-century France and England to the gendered political imaginary of their publics situates the argument in a much larger debate about historical causation. The analysis presented here rejects the classic definition of a public sphere of political action and opinion, clearly separate in its concerns and fantasies from the intimate relations of private life, and substitutes instead a conceptual approach that brings the two together and suggests, thereby, why publicity about a political leader's purported "vices" can arouse politically dangerous responses in the general public.[2] In American politics, the most obvious recent victims of this phenomenon are Bill and Hillary Clinton. But even long-dead political icons like Thomas Jefferson raise public ire when publicity about their private lives touches morally sensitive areas in contemporary social life.[3] How much more powerful, then, might be the emotional response to adverse publicity about a reigning monarch whose intimate and familial relations were a public concern by definition and whose removal from the throne

---

1837–1876 (Chicago, 1998); Richard Williams, *The Contentious Crown: Public Discussion of the British Monarchy in the Reign of Queen Victoria* (Aldershot, 1997), esp. 197–265; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, Conn., 1992), 195–282; Thomas Laqueur, "The Queen Caroline Affair: Politics as Art in the Reign of George IV," *Journal of Modern History* 54 (September 1982): 417–66; Dror Wahrman, " 'Middle-Class' Domesticity Goes Public: Gender, Class and Politics from Queen Caroline to Queen Victoria," *Journal of British Studies* 32 (1993): 308–39; and Rachel Weil, "Sometimes a Scepter Is Only a Scepter: Pornography and Politics in Restoration England," in Hunt, *Eroticism and the Body Politic*, 63–89.

[2] The theoretical literature distinguishing public and private spheres is voluminous. For a succinct summary of the varied theoretical approaches to these terms, see Jeff Weintraub, "The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction," *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy*, Weintraub and Krishan Kumar, eds. (Chicago, 1997), 1–42. The key theoretical work remains Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Thomas Burger, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1989). Feminist scholarship has been particularly interested in how public and private spheres connect in theory and practice. See, for example, Joan B. Landes, ed., *Feminism, the Public and the Private* (New York, 1998); Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History* 75 (June 1988): 9–39; Leonore Davidoff, "Regarding Some 'Old Husbands' Tales': Public and Private in Feminist History," in Davidoff, *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class* (Oxford, 1995), 227–76; Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), 90–135, 233–80; Carole Pateman, "Feminist Critiques of the Public/Private Dichotomy," in *Public and Private in Social Life*, S. I. Benn and G. F. Gaus, eds. (London, 1983), 281–306; and especially the seminal article by Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *AHR* 91 (December 1986), rpt. in *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988), 28–52. For their relevance to the issues raised by this analysis, see especially Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs*, 1–17; Dena Goodman, "Public Sphere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Current Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime," *History and Theory* 31, no. 1 (1992): 1–20; and Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. (Durham, N.C., 1991), 111–35, 169–98.

[3] Clarence E. Walker, "Denial Is Not a River in Egypt: Sally Hemings and Thomas Jefferson," in *History, Memory, and Civic Culture*, Peter Onuf and Jan Lewis, eds. (Charlottesville, Va., forthcoming).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

depended on death or revolution? Sexual secrets have often figured in cases of highly charged political scandals in the past, but other "vices" have elicited equally volatile responses in publics attuned to different moral issues in their personal lives. The idea of exploring links between the morally charged universe of private experience, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, critiques of political leaders and the political order they uphold has given rise in recent years to strikingly new interpretations of the origins of mass political movements as diverse as Chartism in England and revolution in France.[4] What they also have suggested are some of the many different ways that gender, an explicit ordering feature of the moral universe of intimate relations, can shape the rhetoric of politics and denunciation in public life as well. This article applies that scholarly insight to the political battles taking place in Paris in the 1830s and 1840s, where it uncovers powerfully and variously gendered morality tales about the monarch and his family that were driving France toward revolution once again.

As those familiar with French history know, the struggle opened by the French Revolution between republicans and monarchists did not close definitively until the later 1870s, when the majority of the French electorate finally embraced the Third Republic. During that long republican gestation, the one serious attempt to combine monarchy with liberal governing institutions modeled after England occurred under King Louis-Philippe, who assumed his royal title in 1830 through a legislative act after a popular insurrection in Paris overthrew his reactionary Bourbon cousin, Charles X. Eighteen years later, following nearly as many years of relentless insults in the press aimed directly or indirectly at the king, the July Monarchy collapsed in another popular insurrection, tarred with ignominy in the public eye.

Once so easily explained as the consequence of economic deprivation, a corrupt political elite, and a despised and venal monarch, the Revolution of 1848 shares today something of the mystery for historians that it held at the time for the exiled Louis-Philippe. Much outstanding recent work on Orléanist politics has focused on the ways defenders of the monarchy challenged accusations by their detractors.[5] The brilliance now recognized in the ideas articulated by the monarchy's defenders and the symbolic gestures orchestrated by the king can only leave us wondering why the regime could not convince the public, especially when France experienced an economic takeoff in the 1840s, as David Pinkney has shown.[6] Even the old theory about a popular revolution by an impoverished Parisian populace recovering from two years of high bread prices and recession rings strangely hollow. Pierre

[4] Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), esp. 233–47.

[5] For the symbolic politics of the regime, see Michael Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orléanist France, 1830–1848* (New Haven, Conn., 1988); Marrinan, "Historical Vision and the Writing of History at Louis-Philippe's Versailles," in *The Popularization of Images: Visual Culture under the July Monarchy*, Petra ten-Doesschate Chu and Gabriel P. Weisberg, eds. (Princeton, N.J., 1994), 113–43; Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "Le Musée historique de Versailles," and Hélène Himelfarb, "Versailles, fonctions et légendes," in *Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. 2, *La nation*, Pierre Nora, ed. (Paris, 1984), 143–68, 235–92. For the significance of the political ideas of François Guizot and other *doctrinaires* who defended the July Monarchy, see Pierre Rosanvallon, *Le moment Guizot* (Paris, 1985).

[6] David H. Pinkney, *Decisive Years in France, 1840–1847* (Princeton, N.J., 1986).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rosanvallon has recently argued that nothing either the Bourbons or Louis-Philippe might have done would have implanted constitutional monarchy, since the French had no tradition of individual rights needing protection from the state to justify giving power to a king.[7] Yet Rosanvallon joins the chorus of historians mystified by the Revolution of 1848 itself.[8] Are we to conclude with Gordon Wright that the overthrow of Louis-Philippe was a historical accident, a simple failure of royal nerve?[9]

That interpretation cannot explain, unfortunately, the widely sensed fragility of the regime in the 1840s. Nor can it account for the vicious treatment of the king and members of his family by the press. It has long been understood that a campaign of insults and denunciations by a ferociously hostile press brought the king into insurmountable disrepute early in his reign, but his vulnerability to such attacks was generally assumed to lie in his own unscrupulous behavior.[10] This article sets out to reinterpret the power of those attacks from two perspectives previously unexamined. The first reflects on the glaring absence of familial metaphors in the political language defending the regime that might have legitimated the presence of a royal family. Lynn Hunt and Sarah Hanley have recently insisted that the French monarchy of the Old Regime, like other European monarchies in the eighteenth century, relied on family metaphors to justify royal authority in the public imagination as much as in the body of the law.[11] This essay turns the argument around to ask what happened to the monarchy when the discourse of public life substituted for royal paternalism an imagined public sphere based on individual merit. The effect, I argue here, could only devastate the claims of royal dynasties. Once a meritocratic rhetoric triumphed after 1830 in the language of ambition and public service, the cultural scaffolding necessary for a dynastic regime to survive from one generation to the next in France collapsed. Much of the abuse leveled at the king and royal family by the opposition press, together with their own strategies for countering charges of undeserved privileges, has its origin in this fundamental contradiction.

Still, to point out the incongruity between dynasticism and meritocracy does not explain the venom of attacks against the king or the symbolic repertoire used by his opponents to destroy his reputation. That requires a familiarity with the code of

[7] Pierre Rosanvallon, *La monarchie impossible: Les chartes de 1814 et de 1830* (Paris, 1994), 149–81.

[8] Rosanvallon, *Le moment Guizot*, 320–21.

[9] Gordon Wright, *France in Modern Times*, 4th edn. (New York, 1981), 127–28.

[10] Charles Ledré, *La presse à l'assaut de la monarchie 1815–1848* (Paris, 1960); James Bash Cuno, "Charles Philipon and La Maison Aubert: The Business, Politics, and Public of Caricature in Paris, 1820–1840" (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1985); Elise K. Kenney and John M. Merriman, *The Pear: French Graphic Arts in the Golden Age of Caricature* (South Hadley, Mass., 1991); Sandy Petrey, "Pears in History," *Representations* 48 (Summer 1991): 52–80. For satirical images generally during the July Monarchy, see Chu and Weisberg, *Popularization of Images*; and Robert Justin Goldstein, *Censorship of Political Caricature in Nineteenth-Century France* (Kent, Ohio, 1989), 119–68. For a general study of political caricatures in nineteenth-century France, see Judith Wechsler, *A Human Comedy: Physiognomy and Caricature in 19th Century Paris* (London, 1982).

[11] Sarah Hanley, "The Monarchic State in Early Modern France: Marital Regime Government and Male Right," in *Politics, Ideology and the Law in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of J. H. M. Salmon*, Adrianna E. Bakos, ed. (Rochester, N.Y., 1994), 107–26; and Hanley, "Social Sites of Political Practice in France: Lawsuits, Civil Rights, and the Separation of Powers in Domestic and State Government, 1500–1800," *AHR* 102 (February 1997): 27–52; Hunt, *Family Romance of the French Revolution*, 1–16.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

honor that informed the political battles and public life in general during the regime. Two recent studies of male honor in this period among the elite of urban France by Robert Nye and William Reddy greatly advance our understanding of those attacks.[12] Nye establishes what bourgeois honor required of elite men and women in the nineteenth century, while Reddy clarifies why the journalistic culture of the elite under the July Monarchy was so vicious. Taken together, these two perceptive cultural studies offer up a gendered code for reading the symbolic weapons that eventually destroyed Louis-Philippe's good name. Nonetheless, it is only in following this war of symbols over time and in syncopation with major political events that we finally can unravel the strange finale to the reign of Louis-Philippe: a good man with an exemplary family life, scourged in the press as a liar, thief, and murderer; a man so hated by the populace of Paris that rampaging crowds in 1848 destroyed his family's personal belongings in the Tuileries Palace, while bands of revolutionary arsonists burned his private home in Neuilly to the ground.

The evidential basis for this analysis combines two sorts of representations of the royal family. On the one hand are denunciations by their detractors in the opposition press. These include dozens of caricatures mocking or otherwise attacking the king and sometimes members of the royal family, numerous hostile articles in the periodical and daily press, and satirical pamphlets that appeared sporadically throughout the regime.[13] From this empirical data, I have chosen representative images to suggest how over the course of the first five years of the regime, Louis-Philippe mutated in hostile caricatures from a figure of immense ridicule into a violent, manipulative moral monster, setting the stage for a popular anger so intense it placed the very lives of the royal family at risk. Tracing the role assigned by the republican press to unmistakably gendered images exposes a gradual masculinization of the symbolic language in which republicans cast their political struggle. All sides would come to emulate this language—all sides, that is, except the populace of Paris.[14] The surprising result of a gendered interpretation of

[12] Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (New York, 1993); William M. Reddy, *The Invisible Code: Honor and Sentiment in Postrevolutionary France, 1814–1848* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997).

[13] For descriptions of most of the illustrations examined for this study, see the catalogues for three collections of prints in the Salle des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (hereafter, BNF): *Collection de Vinck, Inventaire analytique*, vol. 5, *La révolution de 1830 et la Monarchie de Juillet*, and vol. 6, *La révolution de 1848 et la deuxième république* (Paris, 1955); Georges Duplessis, *Catalogue de la collection des portraits français et étrangers*, vol. 6, *Lafayette—Louis-Philippe* (Paris, 1907); Michel Hennin and Georges Duplessis, *Inventaire de la collection d'estampes relatives à l'histoire de France, léguée en 1863 à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1882). I also consulted directly all the satirical periodicals with caricatures published during the July Monarchy: *La caricature* (1830–1835) (republican); *Le charivari* (1830–1837) (republican); *Mayeux* and *Le véritable Mayeux* (1831–1832) (republican); *La charge ou les folies contemporaines* (1832–1834) (favorable to the regime). Other opposition journals consulted: *Cancans* (Legitimist), *La mode* (Legitimist), *Le national* (republican), and *La réforme* (republican and socialist).

[14] This aspect of the analysis advances into the nineteenth century important questions already raised by several historians of the Old Regime and French Revolution about the relationship between the state, women, and the family. In addition to works cited by Sarah Hanley and Lynn Hunt, see Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*; Sylvana Tomaselli, "The Enlightenment Debate on Women," *History Workshop*, no. 20 (1985): 101–24; Jean H. Bloch, "Women and the Reform of the Nation," in *Women and Society in Eighteenth-Century France: Essays in Honour of John Stephenson Spink*, Eva Jacobs, *et al.*, eds. (London, 1979), 3–18. For the period after 1800, see

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the images attacking the king and royal family unavoidably reopens the question of what precisely in the political imaginary of the people of Paris made it possible to call them to the barricades in 1848.

On the other hand, I rely on a variety of other sources, ranging from official ceremonies and portraits, spontaneous gestures by members of the royal family in the public eye, and their own private correspondence, to examine changes in how the royal family presented itself in response to opponents' hostile readings of their acts and motives.[15] The paradox elicited from this second set of evidence reveals a royal strategy that, far from strengthening the royal family's claim to represent the nation, manifested the inherent contradictions in a meritocratic political culture of representing the nation through a single family. A comparison with the English case makes the point still more persuasive, while at the same time suggesting that the real Achilles' heel of constitutional monarchy under any royal family in France lay in the peculiar position assigned under a "bourgeois" monarchy to the queen. To understand how the political imagination of the French elite militated against royal representations of the nation, however, we need first to understand the honor code operating within this same elite.[16]

From the outset of the July Monarchy, partisans and enemies alike used the term "bourgeois" to characterize the new regime. In his study of masculinity and male codes of honor, Nye argues that this label had less to do with precise social origins than with a set of values among urban elites in nineteenth-century France that associated male honor with individual achievement.[17] The idea dated to the Old Regime, when bourgeois sons had to acquire public honor individually through personal effort and success, while noble men, who were born with honor, merely felt obliged never to lose it through a dishonorable act. By the nineteenth century, bourgeois honorability had developed specifically gendered features also. Physical bravery, courtesy toward other men, and gallantry toward women persisted from an earlier noble version of male honor, but bourgeois masculinity now placed men and women in a polarity of complementarity and difference. Honorable men could not resemble women, but they also had to seem attractive to them.[18] Moreover, honor for a man depended on the sexual honor of the women under his control, which he

---

Geneviève Fraisse, *Muse de la raison: La démocratie exclusive et la différence des sexes* (Aix-en-Provence, 1995); Michèle Riot-Sarcey, *La démocratie à l'épreuve des femmes: Trois figures critiques du pouvoir 1830–1848* (Paris, 1994); Joan Wallach Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996).

[15] The private archives of the royal family relevant to this study are held in the Archives Nationales under the Archives de France, 300 AP I, III–IV (hereafter, AF, AN). I wish to thank the comte de Paris for permission to consult these archives. See also Anne Martin-Fugier, *La vie quotidienne de Louis-Philippe et de sa famille 1830–1848* (Paris, 1992).

[16] I will be using the terms "bourgeois" and "elite" interchangeably in this article, although I have taken seriously William Reddy's admonition regarding the imprecision of "bourgeois" and never use the term with a transitive verb. See William M. Reddy, "The Concept of Class," in *Social Orders and Social Classes in Europe since 1500: Studies in Social Stratification*, M. L. Bush, ed. (London, 1992), 13–25. In *The Invisible Code*, Reddy uses "elite" for the culture he is describing; Nye uses bourgeois.

[17] Nye maintains that this meritocratic honor code originated in bourgeois families in the Old Regime. For a different interpretation, see Jonathan Dewald, *Aristocratic Experience and the Origins of Modern Culture: France, 1570–1715* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993).

[18] Nye traces the origin of this polarity to the influence on bourgeois families in need of healthy sons of a biological science that imagined fathers to be the sole progenitors of their offspring and virility dependent on certain visible traits of the male body.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was bound to defend from public insult. Throughout the July Monarchy, the campaign of insults directed against the king and royal family presumed an audience familiar with this vocabulary of "bourgeois" honor and dishonor.

Both Nye and Reddy attribute the verbal and physical violence of French male elites in postrevolutionary France to the importance of individual honor in their imagined meritocratic social universe. In fact, individual merit was not enough to get ahead. Family connections, exchange of favors, and deferential manners were crucial to success, a reality that nobody could honorably admit about himself but everyone imagined explained another's triumphs. The peril for reputations was particularly acute in public life, which required a disinterested exercise of power free of private interest.[19] Reddy blames the cynicism of French journalism from the late 1820s through the July Monarchy on journalists' own anxiety about their professional honor. In freelance journalism, financial success (a requirement of family honor) meant writing for intensely politicized papers on opposite sides of the political fence, but professional honor required a disinterested respect for truth. Caught between these incompatible imperatives of professional and familial honor, journalists developed a touchy professional culture, scornful of moral posturing and distrustful of the influence of money in public life.

Yet a cultural interpretation of the regime's demise cannot examine only the outlook of the king's detractors, since Louis-Philippe, too, identified his family with a meritocratic, bourgeois code of honor. He really had no other choice. Enthroned by revolution and a legislative act, Louis-Philippe could hardly appeal to blood and birthright to legitimate his throne. Nor had he ever so intended. By accepting power as Louis-Philippe I instead of "Philippe VII," he clearly signaled to the French the beginning of a new dynastic line.[20] The problem after 1830, as Rosanvallon rightly sees, was to find a principle on which to base a royal house.[21] Louis-Philippe's conundrum was less the newness of his claim than the fact that, after 1830, merit finally triumphed over blood as a legal basis for every public honor except the throne. Although the Charter of 1830 made male primogeniture the basis of the monarchy, elsewhere the principle lacked any legal sanction in either public or civil law. The risk to the regime was not lost on its supporters. Staunch Orléanist defenders argued strenuously in the Chamber of Deputies against abolishing hereditary peerage in the upper house on just those grounds.[22] The king resigned himself to this outcome, even though it meant for his potential heirs a never-ending need to prove their claim to represent the nation, not as men with royal blood but rather as outstanding men of honor, exemplars of their sex both as family men and in service to the public.

The application of postrevolutionary notions of honor to a royal family presented other difficulties. Conforming to a bourgeois code of honor placed Louis-Philippe the father in an impossible contradiction with Louis-Philippe the king, a paradox

[19] Reddy, *Invisible Code*, 114–227. Reddy explains the persistence of this system of patronage as the consequence of the continued importance of family property.

[20] François Furet, *Revolutionary France, 1770–1880*, Antonia Nevill, trans. (Oxford, 1992), 327.

[21] Rosanvallon, *La monarchie impossible*, 105–35.

[22] *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860: Recueil complet des débats législatifs et politiques des chambres françaises*, M. J. Mavidal and M. E. Laurent, eds., 70, series 2 (1800–1860) (Paris). Session September 10, 1831, 321–29, and Session October 5, 1831, 370–76.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that resembled structurally the dilemma faced by freelance journalists. As a good father, he was honor-bound to provide for all his children equally and well, but as king, he was expected to devote his property to the public welfare. His efforts to resolve this dilemma honorably would unleash so fierce a press attack on Louis-Philippe for greed and fraud that, by the end of his reign, caricaturists conjured up a man for whom not even human life took priority over avarice. The attacks in both the legislature and the press occasioned by these contradictions exposed the inherent vulnerability of a bourgeois monarchy. Neither husband of France, as kings had been under the French marital regime government, nor father to his people, as the later Bourbons sought to be, nor a member of the band of brothers invented by republicans in the revolution, this king in his familial role could only be a man like any other, torn between his private interests and his public duties.[23] Unavoidably, any act that advanced the royal family's interests risked the charge of defending not the nation but the ambitions of the royal family.

This unavoidably private aspect to the public image of the royal family had important repercussions on the position assigned to royal women. Old Regime law had long barred women from the throne of France. Both the Charter of 1814 and the revised Charter of 1830 reiterated that prohibition. Under the Old Regime and during the Bourbon Restoration, however, women from whom a sacred royal heir had issued held a place of honor in representations of the kingdom and the nation; in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, several had even served as regents.[24] After the revolution of 1830 denied the sacred status of a king, there remained no clear meaning for a queen. Tracking the fate of Queen Marie-Amélie in representations of the nation, therefore, opens still more vistas on the ineluctable demise of monarchy in France. What we shall discover is a progressive masculinization in the capital and in the press of images of the monarchy. Once politics became a battleground, a bourgeois conception of male and female honor applied to royalty, and a concern for the royal family's physical safety forced the queen to withdraw from public view, leaving the king, supported by his sons, to struggle with his opponents to define the monarchy. But when the queen disappeared from public view, what differentiated this royal father from other heads of households competing in the public sphere for wealth and power? In fact, Marie-Amélie's position was doubly compromising for the royal image, since her presence in the public eye might serve as a reminder of the private nature of this family's relationship to the throne, but her absence could give the same impression.[25]

[23] Hanley, "Monarchic State in Early Modern France"; and Hunt, *Family Romance of the French Revolution*, 17–88.

[24] Hanley, "Monarchic State in Early Modern France." See also Jo Burr Margadant, "The Duchesse de Berry and Royalist Political Culture in Postrevolutionary France," *History Workshop*, no. 43 (Spring 1997): 23–52.

[25] For a similar argument based on a comparison of the maternal roles of the duchesse de Berry under the Restoration Monarchy and Hélène de Mecklenburg under the July Monarchy, see Jo Burr Margadant, "'La Monarchie impossible' revisitée: Les mères royales et l'imaginaire politique dans la Restauration et la Monarchie de Juillet," in *Pour la Révolution française*, Festschrift for Claude Mazauric, Christine Le Bozec and Eric Wauters, eds. (Rouen, 1998), 411–20.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FIGURE 2: Lithograph by Alexandre Fragonard, "Le Roi Citoyen et sa famille" (The Royal Citizen and His Family), Collection Portraits, Louis-Philippe, 80C 101283, Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

A POLITICAL CULTURE ENMESHED with notions of male honor did not exclude women at the outset of the July Monarchy, quite the opposite. Early efforts by both supporters and opponents of the regime relied heavily on images of women to represent its essentially good or its vicious nature. The Orléans family adopted a similarly gendered strategy. Highly visible supportive roles for the queen comprised a central part of their initial bid for public favor. Indeed, the kaleidoscope of queenly images paraded before Paris in popular illustrations or by the royal family itself during the first years of the reign offered visual proof that a new era in monarchy had begun. (See Figure 2.)[26] On the domestic front, several nights a week, the queen entertained informally at the palace in a frankly bourgeois manner, with the women of the family seated at a table doing handiwork, while the king, standing at the fireplace, conversed on political matters with male guests.[27] Drawing on bourgeois manners once again, the queen sometimes strolled on the arm of her husband in fashionable parts of Paris. Furthermore, like any bourgeois mother proud of her sons' achievements, she attended the annual award ceremony at the lycée Henri IV until the youngest of her sons had graduated. Exemplary wife and mother, the queen also performed two civic roles assigned to women. One positioned her iconographically as the necessary female spectator for all ceremonies that celebrated the link between the king, the nation, and the men responsible

[26] Lithograph by Lemonier, "Le Roi Citoyen et sa famille," Collection Portraits, Louis-Philippe, 80C 101283, Estampes, BNF. For an informal, anonymous popular print of the family in the garden of their chateau at Neuilly entitled "Roi Citoyen avec toute sa famille," see Collection Portraits, Louis-Philippe, 70C 41669, Estampes, BNF.

[27] Martin-Fugier, *La vie quotidienne de Louis-Philippe et de sa famille*, 25–42, 137–72, 201–26.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as soldiers or citizen militia and as lawmakers for defending the regime.[28] A second wrote her into celebrations of the July Revolution as comforter for the wounded and benefactor for the daughters of the heroes who had died.[29] The official script for narrating the nation to itself, in other words, specifically included a feminine dimension represented by the queen.

Far from being imposed on public life, a feminine presence in the official nation only echoed a view recorded throughout the popular press and on all sides of the political struggle.[30] Popular prints commemorating the insurrection of July 1830 showed women caring for the wounded, tossing boulders from their windows, loading guns for men at the barricades, even sometimes replacing fallen insurgents.[31] A number of artists, journalists, and workers presented the meaning of the revolution through the body of a woman shot at the Place des Victoires, the first victim of the revolution.[32] Victorious insurgents carried one live "heroine of the barricades" into the Palais Royal to present to Marie-Amélie, a marvel that her third son, the adolescent duc de Joinville, promptly recorded in a watercolor.[33] Although printmakers stopped depicting women as agents of popular violence within a few weeks of the revolution, they did not disappear from visualizations of the nation.[34] Through 1833, the opposition press on both the left and right

[28] Mathilde Larrère, "Ainsi paradait le roi des barricades: Les grandes revues royales de la garde nationale de Paris et de banlieue 1830–1840" (Mémoire de maîtrise, directed by Alain Corbin, University of Paris I, 1993). For a summary of the argument of the thesis, see Larrère, "Ainsi paradait le roi des barricades: Les grandes revues royales de la garde nationale, à Paris, sous la Monarchie de Juillet," *Mouvement social* 179 (1997): 9–31. For a visual image, see the painting by Joseph-Désiré Court, "Le roi donne les drapeaux à la Garde Nationale de Paris et de la banlieue, 29 août 1830" (The King Distributing Battalion Standards to the National Guard, August 29, 1830), which appeared in the Salon of 1836, ironically the same year this street ceremony would end for fear of assassination.

[29] In the days immediately following the revolution, Marie-Amélie and the royal princesses made several well-publicized hospital visits to men wounded in the fighting. *Le moniteur universel* reported regularly on the queen's charitable outings in this period. Printmakers reproduced such bedside scenes in several lithographs and engravings sold in Paris. At the Salon of 1833, Nicolas Gosse exhibited a major painting of one such visit. "S. M. la Reine des Français visitant les blessés de Juillet à la Ambulance de la Bourse (25 août 1830)." An engraving of this painting was made by Nargeot. Collection de Vinck, A 135556, Estampes, BNF.

[30] Janis Bergman-Carton also noted the presence of women in early images of the regime and their later disappearance, *The Woman of Ideas in French Art, 1830–1848* (New Haven, Conn., 1995).

[31] See, for example, the lithograph by Lemercier, "Souvenirs patriotiques" (Patriotic Memories), Collection Histoire de France, Qb1 M 111106, Estampes, BNF.

[32] Bergman-Carton, *Woman of Ideas in French Art*, 21. The incident was reported in *Le national* on August 2, 1830, as follows: "In the street St. Honoré on the 27th, a woman between thirty and thirty-five years of age was shot dead by a bullet through her forehead. A baker's assistant . . . of colossal size and Herculean strength, immediately seized the corpse and holding it over his head, took it to the Place des Victoires, crying: 'Vengeance!' . . . Then, picking up the corpse again, he carried it towards the military guard [*garde de corps*] for the Banque . . . He threw the bloody corpse at them crying: 'Look, that's how your comrades treat our women! . . . Would you do the same?'" This text was reprinted in a widely distributed account of the revolution, *Une semaine de l'histoire de Paris*. See the lithograph by Michel Delaporte, "Scène du 27 juillet—première victime, 1830" (First Victim, Scene from the 27th of July, 1830), Collection de Vinck, A 12981, and the anonymous lithograph that appeared as the first of twelve plates commemorating the July Revolution in the *Album national* (August–September 1830), for which the caption reads: "It's a woman! all right then! let's carry this bleeding corpse as a sign for the eyes of all Paris to see." Collection de Vinck, Qb1 A 12980, Estampes, BNF.

[33] Ferdinand-Philippe-D'Orléans, Duc d'Orléans, *Souvenirs 1820–1830* (Geneva, 1993), figure 8.

[34] Catherine Duprat, "Des femmes sur les barricades de juillet 1830: Histoire d'un imaginaire social," *La barricade*, Colloquium, University of Paris, 1995 (Paris, 1997). I wish to thank Professor Duprat for allowing me to see this article before its publication. See also Marica Pointon, "Liberty on the Barricades: Women, Politics and Sexuality in Delacroix," in Siân Reynolds, ed., *Women, State and*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

configured political space with women in it. For Legitimists, accidents born of personality and events made this a necessity since the activists fastened all hope for another Bourbon restoration on an insurrection under the titular helmsmanship of the duchesse de Berry, the widowed mother of the adolescent Bourbon heir in exile. But some of the most implacable enemies of the regime in the republican press, the publishing house of Aubert and the journalist Charles Philipon, who together produced *La caricature* and *Le charivari*, two newspapers that specialized in political caricatures, placed women among the imaginary spectators to their campaign of ridicule and derision.[35] No matter which side used them, configurations of women into political space permitted favorable reflections on the honor of their men; indeed, with the exception of the duchesse de Berry, that was their transparent purpose.

All the same, if supportive wives and daughters could enhance the honor of men in public life, other relationships with women might undermine it. For that reason, through 1833, easily recognizable gendered symbols figured prominently in the repertoire of mockery unleashed by opponents of the monarchy in political caricatures. To decode their contemptuous assault, one need only consider that, since the triumph of a bourgeois definition of masculinity, to dishonor a male opponent in a gendered setting meant presenting him either as an abuser of women or as too much like them. Opposition journalists and artists pursued both lines of attack to withering effect against the king and heir apparent.[36] Put simply, which is how political humorists expected jokes to work, the message they imparted at a single glance went this way: a brutal leader who mistreated women had no honor, while a feminized male authority could not defend the nation's interests.

Republicans and other critics on the left were particularly well-positioned to attack the king as an abuser of women since iconographic renderings of liberty and the republic, the two principles that they purported to defend, always took the form of women. So could *la France*, *la presse*, and *la constitution*, which were feminine

---

Revolution: Essays on Power and Gender in Europe since 1789 (Sussex, 1986), 25–43. For other important work on women in revolutions in France from 1789 to 1848, see Dorinda Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class and Political Culture* (New Haven, Conn., 1989); Darline Gay Levy, Harriet Branson Applewhite, and Mary Durham Johnson, eds., *Women in Revolutionary Paris, 1780–1795: Selected Documents* (Urbana, Ill., 1979); Madelyn Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses: Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992), 115–16; Dominique Godineau, *The Women of Paris and Their French Revolution*, Katherine Streip, trans. (Berkeley, Calif., 1998); David Barry, *Women and Political Insurgency: France in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1996); Laura Struminger, "Les Vésuviennes: Images of Women Warriors in 1848 and Their Significance for French History," *Journal of the History of European Ideas* 8 (1987): 451–88; Jann Matlock, *Scenes of Seduction: Prostitution, Hysteria, and Reading Difference in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York, 1994).

[35] See, for example, the lithograph by Charles-Joseph Traviès, "Tout avouer que le gouvernement a une bien drôle de tête" (Everybody Agrees the Government Has a Funny Head), *La caricature*, no. 60 (December 22, 1831), which includes two prominent bonnets amidst the crowd of men who have gathered to examine political caricatures hanging in the window of Aubert's printing house.

[36] Political artists dispensed almost entirely with an earlier practice, used massively against the Bourbons in 1830, of drawing political enemies as animals whose characters they supposedly resembled. Far more frequently after 1830, a man's relationship to women became a shorthand expression of his character and authority. Some of the interpretations of specific caricatures that I offer below repeat observations already made by Cuno, "Charles Philipon and La Maison Aubert"; Kenney and Merriman, *The Pear*; and Petrey, "Pears in History."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FIGURE 3: Design by Grandville (J.-I.-I. Gérard) and Bernard-Romain Julien, lithograph by Becquet, "Barbe bleue, blanche et rouge" (Blue, White and Red Beard), in *La caricature*, no. 127, plate 263 (April 11, 1833). The commentary explained: " 'It's Louis-Philippe about to slaughter Constitution . . .' The Press leans out of her tower holding two republican papers, *La tribune* and *Le national*. Constitution calls to her: 'Press, my sister, don't you see anyone coming?'—'I see two knights riding at a gallop carrying a banner; it's the banner of the Republic.' "

nouns as well. Armed with this plenitude of female glyphs, republican and proto-republican artists regularly moved onto a gendered field of honor in which the opposition press assumed the role of chivalrous protector and Louis-Philippe received the role of unprincipled villain.[37] A typical example appeared in the April 1833 *La caricature*, depicting the king as Bluebeard in the act of murdering *La Constitution*, while in the background, *La Presse* leans out her window holding two republican papers, and knights ride to her defense with *La République* on their banner.[38] (See Figure 3.) Legitimists managed to project similarly dishonorable

[37] Amy Wiese Forbes argues that Charles Philipon and his team of caricaturists for *Le charivari* and *La caricature* moved only gradually from a critique of the regime to fully republican convictions in the early 1830s. "The Satiric Decade: Satire and the Development of Republicanism in France, 1830–1840" (PhD dissertation, Rutgers University, 1999), chap. 1.

[38] Design by Grandville (J.-I.-I. Gérard) and Bernard-Romain Julien, lithograph by Becquet, "Barbe bleue, blanche et rouge" (Blue, White and Red Beard), *La caricature*, no. 127, plate 263 (April 11, 1833). The commentary explained: " 'It's Louis-Philippe about to slaughter Constitution . . .' The Press leans out of her tower holding two republican papers, *La tribune* and *Le national*. Constitution calls to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

intentions on the king by presenting the arrest and imprisonment of the long-widowed duchesse de Berry as a real-life melodrama, in which her uncle bribed a traitor to reveal her hiding place and then shamelessly dishonored her with the delivery of her doubtless illegitimate child in prison, though she claimed to have secretly remarried. Not surprisingly, attacks on Louis-Philippe as an abuser of women reached a veritable crescendo in 1833.

Still more often, the opposition press derided the masculinity of the king by infantilizing or feminizing his body parts and clothing in ways that spoke directly to the eye. For instance, a caricature might place him up against more virile opponents, a foreign power or the invincible Republic, in the posture of a child.[39] (See Figure 4.) Artists for *Le charivari* and *La caricature* became exceedingly adept at inventing subtle emasculating signs implying royal impotence even without the visual presence of an enemy. A few such images became, in time, recognized logos for the king. A loosely closed umbrella beside the bulging figure of the king in a culture where an aristocratic ideal of slender manliness lingered on, hinted broadly at Louis-Philippe's unmanly weakness. Soon, just the image of a soft umbrella in a caricature was enough to symbolize his flabby presence.[40] The pear, too, which began under Philipon's pen as a caricature of the royal face, evolved quickly into a replacement for the king's entire body, suggesting among other things a woman's profile.[41] Sometimes, the pear carried prurient overtones, especially when represented as soft or small, as in a caricature from 1832, "False Gods of Olympus," which presented the king's eldest son and heir to the throne, the duc d'Orléans, as an insipid, scrawny Hercules, holding a little pear to symbolize his genitalia and, hence, the dynasty; while a proud cock, representing France, steps out from under the skirts of the fat and effeminate king, "Jupiter-Louis-Philippe," wearing a toga with an empire waistline.[42] (See Figure 5.)

Typically, in the first years of the regime, artists who denounced the supposed avarice of the king, an accusation that more than any other would destroy his

---

her: 'Press, my sister, don't you see anyone coming?'—'I see two knights riding at a gallop carrying a banner; it's the banner of the Republic.'"

[39] Artist unknown, lithograph by Becquet, "Le nouveau Josué" (The New Joshua), *Le charivari*, no. 323 (October 20, 1833). Note that the miniaturized king atop the Tuileries Palace stands poised on tiptoe like a child. The commentary reads: "*le Système* [code for Louis-Philippe], his lance raised, has pulled himself up to the roof of the Tuileries, where, on the tips of his toes, he is trying to pierce the sun [the Republic] as it passes. He won't be successful because the 'sun' will overwhelm him and the monarchs of the Holy Alliance [Russia, Austria, Prussia]."

[40] The interpretation presented here for the softened umbrella does not exclude other meanings for an object whose polysemic possibilities made it a favorite icon for caricaturists and equal to the pear as an evocation of Louis-Philippe.

[41] According to J. B. Cuno, the pear as a sign carried several possible interpretations. A pear-shaped head on the king portrayed him as a "fat-head"; depicted with a pear-shaped body, the king became a "fat-ass." When a pear replaced the king entirely, it carried sexual connotations in the same way that an apple might imply the sexuality of a woman. Thus a pear, drawn with the softened outline of an over-ripe fruit, ridiculed the potency of Louis-Philippe on several levels. Cuno, "Charles Philipon and La Maison Aubert," 193–258.

[42] Design by Grandville and Eugène Forest, lithograph by Becquet, "Les faux dieux de l'Olympe" (The False Gods of Olympus), *La caricature*, no. 98, plates 200–01 (September 20, 1832). A long commentary for this illustration mocks all the members of the government, its repression of the opposition, and its weak foreign policy. Louis-Philippe believed that the survival of a constitutional monarchy in France as well as its prosperity required a peaceful foreign policy in Europe, a view his critics readily interpreted as a failure of character or worse.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FIGURE 4: Artist unknown, lithograph by Becquet, "Le nouveau Josué" (The New Joshua), *Le charivari*, no. 323 (October 20, 1833).

reputation, also expressed disdain by feminizing his appearance. Here, though, feminizing the king's body, rather than suggesting impotence in public life, implied removing him figuratively from the sphere of the public into the realm of private interest and familial ambition. In 1833, that effort produced a richly suggestive portrait of the king as a poor father begging public funds with a tethered cock, which stood for France, tied to his wrist as a mark of ownership and a loosely folded umbrella in his hand suggesting feminine softness.[43] (See Figure 6.) The same year,

[43] Artist unknown, lithograph by Becquet, "Un pauvre père de famille qui n'a que quelques millions de revenus" (A Poor Father of a Family Who Has an Income of Only a Few Millions), *Le charivari*, no.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FIGURE 5: Design by Grandville and Eugène Forest, lithograph by Becquet, "Les faux dieux de l'Olympe" (The False Gods of Olympus), *La caricature*, no. 98, plates 200–01 (September 20, 1832).

his entire family, whose members had themselves assumed pear shapes in earlier prints, turned up in *Le charivari*, seated beside a treasure chest in the center of a softly rotten, giant pear.[44] (See Frontispiece.) Decidedly, the royal pear had moved into the home, the fountainhead of all bourgeois ambition.

The grounds for complaint over Louis-Philippe's greed present no mystery.[45] Under the Restoration Monarchy, he had successfully reclaimed much of his father's private property from before the 1789 revolution and inherited a considerable fortune from his mother. This private fortune, together with several chateaus from his father's princely appanage, which Louis XVIII had restored to him and the legislature eventually confirmed, made the duc d'Orléans by 1830 the richest man in France. On the eve of accepting the throne, to keep his private properties outside the public domain, he placed them in a trust for his children with himself as lifetime

344 (November 10, 1833), série politique 129. Although the commentary reports that the king's "family" are members of the government, readers would have understood that this image, in fact, referred to the king's own family.

[44] Design by Auguste Bouquet, lithograph by Becquet, "La poire et ses pépins" (The Pear and Its Seeds), *La caricature*, no. 139, plate 289 (July 4, 1833). The first caricature presenting Marie-Amélie, the king's sister Adélaïde, and the duc d'Orléans as pears appeared as a lithograph by Grandville and Forest, "La physiologie de la poire" (The Physiology of the Pear), in *La caricature*, no. 106 (November 15, 1832), plate 219. Shortly thereafter, the same caricature was reproduced as the cover piece for a satirical essay by Louis Benoît (pseudonym, Peytel) under the same title (Paris, 1832). The subject of the caricature was a mock court reception.

[45] Alfred Colling, *Louis-Philippe, homme d'argent* (Paris, 1977).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FIGURE 6: Artist unknown, lithograph by Becquet, "Un pauvre père de famille qui n'a que quelques millions de revenus" (A Poor Father of a Family Who Has an Income of Only a Few Millions). *Le charivari*, no. 344 (November 10, 1833), série politique 129. Although the commentary reports that the king's "family" are members of the government, readers would have understood that this image, in fact, referred to the king's own family.

beneficiary of the revenues. At the same time, he expected his annual appropriations, or civil list, to be as large as Charles X's (18,000,000 francs), the reinstatement of the Orléans appanage, an income for his heir apparent, and dowries and dowers for his children when they eventually married. After much delay and heated debate, the legislature only conceded a reduced civil list, the appanage less one chateau, and an annual income for his eldest son so as to give him some

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

independence from his father. The question of dowering his children, the law stated, would only arise if the king's private fortune did not cover his expenses. Thus, from the very beginning of the reign, the new monarch's financial strategy and hence his image as father and king straddled public and private spheres.

Louis-Philippe recognized in these maneuverings no moral conflict that impugned his honor.[46] He could not in good conscience disinherit his children, since an unstable monarchy offered no guarantees for their future. Once on the throne, though, he viewed his family as agents of the public whose prestige, munificence, and marital alliances lawmakers should guarantee as proof of their importance to the nation, especially since he himself intended to use the revenues from his children's private trust together with his annual royal income to embellish royal chateaus and palaces in celebration of the glorious past accomplishments of the French. The argument gained little sympathy with the public, once his enemies had published in excruciating and exaggerated detail the extent of his private fortune.[47] Significantly, only Legitimist supporters of the exiled Bourbons expressed shock that a king would prevent his private property from entering the public domain. In tacit recognition that the family of a constitutional monarch chosen by the people had an existence apart from the throne, neither supporters of the new monarchy or republicans publicly questioned his right to a private fortune. Following the same logic, however, his opponents protested his demand for more money, more chateaus, and subsidies for his married children by presenting him in the press as an archetypical bourgeois father out to fill his coffers at taxpayers' expense.

By 1835, the symbolic trappings of attacks on the king had changed in tone and imagery. When the subject of ridicule was diplomatic relations, infantilizing and feminizing the king remained the weapons of choice. But on domestic issues, Louis-Philippe had gradually metamorphosed in caricatures from a weak and womanish figure into a master trickster and Machiavellian monster who dominated by deception, manipulation, and force. In the process, the pear declined as a metaphor of vice in preference for more masculine signs of depravity that included images of the hypocritical rogue Robert Macaire, a character invented for the stage in 1834 by the actor Frédérick Lemaître, who now entered the repertoire of symbols that evoked the king.[48] Significantly, the victims of Macaire's schemes for extracting money from the rich were always gullible male protagonists or women as unscru-

[46] For the final unsuccessful effort to get a *dotation* for the duc de Nemours in 1844, see the dossier "Projet de Rapport au Roi sur le Projet de Loi de Dotation" in 300 AP III 34, AF, AN.

[47] Louis de Cormenin, a republican deputy in the Chamber of Deputies, published several pamphlets in the form of letters between 1831 and 1844 attacking the king and his family's purported avarice. Four of these letters concerned the civil list. Two pamphlets attacking the *dotation* of the duc de Nemours went to eighteen editions in 1844.

[48] See the lithograph by Honoré Daumier, "Petits . . . venez donc dindons!" *La caricature*, no. 212 (November 27, 1834). Louis-Henry Lecomte, *Frédérick-Lemaître: Etude biographique* (Paris, 1865), 37–43; Frédérick Lemaître, *Souvenirs publiés par son fils* (Paris, 1880), 145–98; Robert Baldick, *The Life and Times of Frédérick Lemaître* (Fair Lawn, N.J., 1959), 129–44; Marvin Carlson, "Minor Theatres and the End of Romanticism," in Carlson, *The French Stage in the Nineteenth Century* (Metuchen, N.J., 1972), 103–17. For a particularly rich and insightful discussion of this form of satire in Parisian popular and boulevard theaters, see Forbes, "Satiric Decade," chap. 2.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pulous as himself. The virtuous maiden of popular melodrama disappeared from this theatrical commentary on the hypocrisy of contemporary life as well as from the political caricatures that used it. Somehow, the gendered vocabulary of visual jokes that vilified the king in the early 1830s had lost its purchase.

The most obvious reason for this shift in imagery lies in the increasing violence of resistance to the monarchy and the severity of the government's repression. Legal battles with the press had been a constant feature of the regime since 1831.[49] By a law of November 29, 1830, any journalist who attacked the dignity and constitutional prerogatives of the king, the order of succession to the throne, or the rights and authority of the legislative chambers was subject to prosecution, and, if found guilty, to substantial fines and several months in prison. Between 1831 and 1834, the government successfully prosecuted 204 cases, but, since it lost another 300 because juries refused to convict, such tactics only encouraged journalists to invent ever more subtle innuendoes for maligning the king and royal family.[50] What changed the visual vocabulary in this running battle was the government's crackdown on organized political resistance. The crisis began with a Draconian law on associations in early 1834.[51] But the turning point arrived in April and May when the government smashed an uprising by silk workers in Lyons and crushed another revolt shortly afterward in Paris. Deaths, arrests, and jailings, all became directly attributable to Louis-Philippe in images from the opposition press. A caricature by C. J. Traviès in *Le charivari* of a lumbering, brutal creature with victims piled carelessly on his back, which any regular reader of the paper understood as Louis-Philippe, powerfully expressed this new development.[52] (See Figure 7.) Iconographically, the king had turned from an abuser of women into a murderer of men, and politics in the political imaginary of the opposition moved off a multi-gendered field of honor onto a battleground exclusively for men.

Republican artists were not alone in representing Louis-Philippe as a murderous monster. Wild theories implicating him in the assassination of the duc de Berry had circulated already in 1820, immediately after the event. In 1832, with the captured duchesse de Berry in prison, the Legitimist press resurrected those suspicions and wove them into a gothic tale of Bourbons martyred by the ambitious Orléans family. The story opened with his father's vote in the Convention in 1793 in favor of executing Louis XVI, included his own alleged conspiracy to assassinate the duc de Berry, and culminated in a plot to murder the duc de Bourbon to prevent him, after the revolution of 1830, from changing his will, which gave the bulk of his fortune to

[49] Ledré, *La presse à l'assaut de la monarchie*.

[50] Ledré, *La presse à l'assaut de la monarchie*, 128–29.

[51] Reddy, *Invisible Code*, 194–95.

[52] Design by C. J. Traviès, lithograph by Junca (Passage Saulnier, no. 6), "Personnification du Système le plus doux et le plus humain" (Personification of the Gentlest and Most Humane System [a code word in the paper's political lexicon for Louis-Philippe]), *Le charivari*, no. 198 (July 27, 1835). The subtitle reads: "Monarchical catacombs. A little record of the subjects of H.M. who have perished through the mistakes / of Public Security / drawn up from daily records, on the occasion of today's funeral anniversary of July 27." The annual celebration of the anniversary of the revolution of 1830 always began on July 27 with a day of commemoration for the men who died during the three-day revolution and whose remains were placed in 1840 under a commemorative column on the Place de la Bastille. The title of the caricature refers to a remark by the minister Adolphe Thiers: "Qu'on me cite un pouvoir plus doux et plus humaine."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

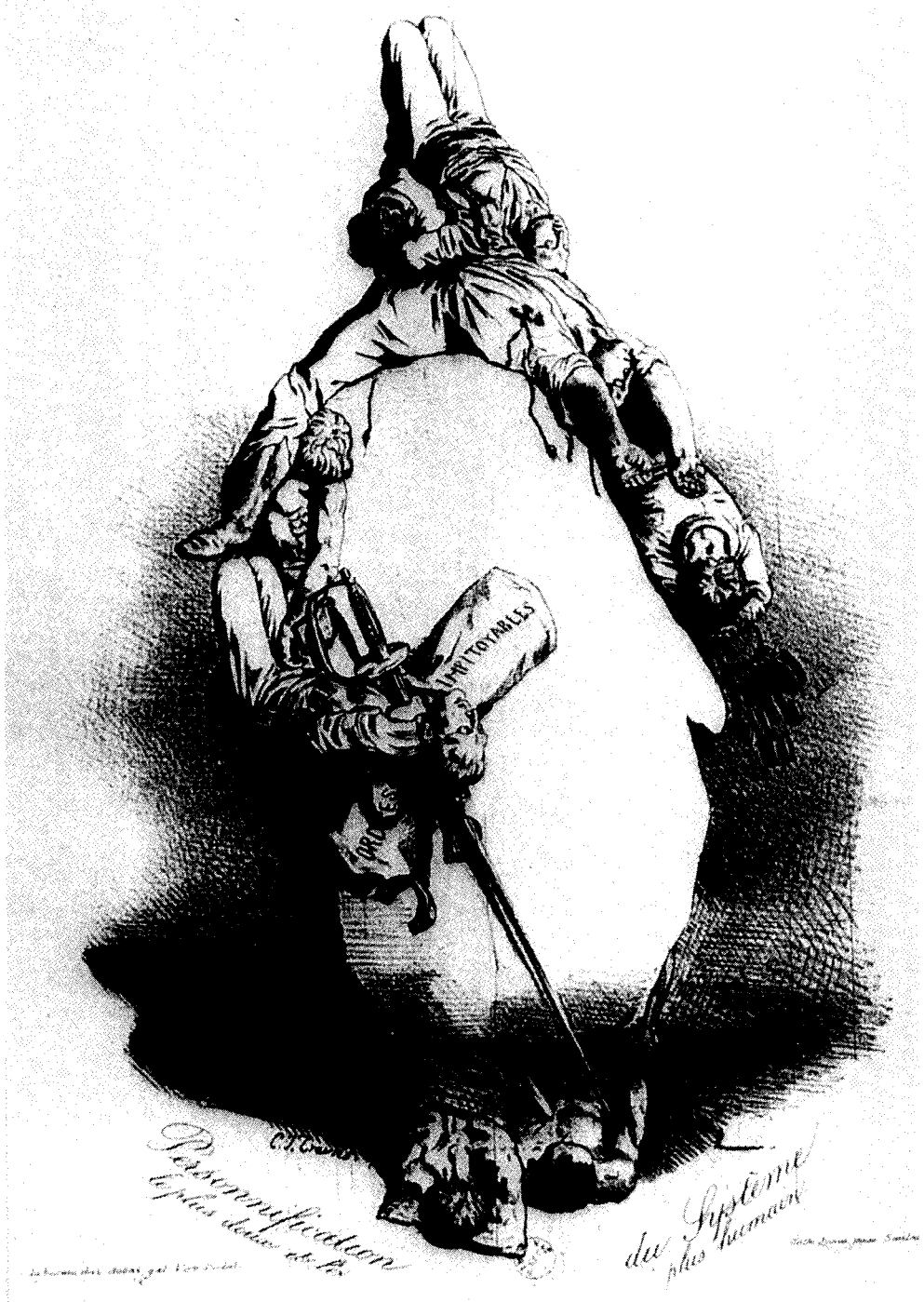


FIGURE 7: Design by C. J. Traviès, lithograph by Junca (Passage Sulnier, no. 6), "Personnification du Système le plus doux et le plus humain" (Personification of the Gentlest and Most Humane Government), *Le charivari*, no. 198 (July 27, 1835).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FIGURE 8: Honoré Daumier, "Massacre sur la rue Transnonain," Collection Histoire de France, July 1834, Qb1 M 112444, Estampes, BNF.

Louis-Philippe's fourth son.[53] In 1832, this chronicle of horrors imagined the captive duchesse de Berry as Louis-Philippe's next Bourbon victim. Unavoidably, the ambiguous finale to her imprisonment with the birth of another child eliminated her from the saga of the Orléans villainy. Legitimists, too, were left with a tale of unscrupulous ambition that included only men.

This progressive shift toward a masculinized narration of politics by both the Left and Right had stunning consequences for the monarchy, because eventually the royal family would also embrace the masculine lexicon adopted by their enemies, and in so doing, reinforce an interpretation of the public sphere that their opponents would use to undercut them. Arguably, the visual starting point for the erasure of the feminine in republican iconography is Honoré Daumier's celebrated lithograph "Massacre sur la rue Transnonain," which memorialized the most infamous slaughter of the Parisian insurrection of 1834.[54] (See Figure 8.) A dead man in his nightshirt, splayed across the body of a child whose nightcap suggests a baby boy, lies near an old man, also shot in cold blood inside their home by

[53] See the lawyer's brief for the de Rohan family over this disputed fortune. *Plaidoyer de M. Hennequin, avocat pour MM les princes de Rohan contre S. A. R. Mgr le duc d'Aumale et contre madame la Baronne de Feuchères* (Paris, 1832). A lithograph dating from 1832, "Le fossoyeur" (The Gravedigger), and inspired by this tale of family murders, depicts Louis-Philippe digging up the skulls of the three Bourbons, each clearly recognizable. The subtitle reads: "While digging the grave of his niece, he disturbs with indifference the bones of his family." Collection Histoire de France, 1832, Qb1 M 112123, Estampes, BNF. For a summary of these fantastic imaginings by a Legitimist polemicist after 1848, see *La vérité sur Louis-Philippe, ses crimes, ses trahisons, ses bassesses, depuis sa naissance jusqu'à sa fuite; Détails secrets, recueillis [sic] sur les pièces et manuscrits authentiques par un ancien ministre* (Paris, 1848).

[54] Honoré Daumier, Collection Histoire de France, July 1834, Qb1 M 112444, Estampes, BNF.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

government troops. Three generations of males, all positioned in the foreground of the scene with their faces visible, impart the message that only men figure in the civil war that had broken out again in France. The lifeless woman in the shaded background, with just her feet exposed, lacks any position in the battle. In Daumier's version, she becomes the least consequential victim of a vicious regime that massacres unarmed civilians. In 1834, this way of indicting the regime did not exhaust interpretations that lithographers placed on the event. At least one anonymous artist returned to the shaming device of 1830 in which the moral depravity of the regime is read through an innocent women's body.[55] (See Figure 9.) But in the final year before a new press law in September 1835 introduced pre-publication censorship for caricatures, forcing *Le charivari* and *La caricature* to fold, a female presence lost evocative power in images ridiculing and dishonoring the regime. Even *La République* configured as a woman faded as a rhetorical call to arms for men who saw violent confrontation between the government and themselves as the only way to defend the nation's interests.

Undoubtedly, the eclipse of the duchesse de Berry as a political icon affected the political imagination of all factions in subtle ways. Certainly, for all sides, repeated fines and imprisonments dealt out to opposition journalists by a beleaguered government dramatized repression as a struggle pitting men against each other. Among republicans, another explanation for the masculinization of the political imaginary lies in the secret men's societies that took the radical opposition underground for the remainder of the monarchy's existence. From that conspiratorial perspective, the struggle to overturn the regime meant a continuous clash between men that only incidently and accidently victimized women. But the driving force behind this progressive shift toward a masculinized narration of politics by both the Left and Right was the elite's own pervasive code of honor as it had evolved in postrevolutionary France. According to that code, once male rivalry turned violent, whether in a duel, a war, or street battle, women did not belong on the field of honor. As the political struggle came to resemble a civil war, female images inevitably lost their evocative power.

The point is fundamental for understanding how the imagined positioning of women as opposed to their real location in public space could change so radically for the elite over the course of the July Monarchy. In practice, Frenchwomen held a remarkably visible place in Parisian political life throughout the period. Whenever the great political orators spoke on hotly debated issues, fashionable women filled the galleries of the legislative chambers. They also attended in great numbers highly politicized public events such as controversial plays, the annual painting salon, and inductions to the French Academy.[56] Furthermore, all officially organized spectacles that celebrated national events presumed an audience of women.[57] But as the metaphors governing the political imagery in the press turned more violent and as the political rhetoric of journalists in particular became both more intemperate and

[55] Anonymous print, Collection Histoire de France, 1834, Qb1 M 112445, Estampes, BNF.

[56] Anne Martin-Fugier, *La vie élégante ou la formation du Tout-Paris 1815–1848* (Paris, 1990), 215–74.

[57] This point is obvious from the great many popular prints as well as all official paintings of official occasions and celebrations that comprise the print collection of the Salle des Estampes.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

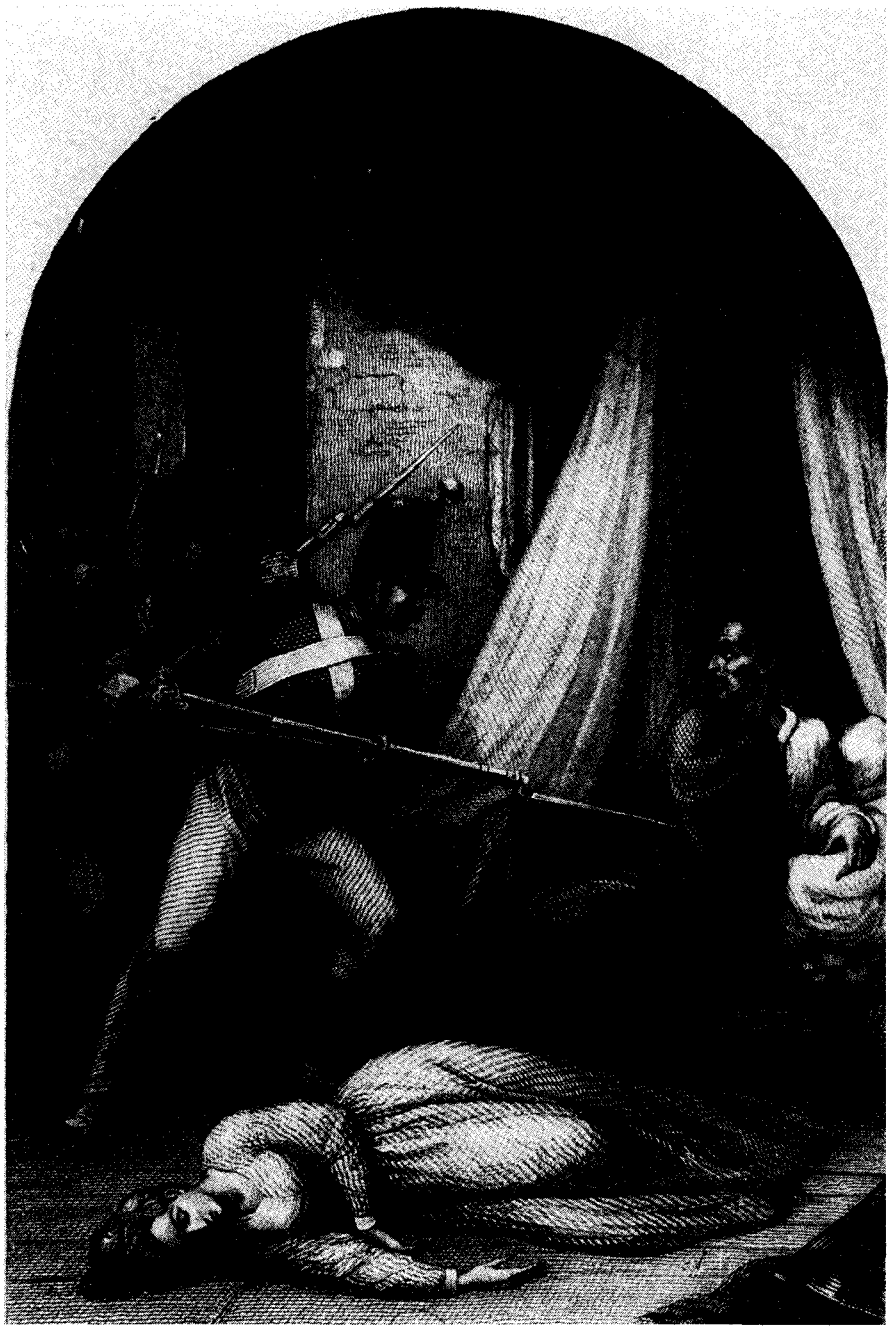


FIGURE 9: Anonymous, Collection Histoire de France, 1834, Qb1 M 112445, Estampes, BNF.

injurious for reputations, the code of masculine honor ensured that women as part of the political imaginary would drop from sight.

This manner of narrating the nation flatly rejected, of course, the official version of a king brought to power in July 1830 by the will of the entire populace of Paris, just as it would eventually eliminate any element in the national story for the queen to represent. Through 1835, in figuring the nation in public ceremonies, the king

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and queen refused to renounce the initial version of their symbolic role as a couple. Each year for national commemorations of the revolution, the uniformed king and his adult sons paraded on horseback through the streets of Paris between rows of national guardsmen and troops.[58] Afterward, in the presence of the queen and with an audience of Parisian families, the king reviewed the guard and soldiers. The entire ceremony served as a metaphor for the unity of a nation composed of families protected against extremists and invasion by armed citizens and troops. However, after an attempted assassination of the king during the parade in 1835, which left seventeen men and one female spectator dead, that ritual ended. Targeted for assassination by a seemingly endless stream of fanatics and uncertain of the loyalty of the national guard, Louis-Philippe never again dared to parade across the capital.[59] Henceforth, the royal family signaled its presence at celebrations of the founding of the monarchy from the safety of a balcony of the Tuileries Palace, or at military reviews in close proximity to it, in the first step of what would become a full retreat after 1842 from its aspirations to configure the nation through the royal family.

The only hope for recovering popular approval for the dynasty rested with the heir apparent, who by 1837 showed signs of successfully distancing his own persona from the dishonorable traits attributed to the king.[60] Popular with the army in Algeria, willing, unlike his father, to risk war in Europe in a nationalist cause, personally attractive to both women and men, the new duc d'Orléans fit an ideal of masculinity accepted by the bourgeoisie across the political spectrum. Equally important, his father had excluded him from the Orléans children's private trust. With no legal claim to his father's private fortune and no money of his own, apart from what the legislature gave him, the duc d'Orléans could credibly assert a claim to serve the public interest only. Even though he, too, had many enemies, he apparently developed a genuinely popular following in Paris. After the arrival in 1837 of his bride, Hélène of Mecklenburg, which included a triumphantly enthusiastic welcome on the streets of Paris, the royal family had some chance of *temporarily* overcoming the fundamental problem of a bourgeois dynasty.[61] Since the duc d'Orléans possessed the personal charisma necessary for the position that,

[58] For the history of these annual military parades, see Larrère, "Ainsi paradait le roi des barricades."

[59] Alain Corbin, "L'impossible présence du roi: Fêtes politiques et mises en scène du pouvoir sous la Monarchie de Juillet," in *Les usages politiques des fêtes aux XIX^e^–XX^e^ siècles*, Corbin, *et al.*, eds. (Paris, 1994), 77–116; and Isabelle Franceschetti, "Le sang royal: Les tentatives de régicide contre Louis-Philippe, 1832–1846" (Mémoire de maîtrise, directed by Alain Corbin, University de Paris I, 1990).

[60] For laudatory descriptions of the duc d'Orléans after his death, see Jules Janin, *Le prince royal* (Paris, 1842); J. Arago and E. Gouin, *Histoire du prince royal: Détails inédits sur sa vie et sur sa mort, puisés à des sources authentiques* (Paris, 1842); V. Chatelain, *Réflexions sur la mort de S. A. R. Mgr le duc d'Orléans*; Eugène Briffaut, *Portrait de S. A. R. Mgr le duc d'Orléans* (Geneva, 1842); Montémont, *Notice nécrologique sur S. A. R. Mgr le duc d'Orléans prince royal . . .* (Paris, 1843); Germain Sarrut and Saint-Edmé, *Biographie du Prince Royal Ferdinand-Philippe-Louis-Charles-Henri-Joseph de Bourbon, duc de Chartres et d'Orléans* (Extrait de la *Biographie des hommes du jour*, Tome VI, 2^e^ Partie), 2d edn. (Paris, 1843). For a recent biography, see Joëlle Hureau, *L'espoir brisé: Le duc d'Orléans 1810–1842* (Paris, 1995).

[61] Jules Janin, *Fontainebleau, Versailles, Paris (juin 1837)* (Paris, 1837). Janin gives a vivid description of the successful ceremonies surrounding the marriage. For a reprint of an account in *La presse* of Hélène's warm reception in Paris, see Delphine Gay Girardin, *Vicomte de Launay: Lettres parisiennes*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1857), 141–45.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

under the constitution, he could claim by right of birth, his succession might have, in the short term, muted public opposition. That, in any case, was his parents' fondest dream. His accidental death in July 1842, by contrast, exposed the monarchy to the inherent contradiction between the dynastic ambitions of the Orléans family and the bourgeois familial values they sought to represent.

Henceforth, the logic of attacks on the person of the king placed Louis-Philippe in an impossible representational dilemma. Threat of assassination had driven him and his queen off the streets of Paris. His unpopular second son, together with his wife, could not replace them in the public's eye as the duc and duchesse d'Orléans might have done, although the legislature did recognize the eldest uncle's claim to serve as regent for his nephew should the need arise. Neither king nor legislature could envision a regency under the widowed Hélène in a political culture anchored in a universe of male combatants. In fact, the debate in the Chamber of Deputies on the issue revealed the hopelessness of either choice. As head of the government, François Guizot argued against a regency by the duchesse, warning: "The security of the State, the nature of our institutions, the energetic development of our public liberties, require that royal power remain in *virile* hands."[62] Alphonse de Lamartine, the poet-deputy, who alone among his colleagues preferred the widowed duchesse to a son of Louis-Philippe, nonetheless admitted problems. "There is something contradictory," he observed, "between . . . the presence of a woman in power . . . [and] this pernicious maligning by the press."[63] But if a female regent could expect an endless volley of salacious slurs, how would an unpopular son of an unpopular monarch fare? Lamartine once again exposed the paradox: "The dynasty that you so recently placed above a crater born of many revolutions must be . . . a dynasty on horseback . . . The passage from one reign to another will occur only under a vault of bayonets!"[64] If this martial imagery echoed the language of the opposition press, it also resonated dangerously with the royal strategy for winning popularity for Louis-Philippe's sons through active military service. Therein lay another quandary for a monarch who sought popular acceptance under a bourgeois code of honor in postrevolutionary France.

The only honorable career open to a royal prince had always been military service. For the Orléans sons, who had to justify their privileged titles in a meritocratic age, honor required a distinguished military record, one recognized as such by other officers, their own troops, and the general public. The balancing act that this required for the four younger sons not only proved impossible to achieve but ultimately made them of dubious value and even pernicious for the monarchy. Their difficulties had multiple dimensions. Each prince necessarily held commands

[62] Emphasis added. The full statement went as follows: "Puisque les femmes ne sont pas admises à exercer . . . le pouvoir royal, elles ne doivent pas être appelées à l'exercer par délégation. La variété des exemples de notre histoire ne saurait prévaloir sur les principes constitutifs de la monarchie et les plus graves intérêts du pays. La sûreté de l'Etat, la nature de nos institutions, l'énergique dévélopement des libertés publiques, veulent que le pouvoir royal soit dans des mains viriles." *Le moniteur universel*, no. 22 (August 10, 1842): 1768.

[63] "Je reconnais . . . quelque chose de contradictoire avec la présence d'une femme au pouvoir . . . [et] cette pernicieuse malignité de la press." *Le moniteur universel*, no. 231 (August 19, 1842): 1810.

[64] "La dynastie si récente, que vous avez assise sur le cratère fermé de tant de révolutions, doit être . . . une dynastie à cheval . . . Il faut que . . . le passage d'un régime à l'autre se fasse sous une voûte de baïonnettes." *Le moniteur universel*, no. 231 (August 19, 1842): 1809.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

coveted by ambitious colleagues, since a titular post without authority had no value as a mark of honor. Furthermore, the king made sure, whenever French forces engaged an enemy, that one or more of his sons commanded forces, so as to give them the chance to show their mettle. Unfortunately, Louis-Philippe's determined pursuit of peace with other European powers limited these opportunities for ambitious officers, which only exacerbated envy of the princes.[65] But peace with France's traditional enemies also made it difficult for a prince to prove himself in situations that mattered to the public. The long conquest of Algeria, where four of the king's sons served intermittently, did not arouse French nationalism. The opposition could, therefore, credibly claim that the only purpose of this war was to seek glory for the royal princes.[66] But an even deeper ambiguity for the dynasty of using military service to acquire princely honor derived from the government's use of military units to control its urban populations, a practice that directly involved a prince on more than one occasion quelling a revolt, if only by riding in uniform and on horseback through contested areas. At least one son always remained in France, close to Paris and the king for just that purpose.[67] Thus, in 1847, when Louis-Philippe commissioned Horace Vernet to paint an official portrait of the dynasty that presented king and sons mounted on energetic horses outside the national museum at Versailles, which Louis-Philippe had founded to celebrate French glory, the result garbled the intended message.[68] (See Figure 10.) Rather than a dynasty in service to the nation, a hostile public could just as easily perceive in such a martial portrait men who would stop at nothing to protect their family.[69]

The possibility for a malicious reading of the royal family's motives germinated insidiously in the press throughout the 1840s. Restrained by law from direct attacks on members of the royal family, the opposition press managed all the same to project a violent image of an avaricious king ready to fleece the nation and sacrifice its military honor to advance his own dynastic interests. Three occasions early in the 1840s offered his enemies an opportunity to solidify that reputation. The first arose when the Chamber of Deputies refused, despite Louis-Philippe's insistence, to dower his second son (*dotation*) at the time of his marriage, a refusal that both the king and opposition understood as an attack on his personal honor that also implied his greed. A second chance for opponents to impugn the monarch's honor developed when the government decided in 1840 to erect a wall around Paris and place several military garrisons in the vicinity to protect the capital against a

[65] For a description of the difficulty of obtaining promotions for officers before 1848, see William Serman, *Les origines des officiers français 1848–1870* (Paris, 1979), 18–20. Letters from the duc d'Orléans and duc d'Aumale to their father while in Algeria suggest the difficulties that their commanding officers had in relation to the princes.

[66] An attempted assassination in 1840 of the duc d'Aumale as he entered Paris at the head of a division of the Algerian army suggests the power of such claims.

[67] The family's private letters repeatedly refer to this precaution over the course of the reign.

[68] Anonymous lithograph of Horace Vernet's painting "Louis-Philippe and His Sons Riding Out from the Château of Versailles," Collection Histoire de France, C 23433, Estampes, BNF. The painting appeared at the Salon of 1847 and was purchased by Louis-Philippe for the national museum at Versailles. It included the popular first son of the king, the duc d'Orléans, who had died five years earlier.

[69] This was a possibility intimated, intentionally or not, in a lithograph from shortly before the revolution, depicting the young comte de Paris, the eldest son of the defunct duc d'Orléans, still in skirts, surrounded by his uniformed uncles carrying swords. The print is signed Collette and Sanson after Lalisse, lithographer F. Dupont. Collection de Vinck, A 14822, Estampes, BNF.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FIGURE 10: Anonymous lithograph of Horace Vernet's painting "Louis-Philippe and His Sons Riding Out from the Château of Versailles," Collection Histoire de France, C 23433, Estampes, BNF.

possible invasion.[70] The opposition press painted the real purpose of the plan as a plot to defend the regime against revolts in Paris. At the height of this hyperbolic battle, another partisan incident occurred that seemed, if not to confirm the duplicity of the king, at least to recognize his reputation for mendacity as a fact. A criminal court acquitted editors of five opposition papers charged with publishing counterfeit letters attributed to the king. The letters were written to show his overriding goal in foreign and domestic policies to be his own survival. Amazingly, the defense persuaded the court that since some of the letters had been published in England in the 1830s with no official protest, the accused journalists had not published false documents knowingly.[71] The verdict itself confirmed the success of the long and relentless press campaign to malign the character of the king. Thus, on March 14, 1840, when the celebrated actor Frédérick Lemaître, starring in a new

[70] *Procès de M. Cabet contre "Le national" au sujet des bastilles, et duel proposé* (Paris, 1841). Patricia O'Brien, "L'Embastillement de Paris: The Fortification of Paris during the July Monarchy," *French Historical Studies* 9 (1975): 63–82.

[71] *Procès des lettres attribuées par le journal "La France" au roi Louis-Philippe: Cour d'assise de la Seine du 24 avril* (Paris, 1841).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

play based on Honoré de Balzac's famous fictional criminal, Vautrin, made every effort to copy the gestures and voice of the real master criminal, Eugène-François Vidocq, and then in the final act appeared in one of Vautrin's many disguises with the toupee and sideburns of Louis-Philippe, the audience easily interpreted the insulting message. So did the heir apparent, who, having attended the play's premiere, promptly left the royal box.[72]

Still more treacherous than personal attacks on the king's integrity was a story of contemporary moral decay that created the impression in the 1840s of a whole society of "bourgeois" hypocrites, with the monarch only the most prominent example.[73] In the opposition press, the decade opened with a rash of social satires called *physiologies*, a genre that dated to the 1820s but suddenly appeared in great profusion in the early 1840s. The authors of these lampoons specialized in identifying social types to mock. When, therefore, three that appeared in 1841 and 1842, *Physiology of the Umbrella*, *Physiology of the Jokester*, and *Physiology of Robert-Macaire*, clearly targeted the king, his caricatured persona became the starting point for commenting on like-minded contemporaries with the same reprehensible traits.[74] From a personal vendetta, attacks against the king mushroomed into a condemnation of the social universe he purportedly embodied. The connection is important for understanding the fragility of the regime in the 1840s and the ease with which the opposition continued to undermine the monarchy without attacking it directly. Daumier's caricatures ridiculing the hypocrisy of contemporary social mores in "respectable" households no longer needed to point to Louis-Philippe for their political effect. Republican papers achieved the same result by filling their columns for incidental news items (*faits divers*) with stories about police spies, white-collar crimes, or murders in "respectable" families.[75] Consequently, in 1846 and 1847, when scandals involving graft, murder, and suicide engulfed three peers and a member of the Chamber of Deputies, even supporters of the regime acknowledged that the aftershocks might bring the monarchy down.[76]

More than anyone, Louis-Philippe could not escape the tarring effect of a perception perpetrated in the opposition press that behind all claims by powerful men to speak for public interest lay pecuniary gain. His detractors had long since destroyed his reputation with respect to money. After February 1848, when caricaturists were again at liberty to mock the royal family, the theme of avarice became a favorite visual device. Several prints imagined Louis-Philippe making off

[72] The play was subsequently banned. Lemaître claimed in the memoirs published by his son that he had not intended to mock the king. Lemaître, *Souvenirs publiés par son fils*, 235–71. See also Baldick, *Life and Times of Frédérick Lemaître*, 174–83. For background on Vidocq, who served briefly as chief of security for Paris under the Restoration Monarchy after several years in prison, see Eric Perrin, *Vidocq* (Paris, 1995), 206–08; and the recent reedition of his writings, Eugène-François Vidocq, *Mémoires: Les voleurs* (Paris, 1998).

[73] For an interesting variation on this theme, see Albert Boime, "Going to Extremes over the Construction of the *Juste Milieu*," in Chu and Weisberg, *Popularization of Images*, 213–36.

[74] *Physiologie du parapluie par deux cochers de fiacre* (Paris, 1841); *Physiologie du blagueur, par une société en commandite* (Paris, 1841); James Rousseau, *Physiologie du Robert-Macaire*, illustrations by H. Daumier (Paris, 1842).

[75] I base this observation on the kinds of crimes regularly reported in the republican and socialist paper *La réforme* for the year 1847. These reports offer a fascinating contrast with what was normally reported in the official paper *Le moniteur universel* by way of incidental crimes, almost all of which were committed by members of the lower classes.

[76] Victor Hugo, *Choses vues, 1830–1848* (Paris, 1998), 162–66, 185, 224–35.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to England carrying sacks of money.[77] One lithograph depicted the exiled king sitting on his treasure dressed as a mountebank with his four sons and two grandsons balanced on his shoulders as if to imply that greed had corrupted the entire male line of the dynasty and all they wanted from the throne was to enrich themselves.[78] (See Figure 11.)

A telling feature of caricatures that postdate the revolution, however, especially by comparison with those that mocked the exiled Bourbons nearly two decades earlier, is the absence of any royal women. This erasure, far from incidental, provides a vital clue to both how the Orléans royal family presented itself in the closing decade of the regime and how the masculinization of the imaginary universe that enclosed the monarchy worked to undermine it. The progressive eclipse of Marie-Amélie in public life, noticeable as early as 1835 and conspicuous in the 1840s, has received little attention from historians. Those who note the queen's retreat into a domestic realm generally attribute it to personal preference.[79] A better reading would give due credit to Louis-Philippe's well-established sensitivity to his own milieu and recognize the difficulty in the last years of the July Monarchy of finding any persona for a royal wife or mother to enact without incurring criticism.

Once the king could no longer show himself in Paris, few occasions arose for the queen to perform her wifely role of spectator for national events, apart from her yearly arrival in a closed carriage for the royal opening of the legislature. In her role of royal mother, she appeared in the capital on three state occasions between 1837 and 1841: first to accompany Hélène on her entry into Paris, then to welcome her third son back from his mission to St. Helena to retrieve Napoleon's ashes, and, lastly, to attend the baptism at Nôtre Dame Cathedral of the grandson expected one day to assume the throne.[80] After the death of the duc d'Orléans in 1842, however, circumstances for that performance did not recur, and the role lost any public meaning. Only as hostess at the court did she continue to carry on an active ceremonial life, though one muted in the press in the 1840s for lack of public interest in a household that the general public had come to see as private in its

[77] In fact, the king left France with hardly any money on his person, and the family had considerable difficulty preserving their private property from confiscation by the French government. The king and queen resided at the estate of Twickenham in England as guests of the British royal family until their deaths.

[78] Artist unknown, Imprimerie Lemercier, Paris. The caption under the drumming figure on the left, which represents François Guizot, reads: "Parade par le fameux Guizotin" (Parade by the Famous Clown Guizot). The publicity panel behind the pyramid of princes reads: "Extraordinary show for the benefit of the French people. Grand and last pyramid of the disloyal family, the First Mountebanks [Saltimbanques] of Europe." The caption on the lower right beneath two children of the people, one of whom is thumbing his nose at the Orléans clowns, reads: "The public exhibits its great satisfaction." Collection de Vinck, 1848, P 31641, Estampes, BNF. It may be that the reference for this caricature was "Les Saltimbanques," a satirical play by Charles Odry that figured in the repertoire of the popular theater Variétés in the late 1840s. One journalist described the leading character, Bilboquet, as a smaller Robert Macaire. Quoted by Lecomte, *Frédérick-Lemaître*, 66.

[79] See, for example, H. A. C. Collingham, *The July Monarchy: A Political History of France 1830–1848* (London, 1988), 103.

[80] For a description of her reception of the duc de Joinville at Les Invalides, see Hugo, *Choses vues*, 31.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

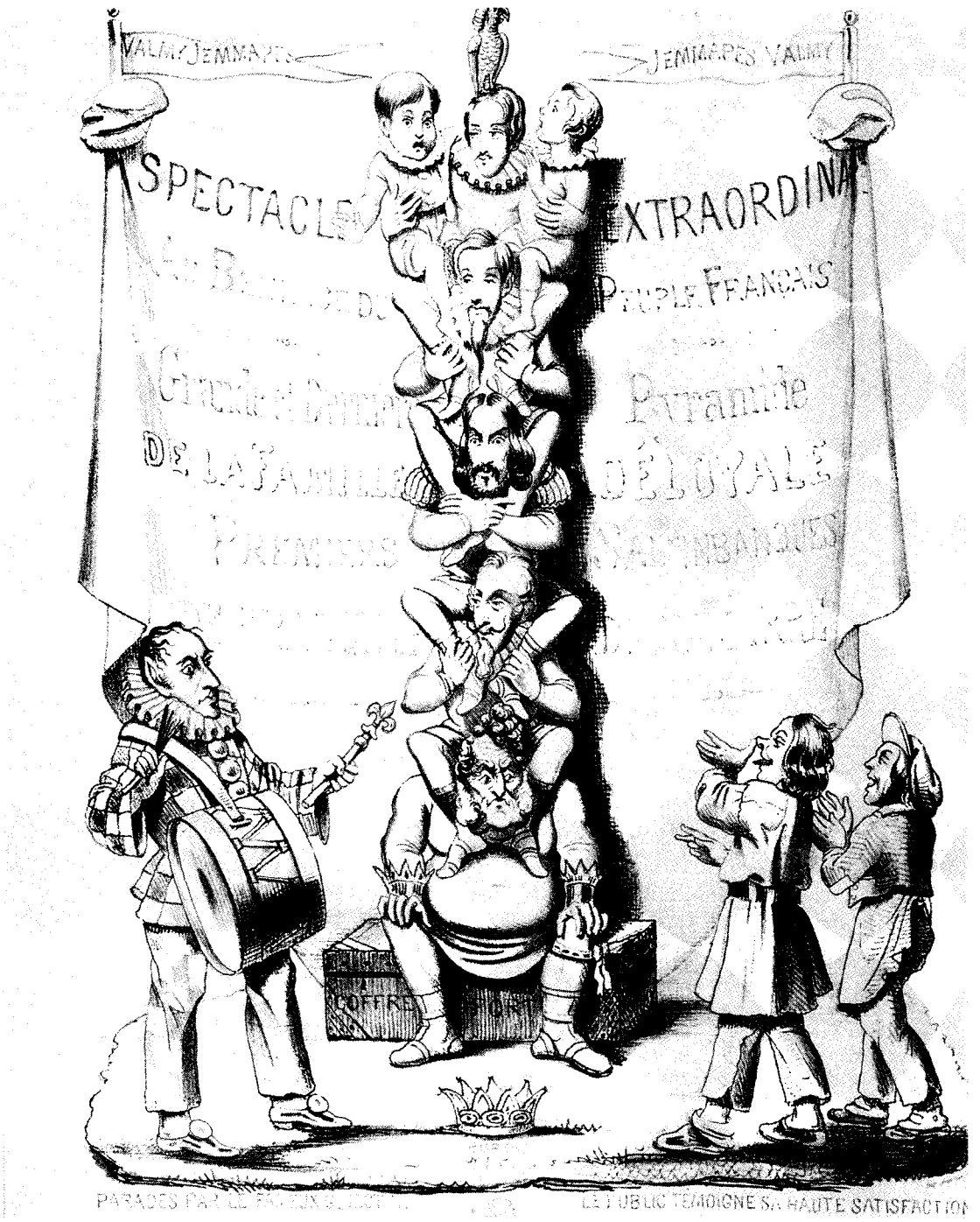


FIGURE 11: Artist unknown, Imprimerie Lemercier, Paris, "Parade par le fameux Guizotin" (Parade by the Famous Clown Guizot). François Guizot was Louis-Philippe's unpopular First Minister, 1840–1848. Collection de Vinck, 1848, P 31641, Estampes, BNF.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

primary concerns. Widespread indifference toward court occasions accounts in part for the queen's invisibility in those years.[81]

Equally important, however, was the scrupulously apolitical public image that she crafted for herself as wife and mother, even though, within the family, certainly her children and almost certainly the king confided their opinions to her constantly.[82] In 1844, when Louis-Philippe made an unprecedented royal visit to England at Queen Victoria's request, in keeping with her apolitical persona Marie-Amélie stayed home to care for grandchildren.[83] The royal couple aligned themselves astutely by such means with a postrevolutionary bourgeois culture that made public life a masculine concern, while the queen avoided any public controversy that would have dishonored her and, thereby, brought dishonor on her family. But what they could not escape were the dangers inherent in a masculine profile for the family captured in the caricature of all the Orléans princes as covetous mountebanks like their father and, in Lamartine's trenchant expression, "a dynasty on horseback."

THIS ARTICLE SET OUT TO SHOW the futility of efforts to legitimize any monarchy in postrevolutionary France, given its meritocratic ethos, the elite's notion of honor, and the widely shared opinion that self-interest fueled ambition in public life. Summarized briefly, the problems for the house of Orléans come to three. First, dynasticism necessarily conflicted with the principle enshrined by the revolution that public honors ought to depend on individual merit, a principle reclaimed under the July Monarchy with the elimination of all inheritable offices except the throne. Consequently, a popular king could no more guarantee an uncontested throne for his offspring than could an unpopular one. In theory, any candidate to the throne had to prove he merited the honor, and that meant a charismatic father might be even more difficult to succeed than a king who came to be despised like Louis-Philippe. As heir to the throne, the duc d'Orléans actually gained in public favor by disputing policies of his father.[84] The elite's complex notion of honor made his position extremely tricky, though. He had to look like a defender of the public interest by disagreeing with his purportedly avaricious and pusillanimous father. But, as a son, he had to show respect for his father or risk his own and the Orléans

[81] The society column that Delphine de Girardin wrote for her husband's paper *La presse* under her alias, le vicomte de Launay, rarely included any social occasion at the Tuileries Palace in the 1840s, even though Emile de Girardin was sympathetic to the monarchy.

[82] Marie-Amélie avoided political judgments in her correspondence, but she stayed up every night with her husband until he finished signing official documents. The extremely close relationship between husband and wife and occasional references to political matters in his correspondence with her makes clear he talked to her about his concerns. The queen was also the confidante of her two most politicized children, the duc d'Orléans and her eldest daughter Louise, Queen of the Belgians, when they disagreed with their father's policies. See d'Orléans, *Souvenirs 1820–1830*; and Mia Kerchvoorde, *Louise d'Orléans reine oubliée 1812–1850*, Lucinne Plisnier and Flooris van Deyssel, trans. (Paris, 1991).

[83] No French king had ever made a diplomatic visit outside of France. Nothing in the private papers of the family explain why the queen stayed home, nor are there any regrets expressed about her having done so. It appears to have been taken for granted by both the king and queen that she would not go to England.

[84] The duc d'Orléans admitted to disagreements with his father as early as August 1830 when he wrote his memoirs in 1831. His strong views and emotional character also made differences with his father apparent to others, including members of the government, though he never openly rebelled. D'Orléans, *Souvenirs*, 389–91. The manuscript of these memoirs is located in 300 AP IV 159, AF, AN.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

family honor. To prove his honorability as a potential king required both filial obedience and filial opposition. Near the end of his life, the duc d'Orléans showed signs of bringing off that delicate balancing act, at least in the political short run. After his death, the unpopularity of Louis-Philippe's second son foreclosed any such transitory solution to the contradictions of dynasticism in postrevolutionary France.

A second dilemma for the monarchy concerned gendered taboos affecting honor. Throughout the July Monarchy, caricatures targeting the king and royal family, like their own perpetual self-invention, attest to the importance of these taboos to symbolic politics. They also imply ambiguity, however, in the representative value of royal women, since a queen and her daughters stood for the private sphere embedded in the public. That did not preclude their usefulness on some occasions, such as a national festival. Nor could the opposition press attack them as long as neither sexual improprieties nor too great an interest in politics turned them into legitimate targets. The men responsible for such an outrage would have dishonored themselves by such an act. Nonetheless, the honorability of royal women, like that of any woman, was a purely private matter. Nothing they did brought either honor or dishonor on the nation, only on their family. In matters of representation, therefore, when a monarch enjoyed popular sympathy, royal women could mirror those sentiments by applauding their men in public. But when a monarch was unpopular, too visible a presence of a wife or daughter served as a reminder to the public of the private interests of the royal family. The relative invisibility of the Orléans women in the 1840s and, above all, of the widow of the duc d'Orléans and the queen herself indicates the clarity with which all members of the family understood their problem, even though their disappearance could not solve it.[85]

The final intractable obstacle to legitimizing the monarchy derived from cynical readings by the elite of their own contemporaries' motives. An imagined world where selfish men competed with each other to advance themselves and the interests of their families made it exceedingly difficult for anyone to build a reputation for pursuing public interest only. For the king, the fractured nature of political loyalties after 1830 rendered it impossible, but so did his activism as a ruler. Political historians have spent much energy analyzing Louis-Philippe's policies to either justify or vilify him on that basis. Pierre Rosanvallon set that debate aside by claiming that the king's fundamental vulnerability had as much to do with the lack of any theoretical justification for a king as it did with any particular policies. I would prefer to shift the argument once again not back to the specifics of Louis-Philippe's politics, since his opponents would have maligned him on their account no matter what, but to the sense of personal honor that drove him into an activist role in the first place. The problem lay once again at the intersection of a meritocratic ethos and notions of honor shared by the elite. If Frenchmen in the elite were deeply concerned about their honor, and public honor depended on demonstrating that one merited the honors that one held, how much more important might that have been for Louis-Philippe, a prince whom Legitimists alleged had connived to usurp the Bourbon throne? His honorability, if only to

[85] This invisibility of the princesses did not apply to the provinces. The duc de Nemours and his wife Victoire made several ceremonial trips to provincial cities in the 1840s.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

himself, his family, and his supporters, depended on proving his indispensability as king.[86] Otherwise, his presence on the throne dishonored him. Therein lies the paradox. A sense of honor impelled him to take charge, but in doing so, he only made it easier for his enemies to place him at the center of the depravity that they imagined all around them.

Nevertheless, the nature of the depravity of Louis-Philippe and his regime in the imaginings of the regime's opponents differed from one social milieu to another in the revolutionary crisis of 1848. The point is crucial for understanding representations in the republican press of the violent incident that precipitated the popular insurrection and destroyed the monarchy. For what those images leave out suggests a fundamental difference between the universe of male combatants that the elite constructed over the course of the July Monarchy to represent its own political battles and the political imaginary of the people of Paris that brought them in fury to the barricades.

By all accounts, popular agitation over the government's refusal to permit a political banquet in support of electoral reform was fizzling out on the streets of Paris on February 23, until a violent incident in which troops fired into a mixed crowd of spectators outside the Ministry of Foreign Affairs turned a political crisis into a revolt.[87] Intent on that result, several men in workers' smocks piled the bodies of the victims onto a cart to haul around the city through the night. To call the populace to insurrection, according to the contemporary testimony of the historian Daniel Stern, they repeatedly lifted the grisly body of a young woman to the torchlight crying, "Vengeance . . . They're slaughtering the people!"[88] Once laid out with the rest of the bodies on the Place de la Bastille, again in Stern's account, the sight of this female corpse electrified the populace.[89] Just as in July of 1830, it seems, the Parisian populace placed a dead woman at the center of their own version of the iniquities of the regime that justified rebellion. This time, however, the republican press refused to use that visual aid to account for popular revenge. Only two of the nine illustrations of the cart of cadavers located in the print collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France or that I discovered in other contemporary sources include a woman's corpse. The caption on one of them reads, "Arm yourselves, they are killing our brothers!"[90] The other, an English lithograph, printed in London with an English text and autographed with the signature "H. J. in Paris, 1848," alone among all nine illustrations aligned the bodies side by side with a lifeless female in the front, just the way Daniel Stern described them.[91] The

[86] To defend her husband's honor would be the guiding obsession of the queen throughout the reign and after the family's exile. She collected all the papers that now constitute the bulk of the Orléans papers in the Archives de France in an effort to prove Louis-Philippe's honorability. On the question of honor, the duc d'Orléans left a moving description of his own and his parents' state of mind in early August 1830 in his memoirs. *Souvenirs*, 386–87.

[87] For an unpublished description of this and other events of the revolution by the second son of Louis-Philippe, the duc de Chartres, see 300 APIV 172, AF, AN.

[88] Daniel Stern (pseudonym for Marie d'Agoult), *Histoire de la révolution de 1848*, vol. 1, 2d edn. (Paris, 1878), 142.

[89] Stern, *Histoire de la révolution de 1848*, 144.

[90] The full text in French reads: "La Promenade des cadavres aux flambeaux / Vengeance! . . . aux armes! . . . on assassine nos frères!" Anonymous engraving, Collection de Vinck, P 31378, Estampes, BNF.

[91] The signature "*à Paris* 1848" also suggested that the artist was a foreign observer. The lithograph

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FIGURE 12: Design and lithograph by A. Provost, "Journée du mercredi 23 février" (Wednesday, the 23rd of February). The caption reads: "The dead, fallen in front of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, were placed in a cart and driven around under the light of torches." This print is the first plate in a series of twelve entitled "Paris en 1848," printed by Aubert. Collection de Vinck, P 31374, Estampes, BNF.

rest, if they included a woman at all, depicted her as an anguished spectator, usually with a child. Four of the nine simply eliminated women altogether.[92] (See Figure 12.)

The transparent purpose of this representation of events was to fit the insurrection into a narrative line that republicans had been developing visually in the press since the mid-1830s and that turned French civil wars imaginatively into a battle

---

is titled "Scene near the National. Time—Night" and depicts the cart stopped in front of the offices of the republican paper *Le national*, where the paper's editor, Louis-Antoine Garnier-Pagès, addressed the crowd. There are five bodies represented, whereas Daniel Stern reported there were seven. The caption underneath reads: "The bodies of those who had just been destroyed before the Hôtel des Affaires Etrangères, arranged in a cart, accompanied with a dense mass of the populace bearing torches, who chant in a mournful voice 'Mourir pour la patrie,' stopping and pointing to the mangled remains of their comrades, terrifically shriek aloud for vengeance." Collection de Vinck, P 31381, Estampes, BNF. Roger Price included an unidentified print depicting the chariot of corpses as Daniel Stern described it in his first edition of *1848 in France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975), 24. That print vanished from his recent revised edition, *Documents on the French Revolution of 1848* (New York, 1996). I wish to thank Mark Traugott for bringing the first edition of Price's documentary collection to my attention.

[92] Design and lithograph by A. Provost, "Journée du mercredi 23 février," the caption reads: "The dead, fallen in front of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, were placed in a cart and driven around under the light of torches." This print is the first plate in a series of twelve entitled "Paris en 1848," printed by Aubert. Provost was the lithographer for the first ten prints, all of which illustrate the embattled and masculinized world of politics constructed in the republican press. Collection de Vinck, P 31374, Estampes, BNF. For other illustrations of the cart of corpses, see Collection de Vinck, P 31368, P 31377, P 31379, P 31380, P 31383, and Collection Histoire de France Qb1 M 113441. Mark Traugott brought to my attention another print that is also devoid of women; see Louis-Antoine Garnier-Pagès, *Histoire de la révolution*, édition illustrée (Paris, n.d.), 148.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

between men. By contrast, the moral outrage that apparently ignited popular fury originated in a much older imagined universe of conflict between the people and the state in which a regime revealed its true iniquity by shooting unarmed women.[93] If historians, like most contemporary commentators, have failed to grasp precisely what set off the February revolution, perhaps they should consider that, in the political imaginary of the populace of Paris, a woman's corpse still signified in February 1848 a war on the entire community, which in their own code of gendered honor in the public sphere justified, even required, retribution.

THE COLLAPSE OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE'S REGIME under the circumstances outlined here begs for comparison with Britain, the other major constitutional monarchy in this period with a relatively free and highly politicized press. There, despite periodic criticism, the royal family emerged by the close of the nineteenth century stronger than ever as a symbol of national pride. Certainly the difference between the French and English monarchies did not lie in the amount of private property belonging to the royal family, which was enormous in the English case as well. Viewed from the perspective of France, the sine qua non of that success lies, first, in the inheritance practices of the English landed elite, where male primogeniture was the rule, thereby legitimizing both royal dynasticism and the House of Lords. Equally essential was the possibility of a woman succeeding to the throne. Several recent studies of changing public attitudes toward the English monarchy note the importance to that story of royal domestic life.[94] Indeed, by the 1870s, when the English first began to call themselves Victorians, it was the domestic image of the queen, above party affiliation, that endeared her to the English and made her usable as an inclusive national symbol for the empire. For constitutional monarchy to survive once liberal political institutions triumphed, monarchs had to accept a purely symbolic position in the nation. But for that symbol to work, it had to represent something above politics and yet conterminous with daily life. A royal family that could, if necessary, place a woman on the throne could also in that very possibility distance itself imaginatively from the masculine political arena. Only under those circumstances could a royal family, cast in the role of the private sphere writ large, stand in for a nation in a liberal, democratic age.

Ironically, the popularity of Queen Victoria and the popular hatred of Louis-Philippe arose from a similar perception in the general public that their intimate lives mirrored those of the dominant classes in the nation. For Victoria, that perception endeared her to the public, while for Louis-Philippe it led to the collapse of his regime virtually overnight and its equally rapid eclipse in public memory. Even among French royalists, disgust over the king's reputed "vices" definitively

[93] Peter Sahlins, *Forest Rites: The War of the Demoiselles in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994), 32. The politics of insurrection retained this feature of popular outrage, to judge from evidence on the outbreak of the Commune presented in Gay L. Gullickson, *Unruly Women of Paris: Images of the Commune* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1996), 18, 54, 60, 77, 124–25. As in 1848, this popular moral judgment would be overridden in 1871 in the account offered in the French press of the repression of the Communards by the army (directed by the government in Versailles).

[94] Williams, *Contentious Crown*, esp. 197–265; Homans, *Royal Representations*; Colley, *Britons*, 195–283; Laqueur, "Queen Caroline Affair"; Wahrman, " 'Middle-Class' Domesticity Goes Public."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ruined Orléans dynastic claims after the Revolution of 1848, except as heirs to a restored throne for their Bourbon cousins. The explanation for this animosity lies in the fusion of the king's character in the public imagination with the greedy, unscrupulous schemers who peopled the satirical press, the Parisian stage, and contemporary novels in the 1830s and 1840s.[95] Born, perhaps, of the elite's own conflicted sense of honor that made everyone suspicious of a rival's honorable conduct, this caricatured version of a "bourgeois" outlook reverberated powerfully with the popular classes of Paris, whose anger came to focus on the royal family. The delight with which rampaging crowds destroyed the royals' personal possessions in the Tuileries Palace testified to their personalizing of this moral outrage. The demonization of the king also helps explain the euphoric belief among the people of Paris, until the bloody June days proved them wrong, that workers and bourgeois could create a socially just political order together, now the Orléans family had left. Above all, it provides a coherent explanation for the sudden and complete collapse in February 1848 of this French experiment with constitutional monarchy. In the political imaginary of all classes, the royal family's image had become synonymous with the egotism of a "bourgeois" culture that opinion makers in different media had encouraged people to believe engulfed their times and made disinterested public service under a "bourgeois" constitutional monarchy thoroughly implausible.

What do we learn about modern political conflicts from the interpretation of the failure of the July Monarchy offered here? Public responses to Queen Victoria in England and Louis-Philippe in France point to an important feature of modern politics that has not received enough attention from historians. Impassioned public reactions to political conflicts depend for their intensity on moral codes drawn from private life, however political opponents succeed in making that connection. The media for creating public imaginings varies by time and place. During the July Monarchy, the new technology of lithography made caricatures a particularly powerful communicator for a Parisian public. Television and radio are the favored media in the United States today. But then, as now, to galvanize public passions, a political message must relate a moral tale that is rooted in intimate relations and, ultimately, focused on specific individuals. An imagined protagonist might be collective: the corrupted "bourgeoisie" beside the brave and virtuous workers, for example, or, for some Americans today, the morally self-indulgent "generation of the sixties" juxtaposed against their morally responsible elders. But for a political struggle to incite public emotion, it has to personalize connections between the intimate sphere and politics through images of particular individuals, whether they be Queen Victoria, Louis-Philippe, or Bill and Hillary Clinton. To acknowledge this phenomenon complicates historical investigations of political struggles. Representations of major public figures are neither singular nor static. They have a history shaped by events, the representational strategies of opponents, and the presence of many publics, each with different social, hence moral, points of view. Moreover, given the importance of gender to the moral codes regulating intimate relations,

[95] For the theme of the corrupting influence of money in Honoré Balzac's novels, see Sharif Gemie, "Balzac and the Moral Crisis of the July Monarchy," *European History Quarterly* 19, no. 4 (1989): 469–94.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

images of public figures must be read with that dimension in mind to understand their political charge. The historiographical point of the endeavor recommended here is not to return to a conventional history of great men and women but rather to explain why stories about them had such a powerful effect on their own times and continue to fascinate our own.

Jo Burr Margadant is an associate professor of history at Santa Clara University, specializing in modern France. Her first book, *Madame le Professeur: Women Educators in the Third Republic* (1990), won four national prizes, the David Pinkney Prize, the 1991 Best Book in French History from the French Historical Studies Association (co-recipient), the 1991 Best Book Award from the Berkshire Conference on Women's History (co-recipient), and the 1991 Best Book Award from the History of Education Society. Though still focused on biography, her current research has turned from republican to monarchical France and from women's history to issues related to gender. Several recent articles, including the one presented here, ask what royal identities, constructed for and by key members of French royal families under the Bourbon Restoration (1814–1830) and during the July Monarchy (1830–1848) reveal about the political cultures that produced them. She intends to write a monograph that explores such issues through biographical essays on several members of the royal family during Louis-Philippe's reign, essays that also align her investigation and the narration of her findings with recent scholarly reflections on the genre of biography itself. Margadant's interest in new approaches to biography inspired her forthcoming edited volume, *The New Biography: Performing Femininity in Nineteenth-Century France* (2000). She will assume the duties of co-editor for *French Historical Studies* next summer.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Review Essay

Modernity Global and Local: Consumption and the Rise of the West

CRAIG CLUNAS

BY ANY STANDARDS, GRANT NO. ROH–2163–88 of the Interpretive Research Division of the National Endowment for the Humanities must be counted a success. It was employed, together with the resources of UCLA, to fund the three-year project "Culture and Consumption in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" during 1989–1991. It has now resulted in the publication of three linked volumes, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (1993), *Early Modern Conceptions of Property* (1994), and *The Consumption of Culture, 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text* (1995). Since they were conceived as a totality, it seems legitimate to discuss them as such, and I will refer to them collectively as "Culture and Consumption," or by the titles of individual volumes. Their seventy-five essays and 1,711 pages stand as a major monument in a turn toward the history of consumption and away from the history of production, which is explicitly acknowledged in the introductions by the editors, who are John Brewer in the case of each volume, joined successively by Roy Porter, Susan Staves, and Ann Bermingham. As literary studies and art history have turned the gaze of scholarship from makers to audiences, so social, economic, and cultural historians have over the past two decades increasingly focused on the consumer and not the producer. This has continued to be the case since their publication, with John Brewer himself going on to produce a well-received, full-length treatment of the material he sketches out in his contribution to the third volume, in the form of *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (1997).[1]

It is in the nature of major projects such as these that few people other than the editors and reviewers will have read all three volumes all the way through in sequence. Very few individuals will own all three volumes. That is not what they are for, and indeed they are in a sense produced as scholarly artifacts by the technology of the photocopier, which means, for example, that students can be assigned individual corners of the monument. There are certainly a high number of essays of outstanding quality in each of the volumes, and as ever their titles do not always reveal the degree of interest they may hold for the individual reader. (For example, I would have been unlikely in the normal course of things to light on Donna T. Andrew's excellent piece in Volume 2, "*Noblesse oblige*: Female Charity in an Age

[1] Another recent work where the topic of consumption is a central concern would be Marcia Pointon, *Strategies for Showing: Women, Possession, and Representation in English Visual Culture, 1665–1800* (Oxford, 1997).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Sentiment," but in fact found it forcing me to rethink my current concerns about gift-giving and reciprocity in a very different historical context.) However, the whole of the project is definitely more than the sum of even the best parts. The scale of the three volumes renders them reassuring, allowing those of us who work in fields other than those that form their eighteenth-century English core business (and mine is Ming Dynasty China) to assume that the main outlines have now been taken care of, and that a well-placed footnote will allow us to pass on to whatever it is that really concerns us. Thus in a typical case, the art historian Marcia Pointon can write in a recent article in a journal that mostly art historians will read, "The hallmark of the early modern city has been identified as the circulation and consumption of goods. Historians are *in accord* over the political and cultural significance of an evolving 'consumer society' in the eighteenth-century English city."[2] Pointon's footnote directs the reader to Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, first of the three volumes under review, in addition to Linda Colley's *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (1992), James Raven's *Judging New Wealth: Popular Publishing and Responses to Commerce in England, 1750–1800* (1992), and to Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb's *Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (1982). This last volume, in many ways the starting point of the entire enterprise, has the distinction of being one of very few works of modern scholarship to appear in the citations of all three volumes, its only near competitor as a presence across "Culture and Consumption" being Lorna Weatherill's *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660–1760* (1988). *Birth of a Consumer Society* must stand as one of the most influential works of history written by British scholars in the last twenty years, and no one would be surprised that it would be a key point of reference in a note of the kind quoted above. Indeed, to omit it by now would seem willful, such is its near-canonical status.

The major problem for the nonspecialist who through duty or inclination does read the totality of "Culture and Consumption" is that, on the evidence of the contents of these three volumes, historians of Europe are anything but "in accord" over this central issue. Here, for example, is Jan de Vries, in full skeptical mode:

> The viability of an eighteenth century "consumer revolution" seems to depend on a studied vagueness in definitional statements and a careful removal of most of the concept from the economic to the cultural sphere: desire, attitude, fashion and emulation furnish the vocabulary of this discourse . . . The argument between economists and social and cultural historians discussed above exists quite independently of any particular historical evidence. But it is intensified by the fundamentally different messages conveyed by the two chief types of documentary evidence available for the historical study of consumption. Depending on the sources he consults, the scholar's gaze is cast either over a sombre scene of limited purchasing power and painful budget constraints, or he views an ever multiplying world of goods, a richly varied and complex material culture.[3]

[2] Marcia Pointon, "Quakerism and Visual Culture 1650–1800," *Art History* 20, no. 3 (1997): 397–431, 406, italics added.

[3] Jan de Vries, "Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods: Understanding the Household Economy in Early Modern Europe," in John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993), 85–132, 89.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A few pages later, the same author is maintaining that the term "consumer revolution" "should be suppressed before frequent repetition secures for it a place in that used-car lot of explanatory vehicles reserved for historical concepts that break down immediately after purchase by the passing scholar."[4] Yet, for John Wills, as for several other authors, something called the "European consumer revolution" is a given, which only needs to be invoked, not defended.[5] Notwithstanding, in the last essay of the volume, "Manufacturing, Consumption and Design in Eighteenth-Century England," John Styles is still mounting a resolutely skeptical rearguard action against the whole concept: "In order to recapture the novelty and distinctiveness of eighteenth-century English consumer behaviour, historians have made lavish use of terms like 'a consumer society,' 'a consumer revolution' and 'mass consumption' . . . There are, however, considerable dangers in the indiscriminate application of these terms to eighteenth-century England."[6]

Other ongoing disagreements are very near the surface, too. One concerns the viability of an "emulation" model of consumption, in which those lower down the social scale appropriate the objects of their betters as a means of advancement. For Cissie Fairchilds, in "The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris," emulation, luxury, and trickle down are relatively unproblematic concepts. She writes of "a lower class prosperous enough to own a few luxuries and eager to follow the latest vagaries of fashion" and of how "populuxe goods were desired as symbols of an aristocratic lifestyle."[7] Yet these are interpretive tropes, which are in the same volume explicitly rejected by Lorna Weatherill, who in "The Meaning of Consumer Behaviour in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England," an essay that usefully summarizes her 1988 book, cogently critiques the very notion of emulation.[8] Weatherill is followed in this by several authors, for example, Amanda Vickery.[9] It may well be that what is represented here is an important distinction between France and England, in the varying applicability of an "emulation" model of consumption, although this is not explicit, and those like me who might be interested in this key issue but lack the specialized knowledge are left perplexed.

The methodological tools employed by the various authors are also grounds for a certain amount of, at the least, diversity, debate, and dissension. Classic works of sociology and anthropology are foremost here, reference points for many authors in this first volume being found in Thorstein Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class* (1912), Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood's *World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (1978, 1996), Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene

[4] de Vries, "Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods," 107.

[5] John E. Wills, Jr., "European Consumption and Asian Production in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 133–47, 136.

[6] John Styles, "Manufacturing, Consumption and Design in Eighteenth-Century England," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 527–54, 529.

[7] Cissie Fairchilds, "The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 228–48, 228, 230.

[8] Lorna Weatherill, "The Meaning of Consumer Behaviour in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 206–27, 207.

[9] Amanda Vickery, "Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and Her Possessions, 1751–81," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 274–301, 276.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rochberg-Halton's *Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self* (1981), Chandra Mukerji's *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (1983), Pierre Bourdieu's *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984), Arjun Appadurai's edited volume *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (1986), and Grant McCracken's *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (1988). However, the disciplinary affiliations of the authors are overwhelmingly in the domain of history in this first volume.[10] What we are seeing is the anthropology historians read, and on this evidence read quite differently. John Brewer and Roy Porter in their introduction may argue, "We are all semiologists now," but what that actually means in practice can be very diverse.[11] To take an example, Lorna Weatherill is quite happy with the proposition, "One starting point, implicit in the thought processes behind this work, is that material goods themselves contain implicit meanings and are therefore indicative of attitudes."[12] This is, however, an interpretation directly contrary to that found in a work like the essays edited by Arjun Appadurai referred to above, where it is proposed that it is the social situations in which they are placed that encode objects with meanings. Objects "contain" nothing at all, implicit or otherwise. This constructionist view of signification, explicitly derived from Appadurai and others, drives T. H. Breen's essay, a piece that flatly contradicts Weatherill in its insistence, "The very act of appropriating goods generated meanings."[13] Perhaps significantly, Breen is one of the few authors to cite the work of Roger Chartier, who has come to loom much larger in the field of cultural history over the decade since these essays were conceived, and who invokes the concept of "appropriation" as a warning against the possibly naïve matching of social class, economic power, and consumption of cultural goods.[14]

Of course, it is far from being a weakness in a volume of essays if the authors disagree with each other; quite the reverse. In a recent *AHR* review essay, Mary Louise Roberts demonstrated how a range of diametrically opposed readings of the gendered nature of consumption practices could be grounded on a shared agreement that there is a major issue there.[15] Similarly, in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, there is a clear sense of a debate over a collectively understood terrain, with shared points of reference, if not of agreement. What is more at issue here is how a still-live debate has come to be configured within the wider field of

[10] It may be a factor of this that, for a book supposedly about material objects of a kind surviving in enormous quantities, *Consumption and the World of Goods* is extremely poorly illustrated. Weatherill has no illustrations at all. There are ninety-one illustrations, but only six of them are of things other than documents or visual representations (four bits of Asian furniture of very doubtful relevance to Peter Burke's argument, the garden at Stourhead, and one wax *écorché* anatomical figure).

[11] John Brewer and Roy Porter, "Introduction," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 1–15, 2.

[12] Weatherill, "Meaning of Consumer Behaviour," 211.

[13] T. H. Breen, "The Meaning of Things: Interpreting the Consumer Economy in the Eighteenth Century," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 249–60, 258.

[14] It is the lack of this perspective that I now consider to be among the major weaknesses of my own discussion of this issue in the Chinese context, in *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Cambridge, 1991).

[15] Mary Louise Roberts, "Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture," *AHR* 103 (June 1998): 817–44.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

historical inquiry as a solution, a terrain of inquiry as a mapped-out route. For this is the sense one gets as one reads systematically through the three volumes, each with its very different flavor but somehow cohering as a field of discourse.

In *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, the methodological landmarks of the earlier volume are no longer to be seen. Instead, footnotes direct us to legal and social theorists such as Ronald Dworkin and John Rawls. Michel Foucault makes his first appearances. Karl Marx remains a point of reference, but it is John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau above all who are the authors at issue. Historians still dominate among the authors, but, quite reasonably given the topics, scholars of law, jurisprudence, and political science make their appearance for the first time. Here, there is a clear tension between those for whom, to put it very reductively, what matters is what Locke said (for instance, Richard Ashcraft in "Lockean Ideas, Poverty, and the Development of Liberal Political Theory") and those whose attention is more fixed on historical practice (Margaret Somers in "The 'Misteries' of Property: Relationality, Rural-Industrialisation and Community in Chartist Narratives of Political Rights"). If there is a certain residual Whiggishness about Volume 1 of the project, with its metaphoric narratives of rise, growth, birth, Volume 2 seems much more Tory, and eighteenth-century England seems a much more foreign and less comfortably "modern" place in the latter than in the former. David Sugarman and Ronnie Warrington's discussion, "Land Law, Citizenship and the Invention of 'Englishness': The Strange World of the Equity of Redemption," introduces the (to me) unfamiliar legal concept of the equity of redemption, designed to allow hereditary landed elites to avoid paying their debts. The authors' insistence that the law of property existed to make aristocratic rule "natural and essential" seems implicitly to contradict much of what is said in Volume 1, as do several of the other essays, which argue that it was land and only land, real property as opposed to personal in the legal distinction, that mattered in a symbolic sense.[16] Indeed, there are within Volume 2 what look like explicit critiques of what has gone before, as when Tim Keirn writes: "a number of studies analyze early modern economic ideas contextually within broad economic and social backgrounds which are schematic and generalised, usually viewing the development of these ideas within the broad constructs of the 'rise' of a commercial/capitalist society, the market economy, or the nation-state."[17] As he complains about "highly unfocused historical backgrounds [which] often make it difficult to distinguish the ideological wood from the historical tree," it is hard not to see at least some of this as aimed at authors whose work features elsewhere within the total project.

This sense of auto-critique is even more pronounced on reaching Volume 3, which breathes a different atmosphere yet again, and is in a sense a victim of a sort of entropy, where almost any topic can fall under the rubric of "The Consumption of Culture." No longer are "historians" the largest single group among the authors. Art historians and scholars of literature become a noticeable presence, as do scholars whose stated affiliations bespeak a changing academic ecology, repre-

[16] David Sugarman and Ronnie Warrington, "Land Law, Citizenship and the Invention of 'Englishness': The Strange World of the Equity of Redemption," in John Brewer and Susan Staves, eds., *Early Modern Conceptions of Property* (London, 1994), 112–43, 135.

[17] Tim Keirn, "Monopoly, Economic Thought and the Royal African Company," in Brewer and Staves, *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, 427–66, 430.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sented often with an explicit interdisciplinary inflection: "English and Women's Studies," "English and Art History," "Art History and Women's Studies," "Comparative Studies in Discourse and Society," "The Study of Women and Gender." In her introduction, Ann Bermingham attacks "purely economistic accounts . . . which focus on commodities rather than consumers,"[18] and there is little difficulty in seeing her target as someone like Jan de Vries (not least for the uncomplicated way in which he genders the gaze of the imperial scholar in the passage quoted above). There is a sense of coming around again to the material of Volume 1 but with a very different set of tools, the "cultural turn" bringing the reader in a circle. (This sense of circularity is enhanced by the way in which Volume 1, published two years previously, is cited by several authors as if it embodied a single position and not a fierce and unresolved debate.) Pierre Bourdieu's *Distinction*, which went uncited in Volume 2, is once again a major presence, but apart from him there is a whole new cast of supporting characters for the essays. Out go anthropologists and sociologists such as Appadurai, Douglas and Isherwood, Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton. Now the major presences include Foucault and John Barrell, either his *Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting, 1730–1840* (1980) or *The Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt: "The Body of the Public"* (1986). The English translation of Jürgen Habermas's *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (1989) is rightly registered by Bermingham as an event that has inspired many of the essays. Thomas Crow, W. J. T. Mitchell, Homi Bhabha, Norman Bryson, Michel de Certeau, Gayatri Spivak, Jacques Derrida, Jacques Lacan, Fredric Jameson, Luce Irigaray, Laura Mulvey—these names almost totally uncited in the first two volumes are points of reference for more than one author. For anyone interested in the sociology of knowledge in the late twentieth-century American and English academy, these volumes will provide enormously interesting raw data, capturing as they do the late 1980s/early 1990s "cultural turn" in the moment of its execution.

Three footnotes, chosen admittedly to maximize the differences between the three volumes, will demonstrate something of the trajectory they collectively take. Firstly from Jan de Vries's essay from the first volume entitled "Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods: Understanding the Household Economy in Early Modern Europe":

> In figure 5.5, quadrant II (upper left) shows a production possibilities curve between Z (non-traded non-agricultural goods) and F (food production), quadrant III (lower left) shows the terms of trade between food and M (manufactures, or non-agricultural goods and services produced outside the household). P2 represents more favourable terms of trade for the food producer than P1. Quadrant I (upper right) shows the consumption possibilities curves that correspond to the relative prices represented by P1 and P2. Consumption takes place at the tangency of the consumption possibilities curve and the community indifference curves (dashed curves).[19]

[18] Ann Bermingham, "Introduction: The Consumption of Culture: Image, Object, Text," in Bermingham and John Brewer, eds., *The Consumption of Culture, 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text* (London, 1995), 1–20, 13.

[19] de Vries, "Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods," 130, n. 117.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Then from Volume 2, from David Sugarman and Ronnie Warrington's "Land Law, Citizenship and the Invention of 'Englishness' ":

> In the landmark decision in *Kreglinger v. New Patagonia Meat & Cold Storage* [1914] AC 25, the leading judgement of Lord Parker surprisingly appears to get this wrong. He says, "The mortgagor might pay the money on the specified date, in which case, equity would specifically perform the contract for reconveyance" (p. 47). But if the loan was repaid on the due date then equity was irrelevant; the common law rights of the borrower enabled the borrower to claim reconveyance or re-entry when necessary. We discuss this important case in greater detail below.[20]

And finally from Volume 3, from Nicholas Mirzoeff, "Signs and Citizens: Sign Language and Visual Sign in the French Revolution":

> Jacques Lacan has emphasised the importance of what he termed "[t]he paternal metaphor" in the construction of language: "the attribution of procreation to the father can only be the effect of a pure signifier, of a recognition, not of a real father, but of what religion has taught us to refer to as the Name-of-the-Father" (Lacan 1977: 199).[21]

If the construction of the consuming subject is one of the themes that runs as a link through all three volumes, it is perhaps worth pondering what sort of consuming academic subject is being constructed here. In fact, very few readers (and certainly not this one) will possess the array of competencies necessary to engage with the contents of all three volumes, and few will attempt to do so. There is certainly relatively little sense of cross-disciplinary engagement between authors, something intensified by the lack of cross-referencing, and by the decision of the editors to allow authors their free choice of degree and system of citation within the individual essays.[22] Much as one might like to see an art historian have to address Lorna Weatherill's eight pages of statistics, or an economist deal with the startling information (not encountered until page 421 of the third volume) that "commodity" was late seventeenth-century English slang for the female sexual parts, the opportunity to do so is not taken here (nor, to be fair, is it anywhere claimed that this was part of the larger project). Is this project, then, just a supermarket for the exercise of scholarly consumer choice, a world of academic goods in which you read the bits you like and leave out the rest? Or are there coherencies that bind the project together in spite of all?

One irony at the heart of Volume 1, which therefore comes back to haunt Volume 3 and is not absent from Volume 2, is the contrast between the constantly repeated global metaphor of a "world" of goods and the rigorously localized context in which the discussion takes place. With all due respect to the title of the first volume, we are generally not dealing with a "world" of goods but rather most often with an England, or at best a British Empire, of goods. This tendency actually gets more pronounced as the three volumes proceed. In Volume 1, nine out of twenty-four papers deal with England only. In Volume 2, it is fourteen out of

[20] Sugarman and Warrington, "Land Law, Citizenship," 136, n. 8.

[21] Nicholas Mirzoeff, "Signs and Citizens: Sign Language and Visual Sign in the French Revolution," in Bermingham and Brewer, *Consumption of Culture*, 272–93, 290, n. 27.

[22] For Locke, "Every Man has a Property in his own Person," but here every author owns the copyright of his or her own essay.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

twenty-six, and in Volume 3 seventeen out of twenty-five, a progressive narrowing of focus so naturalized that it is never noticed, never mind defended. When I write "England," I mean precisely that. Linda Colley's *Britons: Forging the Nation* is invoked by (among others) Kathleen Wilson, but in this specific case only in order to critique it for a supposed view of national identity that underestimates the extent to which the fissures and areas of contest are within (women, effeminate men, aristocrats) rather than without (the French).[23] However, the way Wilson goes on to use the evidence of the specifically *English* theatre to explain constructions of the British Empire is the sort of elision of difference within Britain that risks giving the English the opportunity of discussing their national identity without the encumbrances of the Scots, Welsh, or Irish at all. There are many places in which the contents of these volumes could perhaps be seen as forming an early scholarly contribution to current debates about the construction of the historical basis for an "English" identity, tentatively exercising issues that are becoming more frequent in public discourse in the (still just) United Kingdom. "Inventors of the consumer society" could very well serve as one of the pillars of such an identity. "Consumption," "goods," "early modern," "property," "culture": for the authors of this project, these are terms intimately and naturally associated above all with the Anglo-American past. Thirty-seven of the fifty-four authors had at the time of writing affiliations in North America, thirteen in England, two in the rest of Europe, one in the Caribbean. Those parts of the world not once part of the British Empire receive scant coverage: thirteen papers overall are focused on France, one each on the Netherlands, Eastern Europe, Italy, and Paraguay. These are not purely acts of tokenism. Rather, they act in the manner of Homi Bhabha's "horizon of difference," the boundary that affirms where the "center" is located:

> However impeccably the content of another culture may be known, however anti-ethnocentrically it is represented, it is its *location* as the closure of grand theories, the demand that, in analytical terms, it always be the good body of knowledge, the docile body of difference, that reproduces a relation of domination, and is the most serious indictment of the institutional powers of critical theory.[24]

It is hard to avoid the paradoxical picture of an event happening on the shores of the Pacific, steadfastly gazing back over the Rockies to New England and to the English Channel. One can only in this context applaud Ann Bermingham's comments that early modern consumer society has not been studied because "One does not look for something where one has been led to believe it does not exist. In light of this I would like to propose that the consumption of culture's seemingly 'neglected' early history has in fact been a culturally suppressed one."[25] However, what has arguably been culturally suppressed by the scale and authority of these three volumes is the very possibility that the English exceptionalism which many of the contributions to a greater or lesser degree embody might be challenged if the issues were opened out in a truly global context.

The historian of China, to take my own case (and in doing so, I do not wish to

[23] Kathleen Wilson, "The Good, the Bad, and the Impotent: Imperialism and the Politics of Identity in Georgian England," in Bermingham and Brewer, *Consumption of Culture*, 237–62, 257, n. 6.
[24] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994), 31.
[25] Bermingham, "Introduction," 3.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

privilege comparisons with China over many others that could be made) can easily become rather baffled by the powerful assumption throughout much of these volumes that there is no need to take into consideration any place other than certain parts of northwestern Europe and northeastern America in order to explain what is supposedly distinctive about them. When de Vries announces, "Rural households in the maritime regions of the Netherlands achieved substantial market dependence via specialisation by the mid-seventeenth century and many parts of England followed suit in the century after 1650,"[26] the scholar of the Ming will be struck by how late, not how early, that is by comparison with Jiangnan, the part of China south of the Yangzi River. If David Cressy is right that "it also seems plausible (a hypothesis easier to pose than to test) that the expansion of literacy facilitated the rise of consumerism,"[27] what does this tell us about the effect of rising literacies on something called consumerism in China and Japan at similar or earlier dates? The continued invocation by Chandra Mukerji of Elizabeth Eisenstein's rather parochial views on "the consequences of books for thought" can seem like a decision to disregard the book in East Asia, which must take a tremendous effort of will to sustain it.[28] Similarly, if the invention of printing had an effect on notions of literary property in England, how distinctive can those notions be in the light of five previous centuries of printing's impact on China?[29]

My point is not that work on England should cease, or that it is necessary to know everything about everything before saying something about anything, but that more care must be exercised in contexts where claims are being made about causative factors producing distinctive results. For Terry Lovell in Volume 3, writing of Ian Watt's 1957 study *The Rise of the Novel*, it is still the case that "the broad lines of his thesis connecting the rise of the novel with nascent capitalism and with the rise of the bourgeoisie remain intact."[30] Maybe ignorance of novels like *Jin Ping Mei* was acceptable in 1957, but this very same sixteenth-century Chinese text is used extensively by Peter Burke in Volume 1 in the sole contribution to all three volumes that dares to look away from the dazzling spectacle of the constructed West, an essay entitled, "*Res et verba*: Conspicuous Consumption in the Early Modern World." Burke, whose argument that "historians of Europe will never be able to say what is specifically western unless they look outside the West" is pointedly ignored by every other contributor but one, is probably the only author entitled to use the word "world" in his title in its fullest sense. In one of several essays in Volume 3 that read like interventions in particularly disciplinary debates of limited relevance to the broader themes, W. J. T. Mitchell can maintain: "The western, Eurocentric, and modernist framework of art-historical accounts of landscape come to seem less

[26] de Vries, "Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods," 108.

[27] David Cressy, "Literacy in Context: Meaning and Measurement in Early Modern England," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 305–19, 319.

[28] Chandra Mukerji, "Reading and Writing with Nature: A Materialist Approach to French Formal Fardens," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 439–61, 460, n. 40.

[29] John Brewer and Susan Staves, "Introduction," in Brewer and Staves, *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, 1–18, 9.

[30] Terry Lovell, "Subjective Powers? Consumption, the Reading Public and Domestic Woman in Eighteenth-Century England," in Bermingham and Brewer, *Consumption of Culture*, 23–41. This, too, is a matter of controversy. See William B. Warner, *Licensing Entertainment: The Elevation of Novel Reading in Britain, 1684–1750* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

natural and inevitable, I argue, when seen in relation to landscape as an issue in colonial encounters. Recent work by landscape scholars in New Zealand, Australia and South Africa is doing a great deal to unsettle the centrality of the British tradition in particular."[31] This is very true, but what this note is also saying is "anywhere but Asia." At the point of seeming to critique it, it actually affirms that "landscape" is a practice of Europeans, albeit in a context of colonialism.

What is ultimately irritating is the sense that, while today a functioning historian of China certainly ought to (and some probably will) engage with the major issues of these three volumes, the reverse is by no means always true. Clearly, much of the responsibility for this must lie with the propensity of historians of China until recently to remain satisfied with a specifically Sinological agenda, which studiously avoided engagement with the issues that interested colleagues outside a charmed circle of orientalist authority to speak "about China." But this is increasingly not the case. The historian of the book in China who wishes to work in the English-speaking academy now has to come to grips with Chartier (who has, significantly, along with several of the most distinguished historians of early modern Europe, shown his own willingness to engage in a true comparative debate).[32] Few historians of the book in Europe will feel it necessary to look at the issue of *Late Imperial China* in which his essay appears. None of the authors in Volume 2 who discuss the cultural aspects of land ownership is likely to have read Hilary J. Beattie's *Land and Lineage in China* (1979), and indeed within the terms in which the historiographical debate has been configured they have had no necessity to do so. What is developing is a replication in the world of scholarship of the global economy of cultural goods whereby Luke Skywalker and Huang Feihong are *both* heroes to some but where for others of the world's population it is the Hollywood character alone and not both he and the Guangdong folk hero that rings the bells. China must be just about China; what is about England must be about the world. In the former case, the specificity as a matter of course must be signaled in a book's title, in the latter case there is no need to do so—*Consumption and the World of Goods* will in the eyes of the publisher, with whom the responsibility for the title must lie, do just fine. It sometimes seems as if it is still largely the case that, in the words of the Oxford squib,

> I am the Warden of this College,
> What I don't know just isn't knowledge.

Comparative work is all very well, but, with certain shining exceptions, it tends for the present to take place toward the periphery, not at the center, of the historical field.[33]

[31] W. J. T. Mitchell, "Combrich and the Rise of Landscape," in Bermingham and Brewer, *Consumption of Culture*, 103–18, 116, n. 4.

[32] Chartier is a major point of reference for Robert Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, Calif., 1998). For an explicit work of comparison, see Roger Chartier, "Gutenberg Revisited from the East," *Late Imperial China* 17, no. 1 (1996): 1–9. Peter Burke is another longstanding comparativist, in *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy* (Cambridge, 1972); and his more recent *Varieties of Cultural History* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997).

[33] An exemplary act of collaboration between scholars of sixteenth-century Europe and China is Howard L. Goodman and Anthony Grafton, "Ricci, the Chinese and the Toolkits of the Textualists," *Asia Major*, 3d ser., 11, no. 2 (1990–91): 95–148.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I could at this point of course simply be accused of unpleasant professional jealousy, of spleen at exclusion from the party. But I have to stress that nothing is more tedious and unproductive than for the historian of China (or India, or Germany, or Mexico, or Sweden, or Morocco, or Turkey, all equally outside the ambit of "Culture and Consumption" here) to engage in a bout of "me-too," or worse, "me-first." The historiography of China has just as many examples of parochialism and unjustified claims of exceptionalism to its account, and has too often been content to substitute technical and linguistic competence for methodological awareness. One of the great strengths of a clearly articulated position on the history of consumption in Europe is that it has provoked others to do the work to challenge it, work like that embodied in Timothy Brook's *Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (1998), or more obliquely in Russell W. Belk's *Collecting in a Consumer Society* (1995). The point is not that we need *less* work on the important topics covered by these volumes; we need if anything much more, but it can only benefit from beginning to open its attention to what makes the period distinctive, and for this, as Peter Burke argues, some degree of comparative perspective seems inescapable, and is becoming more common. An example of "good practice" in this regard might be the volume of essays edited by Theodore Huters, R. Bin Wong, and Pauline Yu, *Culture and State in Chinese History: Conventions, Accommodations, and Critiques* (1997), where the conference that led to the book clearly benefited from the input of two discussants from outside the field of Chinese history, in the form of Bruce Lincoln and Hermann Ooms. Another forceful if idiosyncratic attempt to engage with consumerism as a global phenomenon is provided by S. A. M. Adshead's *Material Culture in Europe and China, 1400–1800* (1997), while R. Bin Wong, in *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience* (1997), explicitly uses the models of Fernand Braudel and Charles Tilly in arguing for an address to both similarities and differences.

If historians of Europe have not always proved willing to diversify discussions of consumption geographically, many of them have by contrast been eager to push the "consumer society" back in time, a point made by Brewer and Porter in their introduction to Volume 1. (This parallels what happened in historical studies in 1950s China, when the search for the indigenous "sprouts of capitalism" led to a burst of competitive claims that these tender shoots were visible in earlier and ever earlier historical contexts.) An equivalent project is clearly at least an undercurrent in Simon Schama's acclaimed *The Embarrassment of Riches* (1987). The issue of "consumer demand" lies at the heart of Richard Goldthwaite's *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600* (1993), and it is much more than implicit in Lisa Jardine's *Worldly Goods* (1996), a book that has enjoyed a great popular success in Britain.[34] Here, chapters entitled "Conditions for Change: Goods in Profusion," "A

[34] The degree to which the materialist explanations found in *Worldly Goods* still strike a general readership as novel and daring is well captured in a brief review of the paperback edition in the newspaper *Independent on Sunday*, November 2, 1997, magazine, p. 44: "This unusual perspective on Renaissance Europe uncovers the fiscal underbelly of history's sacred cow, and shows it to be flagrantly secular . . . This is a hard, enthusiastic sell for a theory that posits the spread of acquisitiveness through the continent as a motivating force behind its cultural achievements." Put like that, the project seems much more traditionally "base and superstructure" than the author would probably feel comfortable

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Culture of Commodities," and "Conspicuous Consumption" announce the Renaissance Europe of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as the true *locus classicus* of the consumer society. Her final sentence affirms that

> The world we inhabit today, with its ruthless competitiveness, fierce consumerism, restless desire for ever wider horizons, for travel discovery and innovation, a world hemmed in by the small-mindedness of petty nationalism and religious bigotry but refusing to bow to it, is a world which was made in the Renaissance.[35]

Writing in the *New Statesman* of December 5, 1997, Jardine glosses her own project even more explicitly:

> When I wrote *Worldly Goods* I imagined I was recasting the story of the European Renaissance in suggesting that it was a direct consequence of a burgeoning international trade in luxury goods, emerging banking and mercantilism, and the urge to acquire rare and beautiful things from all around the globe.

She then confesses herself wrong, in that Edward Gibbon "had been there before me. He had assigned trade in luxuries a crucial role in the development of Greece and Rome; and in 1788 he, too, had chosen, for his symbolic ending of the classical era, Mehmet the Conqueror's formidable Hungarian cannon." What is surely now demanded of historians is more work that builds on the achievements of local studies and engages with the fact that the luxuries being traded were at the same time objects of consumption in the places where they were produced (one of the themes of Adshead's *Material Culture in Europe and China*). The "end of the classical era," in Jardine's gloss on Gibbon, is also something that demands attention, for it suggests what is ultimately at stake in the three volumes of "Culture and Consumption," if made explicit in the title only of the second.

The specter haunting these volumes is surely that of "modernity," which in its full potential must follow "early modernity" as day follows night, and which in its cruder forms risks a reintroduction of something that may to a large extent be in scholarly disrepute but still carries enormous discursive force, namely "the rise of the West."[36] With racial and providential explanations for a perceived Western exceptionalism quite properly long discredited (if never far below the surface in Western popular culture), the search often appears to be on for something that will support at least some of the same superstructure in a manner vastly less crude. The list of contenders is considerable. For Alfred W. Crosby, in *The Measure of Reality: Quantification and Western Society, 1250–1600* (1997), it is the propensity of more Westerners to think quantitatively that leads to what he describes as a new way,

---

with. For a less positive assessment, see the review by Ingrid D. Rowland in *New York Review of Books*, November 6, 1997; and for a recent overview of Renaissance consumption studies, see Paula Findlen, "Possessing the Past: The Material World of the Italian Renaissance," *AHR* 103 (February 1998): 83–114.

[35] Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (New York, 1996), 436.

[36] Ironically, one of the major sites of that force may now be in China, where notions of matching that "rise," and of an inevitable "decline of the West," are now prevalent in nationalist discourse. See Suisheng Zhao, "Chinese Intellectuals Quest for National Greatness and Nationalistic Writing in the 1990s," *China Quarterly* 152 (December 1997): 725–45. The extent to which elites in Africa, Asia, and elsewhere continue to have a stake in "the rise of the West" as a necessary precondition for its decline is an intriguing topic.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more purely visual and quantitative than the old, of perceiving time, space, and material environment.[37] The title of a volume of essays edited by Lynn Hunt, *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500–1800* (1993), puts forward another proposed key ingredient. For Christopher Braider, "A unique feature of western culture from the *via moderna* of the later Middle Ages down to the wellsprings of our own experience of modernity in the final decades of the seventeenth century is its deep and pervasive commitment to forms of picturing."[38] Many of the authors in the three volumes of "Culture and Consumption" have their own candidates. Sidney W. Mintz uses his essay to argue that food has been wrongly left out of the history of consumption, and reprises his 1985 book *Sweetness and Power*, in which "I thought that the changing consumption of one such food, such as sucrose, could serve as an index of a kind for the transformation to modernity."[39] Simon Schaffer quotes with approval Fernand Braudel on what he takes to be the exclusively Western phenomenon of fashion in clothing: "Can it have been merely by coincidence that the future was to belong to the societies fickle enough to care about changing the colours, materials and shapes of costume, as well as the social order and the map of the world?"[40] For Lawrence Klein, it is the diversity expressed in the pages of the *Spectator* that is the key element of a relatively unproblematic modernity.[41] For Dena Goodman, on the other hand, "The meaning, importance and security of epistolary property are grounded in this new understanding of public trust that marks the beginning of the modern world."[42] And according to Michael Craton, "English overseas colonisation began at a critical phase in the transition from the medieval to the modern world, speeding that transition in the process."[43] Not every author is, however, happy with modernity being an unproblematic concept. In a piece that has a rare degree of self-reflectiveness, Don E. Wayne muses on the experience of being at UCLA's Clark Library in January 1991 at the height of the Gulf war. Goaded by a George Will op-ed piece in the *Los Angeles Times*, he writes, "Will's cultural arrogance barely conceals the truth about 'modernity' adumbrated in the early modern and disclosed again in the postmodern: that is, the fact that in the system for which 'modernity' is a euphemism, culture

[37] See also the critique of this in a letter from William A. Therivel, *Times Literary Supplement*, December 19, 1997.

[38] Christopher Braider, *Refiguring the Real: Picture and Modernity in Word and Image, 1400–1700* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), 3.

[39] Sidney W. Mintz, "The Changing Roles of Food in the Study of Consumption," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 261–73, 263.

[40] Simon Schaffer, "The Consuming Flame: Electrical Showmen and Tory Mystics in the World of Goods," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 489–526, 515, n. 2, citing Fernand Braudel, *Civilisation and Capitalism 15th–18th Century*, 3 vols. (London, 1982), 1: 323–24. Braudel is of course here merely repeating a standard trope straight out of G. W. Hegel about the stasis of dress outside Europe.

[41] Lawrence Klein, "Property and Politeness in the Early Eighteenth-Century Whig Moralists: The Case of the *Spectator*," in Brewer and Staves, *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, 221–33, 226.

[42] Dena Goodman, "Epistolary Property: Michel de Servan and the Plight of Letters on the Eve of the French Revolution," in Brewer and Staves, *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, 339–64, 359.

[43] Michael Craton, "Property and Propriety: Land Tenure and Slave Property in the Creation of a British West Indies Plantocracy, 1612–1740," in Brewer and Staves, *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, 497–529, 498.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is inextricably bound up with commercial and technological domination."[44] This is a nasty modernity to set against the nice modernity of a consumer society, about which "the West" can be a little bit rueful as it confronts a still-frequently spiritualized East.[45] Joyce Appleby sees the whole question as being this: "Why is it . . . that consumption, which is the linchpin of our modern social system, has never been the linchpin of our theories explaining modernity?"[46] But I would argue that by now it has become so, that in work like that of Chandra Mukerji, Richard Goldthwaite, and Lisa Jardine, and through the status these volumes under review occupy within the historiographical field, consumption has become precisely if not the linchpin then a major prop of the argument, spoken or unspoken, for an exclusively "Western" (actually, Anglo-American) modernity. This is the case even though it is explicitly challenged by several of the authors anthologized therein (Burke, de Vries, Weatherill, Wills, Styles, and Wayne, for example). In the argument's most reductive form, the West is modern because Westerners have more stuff; that is an explanation based on the "consumer revolution" threatening to hold the field today because it meets current needs, just as the "industrial revolution" met past ones. Lorna Weatherill is absolutely right in her warning, "Rattling off the names of new condiments, textiles and inventions has served as the incantation for summoning the spirit that presided over the rise of the west."[47] But so is Anne K. Mellor, when she writes, "Precarious indeed is this unique, unitary, transcendental subjectivity, for Wordsworth's sublime self-assurance is rendered possible, as many critics have observed, only by the arduous repression of the Other in all its forms."[48]

There are, however, many encouraging signs of descent from the vantage point of "unique, unitary, transcendental subjectivity," and Wordsworthian "sublime self-assurance" is giving way among historians of Europe to a willingness to see what happens when the arduous repression spoken of is declined. One such is the recent special issue of *Daedalus* devoted to "Early Modernities." For the editor, it is the plural that is important, in its expression of the fact that there was no single form of "early modernity," and consequently, "There is a need for seeing modernity as something other than a single condition with a preordained future."[49] If we accepted that the possibilities implied by early modernities were all to a greater or lesser extent consumer societies, and abandoned any attempt to locate *the* origins of *the* consumer society, then the rich material contained in the three volumes of "Culture and Consumption" could perhaps begin to shed the heavy burden of global explanation laid on it by many of the contributors, and this impressive work

[44] Don E. Wayne, "The 'Exchange of Letters': Early Modern Contradictions and Postmodern Conundrums," in Bermingham and Brewer, *Consumption of Culture*, 143–65, 160.

[45] As such, it resonates with yet another "rise of the West" scenario, where it is technologies of violence that are key, as in Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 1988).

[46] Joyce Appleby, "Consumption in Early Modern Social Thought," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 162–73, 162.

[47] Weatherill, "Meaning of Consumer Behaviour," 160.

[48] Anne K. Mellor, "British Romanticism, Gender, and Three Women Artists," in Bermingham and Brewer, *Consumption of Culture*, 122–42, 125.

[49] S. R. G., "Preface," *Daedalus: Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 127, no. 3 (1998): vi. A possible future issue entitled "Multiple Modernities" is signaled.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

could take its place as one of the major and enduring contributions to the study of one of the better-understood of those specific, important, local histories.

Craig Clunas teaches history of art at the University of Sussex, and was previously a senior research fellow in Chinese Studies at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. His books include *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (1991) and most recently *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (1997).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AHR Forum

Millenniums

As we hurtle forward toward the new millennium, this AHR Forum *takes us backward to examine millenarian moments in the past. The essays range widely over time and space and thus underscore both the range and the persistence of millenarianism as a world-wide phenomenon:* **David Ownby** *discusses millenarianism in medieval China,* **Alida C. Metcalf** *recounts a sixteenth-century millenarian sect created by African slaves and Indians,* **Susan Juster** *explores the gendered realities of American millenarianism during the revolutionary era, and* **David G. Rowley** *analyzes religious and secular millenarianism in twentieth-century Russia. The commentary by medievalist* **Richard K. Emmerson** *places these studies in a broader context by emphasizing the interpretative and linguistic problems that must be addressed in every attempt to understand millenarian movements on their own terms. And* **Paul A. Cohen** *adds a review essay that surveys recent studies of millennialism and also suggests some of the cultural limitations of our particular millennial moment. The varied sites and subjects in this* Forum *demonstrate how a single subject like millenarianism can be used to provoke a discussion among historians who study various times and places and how fruitful such a cross-disciplinary discussion can be.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AHR Forum

Chinese Millenarian Traditions: The Formative Age

DAVID OWNBY

TESTING THE WATERS OF FIELDWORK after years in musty archives, I ventured into the North China countryside in 1993, researching a Republican-period sect that had rebelled against both Nationalist and Communist authorities from the 1920s through the 1950s. I was astonished to find that the group—part of the revival of popular religion and popular culture in post-Mao China—was alive and well, holding temple fairs, exorcising illnesses, copying and circulating scriptures. Apocalyptic prophecies, cast in wholly traditional idiom, figured prominently in these scriptures, alongside stories of the paranormal powers of the tradition's founders and fundamentalist calls to strengthen village morality.[1] This discovery was striking for two reasons. First, it suggests that fifteen years after the introduction of Deng Xiaoping's "market-Leninism," fifty years after the Communist revolution, a century and a half after the Opium War, these apocalyptic symbols remain relevant, at least to part of China's rural population. Second, the juxtaposition of apocalyptic prophecy with calls to strengthen "family values" suggests that we might want to rethink our notions about the Chinese millenarian tradition and its relationship to "mainstream" Chinese culture.

Of course, many *AHR* readers may have few notions about the Chinese millenarian tradition to rethink. Traditionally, Western historians of Chinese apocalyptic movements have tended to highlight the catalytic role of foreign religions, be it in the many cases inspired by Maitreya, the future Buddha, or in the most famous instance: the Christian-influenced nineteenth-century Taiping Rebellion. More recent scholarship has focused instead on indigenous Chinese sources of apocalyptic beliefs but has often presented such discourses and the groups that embraced them as self-conscious dissenters from the mainstream.[2] The source of

In addition to the editors and anonymous readers of the *AHR*, I would like to thank Kenneth Dean, Blaine Gaustad, Barend ter Haar, and Michael Szonyi for their assistance in the preparation of this essay. A longer version of this essay was presented at the Sawyer Seminar "Millennium and Millennialism: Motifs and Movements," at Yale University in November 1998. I would like to thank Jonathan Spence and Annping Chin, discussants, as well as the members of the seminar, for their comments.

[1] For a translation of these scriptures, see David Ownby, "Scriptures of the Way of the Temple of the Heavenly Immortals," *Chinese Studies in History* 29, no. 3 (1996): 1–101. Several Chinese scholars, among them Qin Baoqi, of the Qing History Institute of People's University, and Song Jun, of the Academy of Social Sciences, are collecting similar scriptures, and have assured me that the references I found to the apocalypse are by no means unique.

[2] An excellent example of this scholarship is Daniel L. Overmyer, "Alternatives: Popular Religious Sects in Chinese Society," *Modern China* 7 (1981): 153–90.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

both characterizations lies in a major perceived difference between Western and Chinese millenarianism: while both secular and religious authorities in the West disdain—and fear—apocalyptic Christian "sects," they nonetheless acknowledge the tradition on which the sects draw, even as they insist that the sects have distorted the common tradition. In China, the "secular" tradition of high Confucianism long identified, in China as in the West, as mainstream would seem at first glance to have few common roots with the eruptions of Buddhist, Daoist, or Christian millennial ferment that have punctuated Chinese history. The point of this essay is to suggest that many strains of the several Chinese millenarian traditions might be better viewed neither as foreign-inspired turmoil nor as self-conscious efforts to seek out alternatives but rather as fundamentalist or populist reactions from *within* some of the many strains of Chinese culture.

Why might one think so? First, recent research on a variety of millenarian movements in China's late imperial and modern periods suggests that certain beliefs and symbols associated with these movements were widely diffused, and that they may have shared common base elements despite important differences in surface orientation. For example, recent studies of the White Lotus folk Buddhist tradition, a major source of millenarian ideas and movements in China from the Ming period (1368–1644) to the present, have illustrated that the groups and beliefs associated with the White Lotus were more widespread in time and space than originally thought.[3] For instance, we have found evidence of groups who borrowed elements from both the White Lotus tradition and from the Triads, the South Chinese secret societies long thought to trace their roots to ethno-political opposition to the Manchus, suggesting that both traditions were more flexible than previously believed.[4] The most recent research on the Triads, moreover, traces their origins to a "demonological messianic paradigm," which Triad founders adopted from oral apocalyptic traditions.[5] Even the Taiping Rebellion, once thought to be an exemplary illustration of the explosive power of Christianity loosed from constraints of the Christian church and Western institutions, is now interpreted through the lens of Chinese popular religion.[6] Although no one has yet brought

[3] Classic English-language sources on the White Lotus are Susan Naquin, *Millenarian Rebellion in China: The Eight Trigrams Uprising of 1813* (New Haven, Conn., 1976); and Daniel L. Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion: Dissenting Sects in Late Traditional China* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), which remain valuable. To these should be added Barend J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (Leiden, 1992), although the point of Haar's work is to illustrate that there was in fact no self-conscious "White Lotus tradition" outside the paranoid imagination of the Chinese imperial state. I find Haar's argument persuasive but continue to use "White Lotus" until scholars in the field can agree on a suitable substitute. The extent of the complex of Northern Chinese popular religious networks, of which "White Lotus" groups were a part, is illustrated by much recent Chinese literature, for example Ma Xisha and Han Bingfang's massive *Chinese Popular Religion* [*Zhongguo minjian zongjiaoshi*] (Shanghai, 1992).

[4] See David Ownby, "The Heaven and Earth Society as Popular Religion," *Journal of Asian Studies* 54, no. 4 (1995): 1023–46; Zhou Yumin and Shao Yong, *History of China's Secret Societies* [*Zhongguo banghui shi*] (Shanghai, 1993), 96–121.

[5] Barend J. ter Haar, *Ritual and Mythology of the Chinese Triads: Creating an Identity* (Leiden, 1998), particularly chaps. 6 and 7.

[6] For a brilliant essay on the Christian influence, see Philip A. Kuhn, "Origins of the Taiping Vision: Cross Cultural Dimensions of a Chinese Rebellion," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 19, no. 3 (1977): 350–66. Important reinterpretations stressing the importance of popular religion include Rudolf G. Wagner, *Reenacting the Heavenly Vision: The Role of Religion in the Taiping Rebellion* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982); Robert P. Weller, *Resistance, Chaos and Control in China* (Seattle, 1994),

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these recent reinterpretations together in a careful manner, it seems highly likely that once we do so, we will find shared core elements.

Second, another body of recent research, this time on China's early medieval period (roughly, 200–600 CE) allows us to identify this period as the formative age of China's millenarian traditions and the likely source of many of the elements we find in the late imperial and modern millenarian movements. The early medieval period, the focus of this essay, was an apocalyptic age par excellence, marked by wars, foreign invasions, famines, epidemics, and—unsurprisingly—apocalyptic prophecies and rebellions, framed and fueled by the contemporaneous religious revolution in which both Daoism (often written "Taoism") and Buddhism rose to prominence. Unlike the late imperial and modern periods, when, with rare exceptions, apocalyptic ideas circulated only among the non-elite or the marginally literate, the early medieval discourse touched emperor and cultural elite, as well as ordinary believers. Examination of the formative period will thus lend precision to my characterization of millenarian discourse as a fundamentalist or populist reaction.

Few scholars of late imperial or modern Chinese popular movements have afforded much attention to this period. Most of us have labored, directly or indirectly, to link popular movements to the great Communist revolution of the mid-twentieth century, a task that does not seem to require such a "great leap backward." Moreover, the scholarship on the early medieval period is written in a Sinological voice with which many North American modernists are unfamiliar. However, as secret societies and popular religious groups preaching apocalyptic messages emerge to fill the void left by the Chinese Communists' retreat from the front lines of social engagement, an understanding of the roots of China's millenarian experience becomes important even for students of modern China and perhaps the modern world in general. Although a specialist in early medieval China would write a very different essay, I hope the one that follows will begin to make the formative period of Chinese millenarianism available to nonspecialists.

THE EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD, when the diverse elements that constitute the Chinese apocalyptic coalesced for the first time, was a four-centuries-long interregnum (known as the Period of Division, the Six Kingdoms Period, and the Period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties) between two great, long-lived Chinese empires, the Han (202 BCE–220 CE) and the Tang (618–906).[7] But if "interregnum" suggests a return to business as usual, it is hardly appropriate: the political, social, and cultural crises triggered by the collapse and fall of the Han were as profound as

---

chaps. 3–6; and Jonathan D. Spence, *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom* (New York, 1996).

[7] There is at present no authoritative single-volume introduction to the early medieval period in any Western language. Wolfram Eberhard, *A History of China* (Berkeley, Calif., 1950), remains valuable, as do several essays in Etienne Balazs, *Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy* (New Haven, Conn., 1964). Charles Holcombe, *In the Shadow of the Han: Literati Thought and Society at the Beginning of the Southern Dynasties* (Honolulu, 1994), is a useful overview, based on recent Chinese and Japanese sources.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

those that have accompanied China's confrontation with the West in the modern era. Politically, China had no unified central government for more than four hundred years. North China fell prey to repeated invasions and occupations at the hands of nomadic peoples from the north and northwest, who founded a series of shorter or longer-lived dynasties. The Chinese heirs to the Han throne fled south of the Yangzi River, where they set up a series of short-lived, unstable regimes. Many of these states, weak and at risk, increased the tax burden on the rural population. Rebellions were frequent. Foreign invasion, civil war, and rebellion had demographic consequences—famines and epidemics as well as large-scale and frequent displacements of the population.

Wars and population movement also had cultural dimensions. The non-Chinese conquerors from the north brought their own culture as well as serving as a conduit for the large-scale importation of Buddhism. The Chinese, as they fled south, came into increased contact with what are now considered "minority ethnic groups" but which were at that point full-fledged residents of the areas. Indeed, the entire period, despite or perhaps because of the movement, uncertainty, and cultural conflict that characterized it, was also an era of great cultural experimentation and creativity. The emergence of Buddhism and Daoism as institutionalized religions is only one part of this cultural creativity—albeit an extremely important one—but since Daoism and Buddhism supplied much of the vocabulary for the apocalyptic discourse of the period, I will examine the story of the apocalypse through the lens of the social history of religion, giving only passing mention to the other elements that should be included in a comprehensive study of early medieval Chinese millenarianism.

Yet I can only begin to do justice to the remarkable wealth of recent research on the social history of early medieval Chinese religion. Over the past few decades, scholars have fundamentally transformed our understanding of the early history of Daoism, and have launched the study of early medieval Buddhism in important new directions as well. Once thought of as an alternative, mystical tradition in which Confucians sought refuge from the pressures of office, Daoism is now more often than not depicted as China's indigenous higher religion.[8] Scholars can begin to write the theological, ecclesiastical, and social history of early medieval Daoism in a way that would have been impossible thirty years ago. Buddhism, which entered China at the beginning of the period under examination and left its richest written record anywhere in the Chinese language, has been extensively studied. However, much older scholarship has focused on Buddhism rather than China, seeking to judge the accuracy of the translation (in both literal and symbolic sense) of the faith from Indian to Chinese soil, a process that has privileged those texts that seem to have best preserved their original Indian nature. There exists, however, a huge body of Buddhist literature, composed (rather than translated) in Chinese in China,

[8] This reevaluation began with the posthumous publication of Henri Maspero's research, in *Mélanges posthumes sur les religions et l'histoire de la Chine* (Paris, 1950). In English, see Maspero, *Taoism and Chinese Religion* (Amherst, Mass., 1981). Isabelle Robinet's *Taoism: Growth of a Religion* (Stanford, Calif., 1997) provides a detailed survey of the development of the Daoist religion. Steven Bokenkamp's *Early Daoist Scriptures* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997) is an essential companion volume. Anna K. Seidel, "Chronicle of Taoist Studies in the West, 1950–1990," *Cahiers d'extrême-Asie* 5 (1989): 223–347, is an essential historiographic guide.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

examples of which were often expunged from the canon and dismissed as "apocrypha" by medieval Chinese Buddhists and later scholars alike.[9] Happily, these sources present a rich vein of information on early medieval apocalyptic discourse. In the following synthesis, based almost entirely on secondary literature, I take pains to recount the histories of early medieval Daoist and Buddhist millenarianism in two voices, that of the elite, who sought to build and defend an orthodoxy, and that of the more peripheral or popular, who saw in apocalyptic symbols powerful expressions of both rage and promise.

IF AN EARLIER GENERATION OF DAOIST SCHOLARSHIP began with Laozi and Zhuangzi, classic figures from China's axial age, today's scholars more often than not take Zhang Daoling as their point of departure.[10] Zhang was a faith healer, visionary, and religious innovator who founded a Daoist church—the Way of the Celestial Masters—in western China during the waning years of the Han dynasty, following a religious vision he experienced in 142 CE. The church functioned as a genuine theocracy, filling the void created by the fall of the Han and enrolling hundreds of thousands of members over several decades. The church lost its theocratic character in the third century when its leaders responded to a call from a Han successor regime to establish a mutually beneficial alliance between church and state. Thereafter, the influence of the Celestial Masters began to spread throughout China and to compete with Buddhism and with popular cults for the allegiance of both elites and masses.

The spread of Celestial Masters Daoism toward the south sparked two waves of revelation, which produced much of the corpus of scripture necessary to any institutionalized religion. The first wave, known as the Shangqing ("upper purity") texts, occurred between 365 and 370 in the milieu of the wealthy southern aristocracy, and was to some extent a reaction, from within a common tradition, *against* northern Celestial Masters' attempts to define and impose a new orthodoxy.[11] From a social perspective, Shangqing texts, written by and for a consciously elitist social class, replace much of the communal, ecclesiastical orientation of the original Celestial Masters with an intellectualized, interiorized approach, even while maintaining a common religious vocabulary. The second wave, known as the Lingbao ("precious jewels") texts, again a product of the leisured southern aristocracy, appeared at the turn of the fifth century and represented a renewed

[9] See Michel Strickmann, *Mantras et mandarins: Le bouddhisme tantrique en Chine* (Paris, 1996); and Robert Buswell, Jr., ed., *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha* (Honolulu, 1990).

[10] For an introduction to Zhang Daoling and the Celestial Masters, see Robinet, *Taoism: Growth of a Religion*, 53–77; and Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 1–6, 29–185. Terry F. Kleeman, *Great Perfection: Religion and Ethnicity in a Chinese Millennial Kingdom* (Honolulu, 1998), offers an interesting view of this region and period as well, focusing on the Lis, a family of Ba ethnicity in Eastern Sichuan, who were early followers of the Celestial Masters and who established their own independent state, as did the Zhangs.

[11] On the Shangqing revelations, see Michel Strickmann, "The Mao-shan Revelations: Taoism and the Aristocracy," *T'oung-pao* 63 (1977): 1–64; Strickmann, *Le taoïsme du Mao Chan: Chronique d'une révélation* (Paris, 1981); Isabelle Robinet, *Taoist Meditation: The Mao-shan Tradition of Great Purity* (Albany, N.Y., 1993); Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoïsme* (Paris, 1984); and Robinet, *Taoism: Growth of a Religion*, 114–48.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

focus on church building—attracting members and regulating their activities.[12] Lingbao texts incorporate extensive, if not always sophisticated, borrowings from Buddhism, including the Buddhist emphasis on universal salvation. Lingbao texts also focus on ritual, and they succeeded in establishing the basic contours of the Daoist liturgy as practiced down to the present day. Efforts to bring order to the texts produced by these revelations, as well as to earlier texts claimed by the Daoist church, continued throughout the fifth and sixth centuries, producing an initial organization of the Daoist pantheon, as well as the first version of the Daoist canon, the massive work whose recent study is the basis for much of this overview.[13] Church building and reform continued as well, representing the social mission of the Daoist church, though as will be explained below, such efforts had mixed results.

References to the apocalypse are found throughout the period and across the entire range of the Daoist experience, even if the central focus of the original Celestial Masters church was not millenarian. Believers were offered membership in a new community through the agency of the church and were guided toward physical well-being and perhaps even immortality through confession of sins in conformity with church directives. Nonetheless, the movement did not want for apocalyptic undertones. Church founder Zhang Daoling's original vision was of Laozi, depicted in Daoist texts of the Han and Six Dynasties periods as a god who descends, messiah-like, at various critical points in China's history, generally to assist a sage-king to found a new dynasty. The crisis of the Han decline was described as a fall from a past golden age ("high antiquity") to the current disheartening state ("low antiquity"), an era when the "stale emanations of the six heavens" had supplanted the originally pure heavenly breaths.[14] Celestial Masters adepts were characterized as "seed people," a Daoist elect saved through the good works of the Celestial Masters church, who would in turn repopulate a new world purged by the disasters of the "stale breaths." If the primary emphasis among early Celestial Masters was on church building and religious practice, it is nonetheless obvious that the elements of discourse were in place to permit an evolution toward a more stridently apocalyptic stance.

Apocalyptic references are more abundant in the Shangqing and Lingbao scriptures (in part, simply because there are vastly more texts attached to these currents), although it is often difficult to sort out precisely what is intended by passages taken from their texts, or to situate the implications of these passages in their broader theological or ecclesiastical contexts. Texts from both traditions, which, again, represent efforts to elaborate the Celestial Masters legacy from within, contain many prophecies of cyclical world renewal, the end of the present cycle to be marked by disasters (fire, flood, illness); both sets of scriptures likewise provide concrete dates for the end of the current world, calculated according to the

[12] On the Lingbao revelations, see Robinet, *Taoism: Growth of a Religion*, 149–83; Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 373–438; and Steven Bokenkamp, "Sources of the Ling-Pao Scriptures," in Michel Strickmann, ed., *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein II* (Brussels, 1983), 434–86.

[13] See Ôfuchi Ninji, "The Formation of the Taoist Canon," in Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel, eds., *Facets of Taoism* (New Haven, Conn., 1979), 253–68.

[14] See Rolf A. Stein, "Religious Taoism and Popular Religion from the Second to the Seventh Centuries," in Welch and Seidel, *Facets of Taoism*, 65.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cyclic, sexagenary, Chinese calendar.[15] Lingbao texts, for example, gave such dates as 382 or 442 CE, and historical records lead us to believe that traumatized groups did indeed await the end of the world on those dates.[16] Many texts evoke as well mysterious beings who intervene to judge and save humankind, or more precisely, a select few. The most frequently mentioned of these figures is Li Hong, the name given in texts of this period to Laozi in his messianic posture, who would appear to secure the salvation of the seed people.[17] It is clear that the apocalyptic vocabulary of the original Celestial Masters has been adopted and enlarged.

Yet, once again, these apocalyptic references often seem to be rhetorical nods, presumably to an audience believed by the texts' authors to be receptive, and to have been phrased in such a way as to reduce the explosive potential of such images. Lingbao scriptures, for example, on occasion are presented as mantic texts, to be chanted so as to ward off the disasters associated with the apocalypse:

> Whenever the cycles of heaven and earth come to their end, you should practice retreats, presenting incense and reciting this scripture . . . When the ruler of the kingdom meets with disaster and the rebellious take up arms in the four quarters, you should practice retreats, presenting incense and reciting this scripture . . . When pestilential diseases spread and mortals die or fall ill you should also practice retreats, presenting incense and reciting this scripture.[18]

The tone of this passage is certainly consistent with the Lingbao effort to provide universal salvation, but the force of the apocalypse is somehow diminished if it can be averted through chanting.

Shangqing scriptures preserve their elitist orientation even in their most apocalyptic mode, which gives yet another interesting spin on their eschatological vision. The "seed people," for example, are often defined in Shangqing texts as "Those born with azure bones, who therefore are possessed with supernatural powers and may join with the Perfected."[19] Similarly, while Shangqing texts hold out the promise of salvation to all who physically possess the scriptures, they quickly add that texts were to be transmitted "no more than three times every seven hundred years," and adepts were warned not to "reveal the existence of this text to the untrustworthy corpses."[20]

Upon reflection, it may not be surprising that the Daoist establishment during this period was ambivalent about its own millenarian message. Both Shangqing and Lingbao revelations can be seen as top-down visions animated by the ultimate desire to reform and channel a powerful but uncodified socio-religious movement (the Celestial Masters and its similar, associated forms). The immediate problem facing church leaders appears to have been one of *control* rather than *mobilization*. From the point of view of church organization, apocalyptic fears, while useful in

[15] See Nathan Sivin, "Chinese Conceptions of Time," *Earlham Review* 1 (1966): 82–92.
[16] Robinet, *Taoism: Growth of a Religion*, 162.
[17] On Li Hong, see Anna K. Seidel, "The Image of the Perfect Ruler in Early Taoist Messianism: Lao-tzu and Li Hong," *History of Religions* 9, nos. 2–3 (1969–70): 216–47; and Seidel, "Taoist Messianism," *Numen* 31, no. 2 (1984): 161–74.
[18] Cited in Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 429.
[19] Cited in Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 349.
[20] Cited in Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 351–52.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

drawing people toward the church, surely risked at the same time pushing the church toward close association with a dangerous eschatology.

Why, then, include apocalyptic messages at all? One major Western scholar of the period, noting that the elites associated with both Shangqing and Lingbao texts were southern aristocrats under siege of a sort by northern Celestial Masters, has interpreted their apocalyptic tone as the expression of a form of relative deprivation.[21] Looking outside the elite Daoist tradition to more peripheral texts and movements, it seems equally likely that these were the source of the pressure to include apocalyptic messages in orthodox texts. To fail to do so would have been to lose credibility.

Indeed, in the larger Daoist (or proto-Daoist) context, the apocalyptic stance of the Celestial Masters and its later systematizers appears quite tame. Let us start by examining certain events occurring around the time of the original Celestial Masters movement. First and most spectacular was the huge rebellion associated with the Way of the Great Peace (also known as the Yellow Turbans, for their headgear).[22] This uprising, which exploded in 184 CE in eastern China (the modern Shandong-Henan region), built on decades of simmering discontent and abortive movements and clearly shared many elements with the Celestial Masters (indeed, the two are often confused in traditional accounts). Zhang Jue, leader of the rebellion, was, like Zhang Daoling, a faith healer, and he ordered his followers to confess their sins as did the Celestial Masters. Zhang apparently also sought to build a theocratic organization like that of Zhang Daoling and his descendants. The god worshiped by the rebels was the Yellow Emperor, a mythical figure who had become closely identified over the course of the Han Dynasty with Laozi, both of whom were worshiped in popular as well as elite cults.[23] The rebels seem to have drawn inspiration from the *Classic of Great Peace*, a revealed text that had circulated for decades under a variety of titles, generally intended for the edification of the emperor. Certain elements of this text are found in Celestial Masters' writings as well.[24] Like later Daoist texts, the rebels calculated a precise date for the arrival of the apocalypse—the *jiazi* year (184), the first year of a sexegenary cycle. The graphs for the two characters *jia* and *zi* were omnipresent in the regions where the rebels held sway, traced in white clay as testimony to believers' faith in the imminent millennial renewal.[25] The main difference is that,

[21] See Michel Strickmann, "On the Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching," in Welch and Seidel, *Facets of Daoism*, 186–87. Seidel endorses this view in "Taoist Messianism," 172.

[22] Major sources on this rebellion include Howard S. Levy, "Yellow Turban Religion and Rebellion at the end of the Han," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 76, no. 4 (1956): 214–27; Paul Michaud, "The Yellow Turbans," *Monumenta Serica* 17 (1958): 47–116; Rolf A. Stein, "Remarques sur les mouvements du taoïsme politico-religieux au II^e siècle ap. J.C.," *T'oung-pao* 50 (1963): 1–78.

[23] The cult was called Huang-Lao Daoism. For an introduction, see Robin D. S. Yates, *Five Lost Classics: Tao, Huang-Lao, and Yin-Yang in Han China* (New York, 1997).

[24] On the *Classic of Great Peace*, see Max Kaltenmark, "The Ideology of the T'ai-p'ing ching," in Welch and Seidel, *Facets of Taoism*, 19–52; Barbara Kandel, *Taiping Jing: The Origin and Transmission of the 'Scripture on General Welfare'—The History of an Unofficial Text* (Hamburg, 1979); B. J. Mansvelt-Beck, "The Date of the Taiping Jing," *T'oung-pao* 66, nos. 4–5 (1980): 149–82; Jens Petersen, "The Early Traditions Relating to the Han Dynasty Transmission of the *Taiping jing*," Parts 1 and 2, *Acta Orientalia* 50 (1989): 133–71; and 51 (1990): 173–216; Petersen, "The Anti-Messianism of the *Taiping jing*," *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* 3 (1990): 1–41.

[25] Levy, "Yellow Turban Religion," 214.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

while the Celestial Masters built a church, the Great Peace rebels built an army and mounted an explicit if unsuccessful challenge to Han authority.

Another contemporary document is equally revealing of the broader milieu in which the Celestial Masters built their church. This is the *Classic of the Transformations of Laozi*, a text that appears to have been produced by a Sichuan religious group in some sense competing with the Zhang family Celestial Masters.[26] The text clearly emerges from the same common sources of inspiration that animate both the Celestial Masters and the Great Peace rebels: Laozi is worshiped as a god who intervenes in the world; believers are to confess their sins; some passages of the text seem to have been inspired by the *Classic of Great Peace*. Yet the differences are as important as the similarities. In the *Classic of the Transformations*, Laozi speaks in the first person, delivering sermons not to a sage-king but to the people, in direct and unambiguous language:

> Come quickly and join me ... and you will be saved from danger ... The people are suffering, and illness is at its extreme. The starving are everywhere. I will change destiny. I will shake the reign of the Han ... I have manifested myself many times for the sake of salvation ... Few are those who understand me; many are those who disapprove of me.[27]

To all appearances, we have here a messiah in a form the mass of people can readily identify with, seemingly unencumbered by ecclesiastical organizations or considerations, his message not easily reducible to symbolic calls for meditation and visualization.

Over the course of the fourth and fifth centuries, as elites labored to define and elaborate the orthodox Daoist tradition, popular movements and texts of less elite provenance kept this genuinely messianic voice very much alive. Repeated rebellions in the name of Li Hong (whom rebel leaders occasionally claimed to embody) occurred throughout this period, alongside other uprisings that repeat many of the same millenarian themes without necessarily calling on the figure of Li Hong.[28] Texts, such as the *Spirit Spells of the Abyss*, appearing with great frequency from the end of the fourth century forward (the Shangqing and Lingbao revelations occurred toward the end of the fourth century as well) describe the scenario in gruesome, if repetitive, detail: armies of demons, the spirits of the dead, have proliferated due to generalized moral decay and are attacking the world through a huge variety of disasters. The ultimate outcome is the end of the world, to be marked by a flood in a year to be specified by prophecy. Eight years later, Li Hong will descend to save the faithful seed people, who will live thereafter in the paradise of Great Peace.[29] In this paradise, one sowing will yield nine harvests, and the human life span will be

[26] See Anna K. Seidel, *La divinisation de Lao Tseu dans le taoïsme des Han* (Paris, 1969); and Seidel, "Taoist Messianism."

[27] Quoted in Seidel, *La divinisation de Lao Tseu*, 69.

[28] On these rebellions, see Seidel, "Image of the Perfect Ruler in Early Taoist Messianism," 231 and following; Werner Eichhorn, "Description of the Rebellion of Sun En and Earlier Taoist Rebellions," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 2, nos. 2 and 3 (1954): 25–53 and 463–76. On rebellions in general during the period, see William Crowell, "Social Unrest and Rebellion in Jiangnan during the Six Dynasties," *Modern China* 9 (July 1983).

[29] See Christine Mollier, *Une apocalypse taoïste du V^e siècle: Le livre des incantations divines des grottes abyssales* (Paris, 1990), 18.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

extended to three thousand years.[30] It is clear that although elite and popular movements and texts share a common millenarian vocabulary, the discourse is more often at the center of the popular versions and toward the periphery in elite versions. (One should hasten to add nonetheless that popular Daoist discourse was certainly not limited to millenarian concerns.)

Indeed, the stakes were high in this "dialogue," as illustrated by the career of Kou Qianzhi (363–448), a Chinese aristocrat who fashioned a version of state Daoism under the northern Tuoba Wei dynasty (386–534) in the early fifth century.[31] Kou was visited twice by the god Laozi, and received the title of "Celestial Master" from the non-Chinese court, empowering him to exercise control over the religious affairs of the dynasty. The Wei subsequently became the first officially Daoist state in Chinese history, Daoist priests actually confirming the emperors in office through the sixth century. Kou's efforts to clean up Daoist practices at the popular level met with frustration. Kou wrote that while Laozi would indeed descend into the world "to effect the transformation of Heaven and Earth," he (Laozi) had no patience with the frauds who called themselves Li Hong and claimed allegiance with him:

> Those fools who are deceitful without end and have all taken to disloyalty, this assembly of run-away criminals, serfs and slaves, [who] falsely call themselves Li Hong! To think that my person would mingle with this vulgar, stinking flesh, with these slaves, dogs, and goblins and act the part of one of these evil rebels. These villainous impostors of today spout heresies and destroy the orthodox writings.[32]

Kou Qianzhi was not the only one to vent his anger at the shenanigans of lower-level believers and even priests. As early as the mid-third century, a Celestial Masters text addresses a Daoist church in crisis, changed and weakened by the displacement of church members from their original home in the west and their dispersal throughout many regions of China. The author (supposedly Zhang Lu, grandson of Zhang Daoling, speaking perhaps through a medium) berates his audience:

> But you, in your study of the Good, have missed the basis. You do not accept the words of the scriptures, but rather instruct one another in deviant views, drawing near to the false and discarding the true . . . I [once] recorded all of this in a short paper containing miscellaneous remarks on deviant texts, ordering that all such texts be eradicated. But the [local church officials] were ineffectual and their underlings hid the [deviant] texts away so that today they not only survive but are frequently put into practice. At present those with little learning delight in frivolous talk. They point to the false, calling it true.[33]

Two centuries later, Lu Xiujing (406–77), one of the main figures in the systematization of early medieval Daoism, makes similar, if even more damning charges, noting in his jeremiad against corrupt and ignorant popular practices,

[30] See Richard Shek, "Chinese Millenarian Movements," in Mircea Eliade, editor in chief, *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York, 1987), 534.

[31] See Richard Mather, "K'ou Ch'ien-chih and the Taoist Theocracy at the Northern Wei Court," in Welch and Seidel, *Facets of Taoism*, 103–22.

[32] Quoted in Seidel, "Image of the Perfect Ruler," 242.

[33] Quoted in Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 176.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Recently, the scriptures have been scattered, so that the counterfeit has become mixed with the true . . . Sometimes there were fabricated prefaces and explanations; in others chapters were reversed, sentences and sections added, and [new] charts and talismans created . . . Comparing these false [texts] with the excellence [of the true texts], it seemed as if they were written by madmen—persons lacking the inner qualities to reach the mysterious and without any desire to seek out the Perfected—who had written [these texts based on] what they were able to spy out [of the original scriptures], falsely taking on the name of "Daoist" in their greedy search for income.[34]

As these quotes illustrate, the Daoist establishment defined itself in opposition to the practices of popular religion, even if Western studies of modern Daoism have, until recently, tended to confuse the two. At the same time, in the early medieval period as in later eras, Daoism absorbed elements from popular cults even while attempting to reform them.[35]

THE OTHER HALF of the early medieval religious revolution in China was the introduction and Sinicization of Buddhism.[36] Although Buddhism was not to reach the summit of its influence in China until the early Tang, it began to have a major impact on Chinese society during the long Period of Division, filling the vacuum created by the perceived failure of Confucian institutions and offering both moral and institutional solutions to the specific dilemmas of a chaotic and insecure age. Buddhism competed with Daoism at both the elite and popular level and attempted to build a church where none before existed. Its history during this period parallels that of Daoism in many ways. Indeed, Buddhist clerical elites borrowed certain Daoist practices even while criticizing others (Daoists borrowed just as frequently from the Buddhists), and at the popular level, local cults and believers drew freely from both.[37]

Still, one should not overdraw the parallels. One important difference is institutional: the Buddhist establishment, through its monasteries, became immensely wealthy over the course of this period, and as such evoked a fundamentalist protest (which often took on millenarian dimensions) on the part of believers who saw in this an abandonment of the basic Buddhist mission. The Daoist establish-

[34] Quoted in Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 379.

[35] On the fruitfully ambiguous relationship between Daoism and local cults, see Miyakawa Hisayuki, "Local Cults around Mount Lu at the Time of Sun En's Rebellion," in Welch and Seidel, *Facets of Taoism*, 83–102; Peter Nickerson, "Shamans, Demons, Diviners, and Taoists: Conflict and Assimilation in Medieval Chinese Ritual Practice (c. A.D. 100–1000)," *Taoist Resources* 5, no. 1 (1994): 41–66; Rolf A. Stein, "Religious Taoism and Popular Religion from the Second to the Seventh Centuries," in Welch and Seidel, *Facets of Taoism*, 53–81.

[36] Among the basic sources on the introduction of Buddhism into China are Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (Leiden, 1959); Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (1964; Princeton, N.J., 1972); Zenryu Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese Buddhism: From Its Introduction to the Death of Hui-yuan* (Tokyo, 1985); Arthur F. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History* (1959; Stanford, Calif., 1971). Somewhat more topical, yet still essential, are Stephen F. Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (Princeton, 1988); and Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu, 1994).

[37] For debates at the elite level, see Livia Kohn, *Laughing at the Tao: Debates among Buddhists and Taoists in Medieval China* (Princeton, N.J., 1995). See also Erik Zürcher, "Buddhist Influence on Early Taoism," *T'oung-pao* 66 (1977): 84–147.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment was aristocratic and elitist, and on occasion it drew resentful protests fired by populist anger, but it did not offer quite the same target. Another important difference is situated at the textual level. Daoist elites, when they composed the texts that would comprise the orthodox canon, were necessarily conscious of the apocalyptic atmosphere of their society, and such consciousness is expressed in their writings. The Buddhist elite were as concerned as their Daoist counterparts with heterodoxy, misinterpretation of the *dharma* (the Buddhist law), and popular movements that challenged monastic control, and they did all within their power to contain such challenges. But textual production for the Buddhist clerical elite was a process of translation of known truths rather than revelation of new ones (even if translation is always creative and never exact, and many new truths were created in the challenging project of translation).[38] Consequently, the apocalyptic discourse on the Buddhist side was differently configured. Millenarian pressures came almost exclusively from below, as lower-level priests and believers developed new readings and applications of Indian symbols that had not been apocalyptic in Indian settings. The Buddhist clerical elite responded by insisting on the "correct" interpretations. For the purposes of this essay, this means that I will not trace the doctrinal history of early Buddhism as elaborated by the clerical establishment but will focus instead on the "creative misunderstanding" of Buddhism developed from below.

This creative misunderstanding grew quite logically out of elements introduced to China by Indian or Serindian Buddhism.[39] On the surface, Indian Buddhism seems to offer a rich wellspring of millenarian beliefs. The Indian tradition (pre-Buddhist as well as Buddhist) conceives of time and history as cyclical, the universe alternating between periods of "manifestation" and "nothingness," with the periods themselves further divided into phases known as *kalpas*, which contain yet further sub-periods of evolution and devolution. One typical statement of this vision notes that world conditions attain a summit at the beginning of each period of "manifestation": people live to be 80,000 years old, everyone is well fed, and the world is at peace. Over time, the pendulum swings in the other direction, so that life spans shrink to a mere ten years, and even these brief lives are plagued by disasters and end in warfare, after which point a period of nothingness ensues before the cycle recommences in the other direction.[40] Only the very highest heavens are immune from this cyclic decay and renewal, and are spared so as to permit the rebirth of all sentient beings and their reappearance in the new period of "manifestation."

Another seemingly promising element in the Indian Buddhist tradition is the widely accepted belief that the *dharma*—indeed, Buddhism itself—would eventually disappear after a period of decay beginning with the death of the historical founder of Buddhism, Sakyamuni. The indeterminacy of this period was a powerful force behind much Buddhist prophecy, particularly as Buddhism continued to

[38] There are of course limits to this generalization. See Robert F. Campany, "Buddhist Revelation and Taoist Translation in Early Medieval China," *Taoist Resources* 4, no. 1 (1993): 1–30.

[39] This section closely follows Erik Zürcher, "'Prince Moonlight': Messianism and Eschatology in Early Medieval Chinese Buddhism," *T'oung-pao* 86, nos. 1–3 (1982): 6 and following.

[40] Jan Nattier, "The Meanings of the Maitreya Myth," in Alan Sponberg and Helen Hardacre, eds., *Maitreya: The Future Buddha* (Cambridge, 1988), 27.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prosper, outliving the earliest prophecies that the faith would disappear five hundred years after Sakyamuni's death.

The image of Maitreya, the future Buddha, who would reign in the distant future over a world of peace and harmony, is yet another element with obvious apocalyptic overtones. The very role of Boddhisattvas—enlightened ones who renounce achievement of individual salvation in order to return to the world and save others—seems on the surface to possess considerable millenarian utility as a messianic symbol. This is all the more true given the tradition of *tathagata*, in which early kings were seen to embody the salvationist posture of the Boddhisattva. One might add that the paradises associated with numerous Boddhisattvas could easily be invoked in a millenarian context as well.

Despite this obvious potential, Buddhism did not gel as a millenarian force prior to its arrival in China. The cosmic cycles were taken to function independently of Buddhist concerns, and prophecies concerning the decline and disappearance of the *dharma* did not take the cosmic cycles into account. To the extent that a "cause" for the disappearance of the faith is identified, it seems to lie in internal divisions within the Buddhist monastic community (the *samgha*), although foreign invasion is sometimes cited as well. In any case, most of the prophecies concern the end of Buddhism rather than the end of the world. Recent research has revealed that the most clearly apocalyptic formulation of this prophecy, the "three stages" schema of Buddhist decline, in which the "true *dharma*" is followed by the "counterfeit *dharma*" and finally the "end of the *dharma*," originated in China.[41]

In short, it seems clear that China fashioned a Buddhist apocalyptic, rather than the other way round. Evidence of this, as in the case of Daoism, is found in millenarian rebellions as well as "heterodox" texts, both of which begin to appear in our sources from the fifth century on. Northern China witnessed most of the rebellious activity: there were some ten "Buddhist-inspired uprisings" in the fifth and early sixth centuries, in which unsanctioned monks, claiming to incarnate or to represent the Maitreya, led believers to rise up against both church and state.[42] Responding to one of these uprisings in 445, the emperor of one of the northern conquest states (the Wei) ordered that all Buddhist monks in the empire be killed and all Buddhist buildings, images, and books destroyed.[43] The decree was not carried out on this scale, but it suggests nonetheless the fear such incidents evoked.

The Buddhist apocalyptic literature of this period is even more revealing. Representative "apocryphal" texts, such as the *Consecration Sutra*, the *Sutra of the White Lotus of Compassion*, and the *Sutra of the Extinction of the Dharma*,[44] discuss the imminent end of the *dharma*, which was a preoccupation of Buddhism in general throughout the Period of Division. Clerical elites tried to push this "imminent end" far into the future, and even in compromises like the Pure Land

[41] See Jan Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 119–29.

[42] See Kenneth Chen, "On Some Factors Responsible for the Anti-Buddhist Persecution under the Pei-ch'ao," *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* 17 (1954): 271; Kohn, *Laughing at the Dao*, 23.

[43] Paul Demiéville, "Philosophy and Religion from Han to Sui," in Michael Loewe and Denis C. Twitchett, eds., *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 1: *The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.–220 A.D.* (Cambridge, 1986), 855.

[44] These are all discussed in Strickmann, *Mantras et mandarins*.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sect, believers insisted that Amitabha, who ruled over the Western Paradise, had received a special dispensation that permitted his efficacy to endure for yet another one hundred years. Pure Land believers thus continued to chant the name of Amitabha and to dream of their eventual salvation in his paradise, despite their conviction that the end was near.[45] "Apocryphal" texts, however, focused on the prophetic disasters that announced the beginning of the end. The texts are full of dire warnings and frightening descriptions of the disasters and suffering that would attend the end and afflict all but the small elite of faithful.

To cite a specific example, the *Sutra of the Extinction of the Dharma* argued that, in the era following the death of Sakyamuni, a new type of devilish monk, bent on penetrating the Buddhist community in order to destroy the *dharma*, would appear. Such monks would bring the monasteries to ruin through their commercial activities, which amounted to selling off church patrimony for personal gain. Populist anger, fueled by lay indignation at the wealth and corruption of the monastic establishment, runs through this and other scriptures: "[In the final days] monks will take pleasure in beautiful garments and indulge in gambling . . . Monks will take concubines . . . Monks and nuns will sin together, and if they have children, the sons will become monks and the daughters nuns."[46] As the final period of the *dharma* approached, there would be flood and droughts, destroying all harvests. Epidemics would ravage the population. Local officials were to become increasingly dishonest and greedy. And then the familiar scenario of the end appears: days and nights would become shorter. Human life would shrink by the same measure, the men having white hair at forty—although women were to grow older as men's life spans reduced. Rich and poor alike would be devoured by fish on the occasion of further floods. Then Prince Moonlight (a messianic Boddhisattva celebrated in several popular apocryphal texts; more on him below) would come to reign for fifty-two years as Buddhist king. At the end of this period, two of the fundamental Mahayana sutras would disappear, followed by the complete disappearance of the twelve classes of Buddhist writings. The characters themselves would simply evaporate from the pages, and the texts would cease to exist. The robes of all monks would turn white, and they would return to lay status. Buddhism would disappear completely.

A concrete example of such eschatological convictions in action is the case of the Three Stages sect, founded in the late sixth century in North China. The ecclesiastical relationship of this sect to the Buddhist establishment is not altogether clear, although its radical teachings certainly suggest an anti-monastic, thoroughly lay orientation. Their response to the imminent end of the faith, for example, can only be described as radical: they "declared the bankruptcy of received Buddhism and called for a new form of religion to rescue men from the world of error and sin."[47] The basis of this diagnosis, as well as of the new religious vision, was the notion that Buddhism as an institution and as a religion had lost, in the final age of the *dharma*, its capacity to make valid distinctions and value

[45] On the Pure Land school, see Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, 338–50.
[46] Quoted in Strickmann, *Mantras et mandarins*, 100.
[47] Mark Edward Lewis, "The Suppression of the Three Stages Sect: Apocrypha as a Political Issue," in Buswell, *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, 213.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

judgments. Everything in existence shared the Buddha-nature, and everything in existence was thus worthy of reverence. In practice, this conviction meant less reverence paid to the gods, texts, institutions, and clergy of the existing Buddhist establishment—sure evidence of the thoroughly populist orientation of the Three Stages school. The school decried the separation between lay and clergy, as well as that between the buddhas and the gods of other Chinese religions. Daoist gods and the demons summoned by the shamans of popular religion, even the evil spirits, were on a par with the buddhas and demanded respect and reverence. Salvation was to be found only among lay people, and the founding master taught only lay audiences. Another aspect of this distrust of the monastic establishment was the sect's radical distrust of the canon or even of teaching in general. Sect members argued that the age of "erudition" had passed and that the "model of the perfect spiritual master was a mute monk who could not understand the meaning of texts. One who through study came to understand the needs of his own age could only hope to imitate this 'mute sheep,'" opening his mouth only to eat.[48]

Despite the obvious populist, anti-establishment bias of the Three Stages school, it maintained an ambiguous relationship with the monastic establishment, suggesting the influence of this bottom-up movement. The group called for salvation through giving—as did the Buddhist establishment in general—but gifts to the Three Stages sect went to the foundation of an "Inexhaustible Treasury," designed to support the poor rather than the monasteries (although monasteries administered the treasuries).[49] Nor was the Chinese state uniformly hostile to the Three Stages school. Indeed, the group was actively suppressed only by those emperors (or empresses) who chose to align themselves with the orthodox Buddhist establishment, as happened twice under the Tang, resulting finally in the group's suppression in the eighth century under Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56), who assumed the role of a Boddhisattva and thus was not taken by the teachings of the school. Until this point, and despite periodic bouts of suppression, the sect dominated several monasteries in the capital and was well known throughout much of the empire for its charitable work. Monks associated with the school composed texts that circulated widely.[50]

Most millenarian Buddhist groups, however, were not so well organized and had even more attenuated relations with the mainstream Buddhist establishment. Indeed, many millenarian "Buddhist" groups were not thoroughly Buddhist at all but represented a *bricolage* of Buddhist, Daoist, and popular religious elements, which once again illustrates the crucial role of the Chinese context in fashioning a Buddhist eschatology. This is particularly obvious in texts treating the messianic Boddhisattva Prince Moonlight, as well as the King of Light, another popular messianic figure, where the central characters and themes were drawn from Maitreyan Buddhism, while the larger grammar of the text was supplied by the Daoist tradition. The cult of Prince Moonlight peaked in the sixth century, building on the more general wave of Maitreyan belief growing in China since the fourth century. This was an "alternative" or a variation on more orthodox Maitreyan

[48] Lewis, "Suppression of the Three Stages," 223.
[49] Lewis, "Suppression of the Three Stages," 218–19.
[50] Lewis, "Suppression of the Three Stages," 227.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

belief, which stressed the eventual ascent of believers. In the Prince Moonlight cult, by contrast, Maitreya descends to carry out the salvation of the beleaguered faithful.

This alternative cult came to be quite widespread from the sixth century on, generating texts such as *The Scripture of the Monk Shuluo* and the *Scripture of the Realization of Understanding Preached by the Boddhisattva Samantabhadra*.[51] In both, the central narrative involves a visit to Prince Moonlight at his abode on Penglai—the Daoist isle of immortality—where he describes the impending disasters and reveals the means to achieve salvation. The narrative is suffused with Daoist elements, most notably the depiction of the imminent end of the world as a cosmic battle between the forces of good and evil, as well as the post-battle judgment, when a small number of the elect (84,000 or 87,000) will be rescued and brought to a safe place to await the final destruction and subsequent recreation of the world. As further evidence of the cross-fertilization, the prophetic calculations in these texts concerning the date of Prince Moonlight's arrive at the same date as calculated in other, popular Daoist scriptures, for the arrival of the messiah Li Hong. As the major scholar of these texts concludes:

> From the fourth century of our era, we can observe the formation of a Buddho-[T]aoist eschatology, in which the main actions . . . are of Buddhist origin, and in which conceptual, stylistic, and terminological elements are largely borrowed from popular Mahayana . . . [Nonetheless] it was the Taoist vision that provided the model for the structure as a whole. It was the Taoist vision that provided a coherent complex of eschatological expectations into which all these disconnected Buddhist themes became incorporated and welded into an integrated whole, and it was also Taoism that filled some essential gaps by providing the materials for which there was no Buddhist counterpart: the apocalyptic battle, the judgment, and the creation of an ideal world.[52]

The Prince Moonlight cult illustrates that, by the sixth century, Daoism and Buddhism had largely fused in the popular mentality, providing a potent mix of symbols and discourses that was to nourish Chinese millenarian thought down to the present day.

IF THE IDENTIFICATION OF A "Buddho-Daoist eschatology" helps us understand the roots of popular millenarianism in early medieval China and the dynamics of its creation, it at the same time obscures what would surely have been important differences among competing versions of the apocalypse. Indeed, this essay has only been able to hint at the regional, historical, and doctrinal variations within the larger millenarian discourse in hopes of illustrating the more general point that the discourse is best understood as a fundamentalist or populist reaction *against* and *from within* the mainstream. The fundamentalist aspects of the reaction are most clearly seen in the Buddhist protests against the wealth and the corruption of the monastic community and the condemnation of the church for having abandoned its own mission of self-abnegation and transcendence. The populist character of much

[51] See Zürcher, "'Prince Moonlight,'" 1–59.
[52] Zürcher, "'Prince Moonlight,'" 10.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the apocalyptic discourse is obvious: lower-level monks, priests, and uncertified religious specialists composed and preached the "apocryphal" texts discussed above; the same group has been identified as providing the leadership for many of the millenarian rebellions of the period; other rebels appear to have adopted the vocabulary of the apocalyptic discourse for purposes of mobilization, again suggesting the mass character of much of early medieval Chinese millenarianism.

Of course, neither fundamentalism nor populism is an unusual feature of millenarian movements in general. Many apocalyptic Christian movements, from medieval times to the present day, could surely be described in such terms. The more important point, in the Chinese case, is the shared character of millenarian discourse during the early medieval period, the fact that the "mainstream" was open and fluid enough to permit the circulation of a variety of apocalyptic currents between both elites and masses. Indeed, the "heterodox" and "orthodox" labels employed throughout this essay are largely anachronistic; I have borrowed them from later Chinese Confucian commentaries. The early Daoist church, by contrast, certainly saw itself as neither "heterodox" nor "populist" ("fundamentalist" might fit, however): its goal was nothing less than to "recreat[e] on a spiritual level the lost cosmic unity of the Han order."[53] In canonical Daoist texts, Laozi's messianic descents had always served the interests of the state. Indeed, he usually descended to advise a new emperor. The bureaucracy of the Celestial Masters church was modeled on that of the Han state. Even the Great Peace rebels drew inspiration from a text that, in one guise or another, had been written for and read by the Han emperors. Emperors throughout the Period of Division—and later—fully understood Daoist pretensions to have preserved and developed the core elements of traditional elite Chinese culture. Tang emperors, for example, not only exploited the fact that they shared a common surname (Li) with Laozi, thus permitting them to claim to share in the charisma of Li Hong the messiah (or at least to suggest their supernatural origins) but also, at certain periods, tested aspiring civil servants on their knowledge of Daoist rather than Confucian texts.[54] Buddhism was equally useful to emperors and ministers of state. Indeed, it was state support for and patronage of Buddhism (at the outset, particularly on the part of the foreign conquest regimes in North China) that permitted the relatively rapid development of Buddhist institutions and the spread of the faith. These rulers saw in Buddhism both a source of miraculous power and prophecy and a means of legitimizing their rule by drawing on strains of Buddhist political thought permitting the identification of king and Buddha.[55] Such uses of Buddhism outlived the Period of Division as well. The rulers of the Sui, the short-lived dynasty (581–618) that unified China in preparation for the more enduring glories of Tang, used their patronage of Buddhism as a tool of reunification, and many Tang emperors chose the posture of

[53] Patricia B. Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory, "The Religious and Historical Landscape," in Ebrey and Gregory, eds., *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China* (Honolulu, 1993), 23. See also Anna K. Seidel, "Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments: Taoist Roots in the Apocrypha," in Strickmann, *Tantric and Taoist Studies*, 291–371.

[54] Timothy Barrett, *Taoism under the Tang* (London, 1996), 61 and following. See also Stephen R. Bokenkamp, "Time after Time: Taoist Apocalyptic History and the Founding of the T'ang Dynasty," *Asia Major*, 3d ser., 7, no. 1 (1994): 59–88.

[55] See Charles Orzech, "The Scripture on Perfect Wisdom for Humane Kings Who Wish to Protect Their States," in Donald S. Lopez, *Chinese Religions in Practice* (Princeton, N.J., 1996), 372–80.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Buddhist Boddhisattva over that of Daoist sage-king. The famous Tang empress Wu Zetian (r. 690–705) made use of the King of Light tradition, mentioned above, for political purposes.[56]

Had this situation endured, China's millenarian history might have more closely resembled that of the Christian West, in the sense that a common eschatological discourse might have framed different and changing understandings of shared concepts and images. Instead, beginning already from the second half of the Tang dynasty, the imperial apparatus chose to embrace Confucianism, which sought to imbue emperors with a less dangerous charisma: the Confucian "son of heaven" may have been semi-divine, but the state cult had little to say about salvation or the end of time. This posture was confirmed during the Song, in the Neo-Confucian revival, and largely continued through Ming and Qing times. At a formal level, then, the political and cultural elite ceased to participate in the shared discourse of the Period of Division.

Then again, nothing is ever really lost. Individual emperors and literati could be fervent practitioners of Buddhism and/or Daoism, regardless of the demands of Confucian orthodoxy, and some strains of Neo-Confucianism drew genuine—as opposed to formal—inspiration from Buddhism and Daoism. Indeed, I have long wondered if the vehemence of the language of many Qing imperial edicts against popular religion was not prompted in part by a private fear that, despite its "perversity," the apocalyptic evocations of popular religion might contain a kernel of truth. At the popular level, the "Buddho-Daoist eschatology" clearly lived on into the late imperial period, most obviously, perhaps, in the groups associated with what we have called the White Lotus, but circulating widely in lesser known oral traditions.[57] Moreover, the scriptures of the White Lotus groups are suffused with a sense of exile and a longing to return to one's "original home." The foundation myths of the Triads and of certain White Lotus groups share a common "fall from grace" motif, in which an original alliance with the emperor and state turns sour.[58] Might we not see in such elements a lament for a lost unity of purpose, a *fundamentalist* call for a return to a distant harmony?

[56] See Antonio Forte, *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century* (Naples, 1976).

[57] See Haar, *Ritual and Mythology of the Chinese Triads*.

[58] See Haar, *Ritual and Mythology of the Chinese Triads*, 390–400.

David Ownby is an associate professor of history at the Université de Montréal. He has worked extensively on the history of Chinese secret societies, his major publications including *Secret Societies Reconsidered: Studies of Early Modern Social Organization in China and Southeast Asia* (1993), which he co-edited with Mary Somers Heidhues, and *Brotherhoods and Secret Societies in Early and Mid-Qing China: The Formation of a Tradition* (1996). More recently, his interests have turned toward the study of the history of Chinese popular religion. He is currently preparing, with Chinese and Canadian collaborators, a comparison of the histories of millenarian movements in China and the West.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AHR Forum

Millenarian Slaves? The Santidade de Jaguaripe and Slave Resistance in the Americas

ALIDA C. METCALF

RUMORS OF A NEW RELIGION SPREAD through the forests, parishes, and sugar plantations of the Bay of All Saints in the hinterland of Salvador da Bahia, capital of the Portuguese colony of Brazil, in the 1580s. By 1585, scores of Indians, many Africans, and virtually all of the mixed race Mamelucos (the offspring of Portuguese men and Indian women) had heard of a congregation in the wilderness where participants had constructed their own temple, practicing rituals through which they achieved a state of holiness known as *santidade*. Mamelucos who joined the sect later described baptisms, prayers, speaking in tongues, "drinking" the sacred smoke of tobacco, and falling into trances verging on delirium. Believers proclaimed that on earth their crops would grow of their own accord, their vegetables would be bigger than those of others, and they would not want for food or drink. Furthermore, they proclaimed that "God was coming now to free them from their captivity and to make them lords of the white people" and that they would "fly to the sky," while "those who did not believe . . . would be converted into birds and animals of the forest." When some of the believers came from the wilderness and built a village and a temple on a sugar plantation in Jaguaripe, on the southern fringes of the bay, Indians, Africans, and Mamelucos from all over the bay came to be baptized by its female leader, known as "Mother of God." From its center in Jaguaripe, the religious frenzy spread to other parishes along the bay where believers embraced the sect and created their own congregations. Faced with a labor crisis on the sugar plantations and a conversion crisis in the missions, the governor of Bahia, the Jesuits, the bishop, and the city council of Salvador joined forces to destroy the sect.[1]

The author wishes to thank Drew Weston and Dorian Miller for research assistance, the participants in the Colóquio Internacional Brasil: Colonização e Escravidão (Lisbon, 1996) for comments on the first presented version of this article, faculty colleagues at the Dean's Faculty Symposium at Trinity University for their many suggestions, Sandra Lauderdale Graham and John McCusker for their careful reading of the article, Ronaldo Vainfas for responding to numerous questions, and Robert Rowland for allowing consultation of his unpublished index of the sixteenth-century trials of the Lisbon Inquisition.

[1] This description of the Santidade de Jaguaripe is drawn from the denunciation of Álvaro Rodrigues in the trial of Domingos Fernandes Nobre, Inquisição de Lisboa, hereafter, IL, 10,776, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Lisbon), hereafter, ANTT; and the confession of Gonçalo Fernandes, in his trial, IL 17,762, ANTT. There may have been two loosely linked (or recently separated) congregations in the wilderness; locating exactly where they were is difficult. References are to the Serra do Rios Grande, the Serra das Palmeiras, a place known as *palmeiras compridas* (tall

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This episode, which scholars named "the Santidade de Jaguaripe," is an almost classic example of a millenarian movement. Millenarianism tends to arise among peoples who live in a "bitter and painful present" and who hope for "a radiant future wherein all evil will be erased."[2] During times of disaster, crises of subsistence, civil war, colonialism, the rapid spread of capitalism, or relative deprivation, millenarian ideas spread because "old myths about the meaning of humanity do not meet changing circumstances; they are no longer relevant."[3] Millenarian movements create a new mythology for those in despair and provide hope for a new world where evil is eradicated, oppression ended, and wrongs avenged. Believers are prepared to sacrifice in order to be among those who will be saved in the next world, the world of peace, harmony, equality, and happiness. Because believers see the world as fundamentally evil, they desire intensely that those who have caused that evil should pay for their sins.[4] Not infrequently, this leads to deep and potentially devastating conflicts with established authorities.[5]

The Santidade de Jaguaripe is classic except for one crucial point: the participation of slaves.[6] Many of those who believed in the movement in Brazil were slaves, and the beliefs of the sect directly addressed the condition of slavery. It might be supposed that the condition of slavery would make a fertile sowing ground for millenarian movements, but in fact there are very few historical accounts of such movements among slaves. This silence in the historiography warrants closer examination. Logically, it would seem that millenarianism ought to be a common response to slavery. More than thirty years ago, Vittorio Lanternari wrote that, in the Caribbean, "where the Negro population of African descent has suffered centuries-old oppression at the hands of European and American slave traders, conditions of life have prepared the ground for any religious cult which promises

---

palms), a place known in the Indian language as *rioguasu*, which the informant translated as "great cold." José Calasans believes it to have been in the Serra do Orobo; see *Fernão Cabral de Ataíde e a santidade de Jaguaripe* (Bahia, 1952), 11–12.

[2] Vittorio Lanternari, *The Religions of the Oppressed: A Study of Modern Messianic Cults*, Lisa Sergio, trans. (New York, 1963), xii.

[3] Ted Daniels, *Millennialism: An International Bibliography* (New York, 1992), xxv.

[4] Sacrifice may take the form of moving to a new holy city, sharing one's possessions, failing to plant the crops needed for survival, or passively withdrawing from the world to await the dawn of a new age. Retribution can be violent or nonviolent, but believers expect a superhuman agent to defeat the evil loose in the world; see G. W. Trompf, "Introduction," in Trompf, ed., *Cargo Cults and Millenarian Movements: Transoceanic Comparisons of New Religious Movements* (Berlin, 1990), 7.

[5] Although millenarian movements are religious in tone, they invariably become political, and thus conflict escalates when sects challenge the right and authenticity of extant political authorities. Daniels, *Millennialism*, xxi–xxiv. There are numerous historical examples of this conflict, for instance, that between the Sioux and the federal government, documented by James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890* (Lincoln, Neb., 1991); the 1896–1897 campaign of the Brazilian government against the millenarian movement lead by Antonio Conselheiro at Canudos, epically described by Euclides da Cunha, *Rebellion in the Backlands*, Samuel Putnam, trans. (Chicago, 1944); or the more recent conflict between federal agents and the Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas, in 1993, described by Philip Lamy, *Millennium Rage: Survivalists, White Supremacists, and the Doomsday Prophecy* (New York, 1996), 159–91.

[6] The extensive bibliography compiled by Ted Daniels, which annotates 787 studies and lists 3,762 titles, does not address slavery as a category for analysis. In the index, "slave" brings up only two titles; see Daniels, *Millennialism*. The exception is the studied presence of millennial themes in the slave religions of the U.S. South; see below.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

freedom and independence to its followers."[7] Yet the historiography of slavery reveals few times when slaves adopted millenarianism to address their situation. Eric Hobsbawm shows how the rapid spread of modern capitalism into peasant societies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries frequently created the context for millenarian movements,[8] yet the slave trade, which is cited by many scholars as a foundation for the development of the Atlantic economy and which deeply affected African and Native American societies from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries, apparently rarely caused similar responses among slaves.[9] Disaster is seen as one causative factor of millennial movements;[10] slaves certainly experienced disasters and famines, be they in the Americas, Africa, or in the transatlantic or transcontinental slave trade; yet we have no documented examples of disasters causing millenarian movements among slaves. Millenarian resistance to the colonial order is a common theme in scholarly writings but not, it appears, for slaves in the colonial societies of Africa and the Americas.[11] Is this silence in historical writing due to the fact that few such movements actually occurred? Or did millenarian movements among slaves arise but leave no trace in written sources? Do written sources exist that historians have overlooked or have failed to read to their fullest potential?[12]

For any or all of these reasons, the slaves who joined and led the congregations within the Santidade movement in Brazil stand out in the historical record as participants in a kind of experience as yet poorly documented or only vaguely understood by historians.[13] In this article, I explore this example of slave millena-

[7] Lanternari, *Religions of the Oppressed*, 158. Besides Jamaica, home to the Rastafarians, whose religion has millennial overtones, and the U.S. South (see below), no indication of a possible association between slavery and millennialism has surfaced in historical writing.

[8] As articulated in E. J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York, 1959), 57–92, the arrival of modern capitalism into a traditional peasant society brings cataclysmic effects as church estates are secularized, land enclosed, and customary rights taken away. Hobsbawm's remote Italian and Spanish villages find parallels elsewhere, when the old ways no longer work and the old understanding of the meaning of life fails to explain the present. For example, the Contestado Rebellion of Brazil (1912–1916) is characterized as a peasant rebellion against the encroachment of capitalism. Traditional patron-client relationships broke down as some members of the local elite cooperated with the capitalization of this once isolated region of southern Brazil, to the detriment of peasants. The millenarian movement promised to recreate an idealized past for peasants whose lives had been disrupted and worsened by the arrival of the railroad, lumber companies, and the loss of traditional land rights; see Todd Diacon, *Millenarian Vision, Capitalist Reality: Brazil's Contestado Rebellion, 1912–1916* (Durham, N.C., 1991).

[9] See Barbara L. Solow, ed., *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); Joseph E. Inikori and Stanley L. Engerman, eds., *The Atlantic Slave Trade: Effects on Economies, Societies, and Peoples in Africa, the Americas, and Europe* (Durham, N.C., 1992); and John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1680* (Cambridge, 1992).

[10] Michael Barkun, *Disaster and the Millennium* (New Haven, Conn., 1974).

[11] Michael Adas, *Prophets of Rebellion: Millenarian Protest Movements against the European Colonial Order* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979), uses a comparative approach to investigate millenarian movements, sparked by the displacement of local elites, who sought to revive tradition and expel the foreigners.

[12] See Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, 1995), 26–30, on the four moments where silences enter historical production.

[13] Slave resistance is of major interest to Brazilian history due to the importance of slavery in Brazilian development, but this literature has never explored whether slave resistance could have taken millenarian forms. See, for example, Maria Januária Vilela Santos, *Balaiada e a insurreição de escravos no Maranhão* (São Paulo, 1983); Clóvis Moura, *Rebeliões da senzala: Quilombos, insurreições, guerrilhas*, 3d edn. (São Paulo, 1981); Moura, *Quilombos: Resistência ao escravismo* (São Paulo, 1987); Waldemar de Almeida Barbosa, *Negros e quilombos em Minas Gerais* (Belo Horizonte, 1972); Vicente Salles, *O negro no Pará: Sob o regime da escravidão* (Rio de Janeiro, 1971); Julio José Chiavenato, *O negro no*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rianism and suggest that it may represent a form of slave resistance possibly characteristic of early slavery elsewhere in the Americas. In making this assertion, I go a step beyond the usual characterization of the 1585 Santidade de Jaguaripe as a movement of Indians that emerged out of an indigenous Messianic tradition. I maintain that the Santidade de Jaguaripe is more fully understood as the impulse of the dominated in an alien colonial environment to create a new world and new identities for themselves, appropriating not only their own cultural traditions but also syncretic beliefs, language, and rituals drawn from their immediate experience in colonial society.[14]

The early letters and chronicles of Brazil describe a Messianic tradition that for many scholars holds the key to understanding the Santidade de Jaguaripe. After residing in Brazil for only a few months, for example, the leader of the Jesuit mission to Brazil, Manuel da Nóbrega, wrote that the Indians "worshipped nothing nor knew God" and only had the following ceremony among themselves: from time to time, a "wizard" (*hechizero*) appeared in the villages and, projecting his voice through a gourd, preached that there was no need to work, that the crops would grow on their own, that arrows would hunt the game, that the old would become young, that warriors would kill many of their enemies, and that the people would eat many captives. After the preaching, the Indians, especially the women, began to

---

Brasil: Da senzala à Guerra do Paraguai (São Paulo, 1980); Lana Lage da Gama Lima, *Rebeldia negra e abolicionismo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1981); João José Reis and Eduardo Silva, *Negociação e conflito: A resistência negra no Brasil escravista* (São Paulo, 1989); Pedro Tomás Pedreira, *Os quilombos brasileiros* (Salvador, 1973); and Maria Amélia Freitas Mendes de Oliveira, *A Balaiada no Piauí* (Teresina, 1985). Stuart B. Schwartz's review of the literature on slave resistance, *Slaves, Peasants, and Rebels: Reconsidering Brazilian Slavery* (Chicago, 1992), similarly reveals no discussion of millenarianism among slaves. Even the most recent scholarship contains no analysis of millenarianism; see João José Reis and Flávio dos Santos Gomes, *Liberdade por um fio: História dos quilombos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1996). A few scholars consider the possibility of millenarianism in the 1835 *malê* (Muslim) uprising in Bahia; see Howard Prince, "Slave Rebellion in Bahia, 1807–1835" (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1972); and Viania Alvim, "Movimentos proféticos, pré-políticos e contra-culturais dos negros islamizados na Bahia do século XIX: A Revolta dos Malês" (Tese de Mestrado, Universidade Federal da Bahia, 1975). João José Reis rejects this approach by stating that millenarians destroy the world and wait for divine reconstruction, while the *malês* wanted to reconstruct their world with their own hands. See "Um balanço dos estudos sobre as revoltas escravas da Bahia," in *Escravidão e invenção da liberdade: Estudos sobre o negro no Brasil*, Reis, ed. (São Paulo, 1988), 119. In his outstanding study of the revolt, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia*, Arthur Brakel, trans. (Baltimore, 1993), however, Reis inadvertently describes millennial overtones to the revolt. The rebellion was planned to coincide with Ramadan, the "night of destiny"; this celebration "was to be *the first act of a new era*" (p. 119, emphasis mine). The rebels believed that "the serious defenders of and participators in the white slave society were on the side of evil, whereas the *apocalyptic* Islamic militants were on the side of good, and were joyous because they were working for a just transformation of the world" (p. 120, emphasis mine). Reis describes how the rebels wore amulets inscribed with religious texts, which they believed would protect them in the fray: "'Victory comes from Allah. Victory is near. Glad tidings for all believers,' promised the *millennial* text in one amulet confiscated by the police," writes Reis (p. 120, emphasis mine). It is entirely possible that the *malê* revolt did have millenarian influences, given that Islam has its own tradition of millenarianism, which revolves around the coming of a savior, or Mahdi, who will deliver the believers into the new age, a time of universal justice and well-being before the end of the world. See Saïd Amir Arjomand, "Islamic Apocalypticism in the Classical Period," in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, Bernard McGinn, John J. Collins, and Stephen J. Stein, eds. (New York, 1999), 2: 238–83.

[14] See, for example, how critics describe the process of creating a postcolonial literature in Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (London, 1989), 195.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shake, throw themselves on the ground, and froth at the mouth; the wizard would cure them and holiness (*santidad*) would enter them.[15]

In 1952, José Calasans wrote the first modern history of the Santidade de Jaguaripe and hinted that it belonged within the context of the periodic appearance among Brazilian Indians of individuals known as *caraíbas*, who were perceived to possess supernatural powers.[16] Subsequently, sociologists, anthropologists, and historians drew on the work of Curt Nimuendajú-Unkel, Alfred Métraux, Egon Schaden, and Hélène and Pierre Clastres on Tupi-Guaraní religion to understand the phenomenon of the *caraíba* and the periodic migrations undertaken by the Tupi Guaraní in search of a "land without evil."[17] Only brief descriptions of the Santidade of Jaguaripe, however, appeared in the scholarly literature,[18] until Ronaldo Vainfas's monograph *A heresia dos índios* brought the movement into sharper focus. Vainfas argues that the *caraíba* tradition of Messianic leadership, combined with the Tupi-Guaraní migrations seeking the "land without evil," took on a new form in the Santidade de Jaguaripe. Because the sect was influenced by Christianity, however, he views its indigenous rituals as less "authentic" than those of previous Messianic movements. Vainfas characterizes the Santidade de Jaguaripe as an "insurgent idolatry," a form of indigenous resistance to colonialism.[19]

I would like to suggest an alternate reading of the Santidade de Jaguaripe: that it was a millenarian movement of slaves. Of all the scholars who have written about the Santidade de Jaguaripe, only Roger Bastide suggests a possible link between slavery and millenarianism. In a brief reference to the Santidade de Jaguaripe in his larger study on African religions in Brazil, Bastide writes, "Sociologically the cult belongs to the category of messianism; it is heavily charged with resentment—the slave's resentment of his master, the native Indian's resentment of his conqueror—and it prophetically proclaims the victim's ultimate revenge against the Europe-

[15] *Informação das terras do Brasil do P. Manuel da Nóbrega*, Bahia, August 1549, in Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, *Monumenta Brasiliae* (Rome, 1956), 1: 150–52.

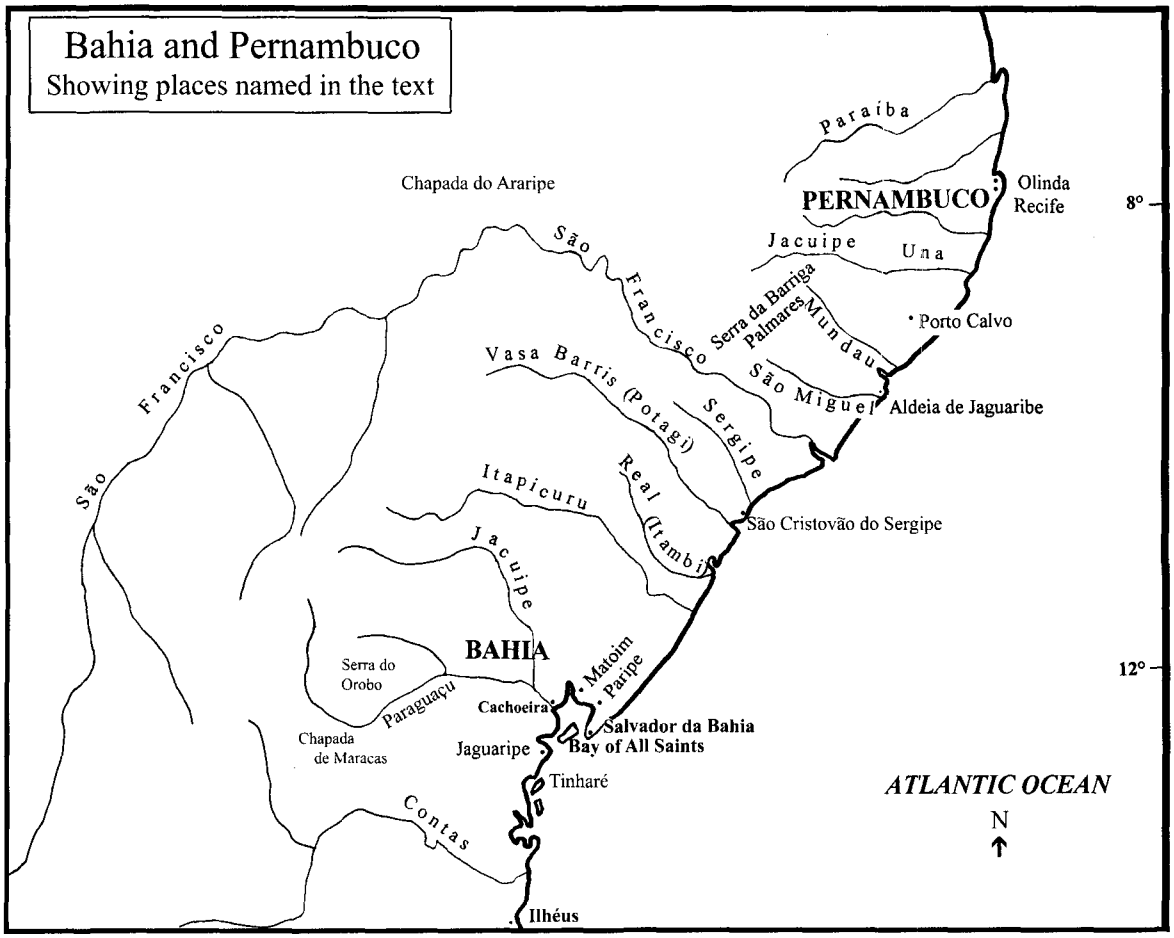
[16] Calasans, *Fernão Cabral de Ataíde*, 5–9.

[17] See Curt Nimuendajú-Unkel, *Los mitos de creación y de destrucción del mundo como fundamentos de la religión de los Apapokuva-Guaraní*, Juergen Riester G., ed. (Lima, 1978); Alfred Métraux, "Migrations historiques des Tupi-Guaraní," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* 19 (1931): 1–47; Métraux, *La religion des Tupinamba et ses rapports avec celle des autres tribus Tupi-Guarani* (Paris, 1928), 201–52; Métraux, "Messiahs of South America," *Interamerican Quarterly* 3, no. 2 (1941): 53–60; Egon Schaden, *Aculturação e messianismo entre índios brasileiros* (São Paulo, 1972); and Hélène Clastres, *The Land-without-Evil: Tupí-Guaraní Prophetism*, Jacqueline Grenez Brovender, trans. (Urbana, Ill., 1995). Within the literature, there is disagreement over whether the prophetic movements existed before colonization or emerged as a result of it; see Carlos Fausto, "Fragmentos de história e cultura Tupinambá: Da etnologia como instrumento crítico de conhecimento etno-histórico," in Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, ed., *História dos Índios no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1992), 385–87.

[18] Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz places it within a typology of primitive Messianic movements in Brazil in *O messianismo no Brasil e no mundo* (São Paulo, 1965), 146–48, while René Ribeiro sees it as part of the pre-conquest and early colonial movements in "Brazilian Messianic Movements," in Sylvia L. Thrupp, ed., *Millenial Dreams in Action: Studies in Revolutionary Religious Movements* (New York, 1970), 57. Two well-researched descriptions of the movement were published by Sonia Siqueira, "A elaboração da espiritualidade do Brasil colônia: O problema do sincretismo," *Anais do Museu Paulista* 36 (1975): 211–28; and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society, Bahia, 1550–1835* (Cambridge, 1985), 47–50.

[19] Ronaldo Vainfas, *A heresia dos índios: Catolicismo e rebeldia no Brasil colonial* (São Paulo, 1995), 64–69. Vainfas also relies on Schwartz's careful situation of the movement as part of a larger phenomenon of indigenous resistance in the larger economic history of Indian slavery and the growth of sugar plantations in Bahia (see *Sugar Plantations*, 47–50).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



ans."[20] Although Bastide did not view millennialism as an important part of African religion in Brazil, arguing that African-Brazilians did not initiate their own millenarian movements,[21] a careful reading of the Santidade de Jaguaripe suggests that Indian and African slaves used millennial ideas to construct their own religious experience. In calling the Santidade de Jaguaripe a movement of slaves, I do not deny that it was influenced by the indigenous tradition. However, I argue that the

[20] Roger Bastide, *The African Religions of Brazil: Toward a Sociology of the Interpenetration of Civilizations*, Helen Sebba, trans. (Baltimore, 1978), 173–74. Bastide sees the sect as an example of indigenous Messianism and as an early manifestation of *catimbó*—an indigenous popular religion in which African-Brazilians participated but did not lead.

[21] Bastide argued that a distinctly black Messianism never emerged in Brazil because African religion survived in a pure state there, which kept the "black attuned to nature, not [to] a problematical future," and because Brazilian "society had no color line and therefore no pariah group." *African Religions of Brazil*, 362–63. Although portions of this assertion ring hollow today, Bastide's influence over the writing of the history of slavery in Brazil has caused many scholars to accept his view that slavery and millennialism do not mix. For example, Queiroz in *O messianismo no Brazil*, 299–300, follows Bastide in her analysis of blacks in Brazil. René Ribeiro is one of the few to question this assumption. In "Messianic Movements in Brazil," he states that "Bastide was unable to explain why the Brazilian black, while relegated to the lowest rung of the social scale and subject to the most severe frustrations, has never had recourse to messianic movements." *Luso Brazilian Review* 29 (1992): 76.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

movement was a new creation in response to the radically new situations slaves encountered in the emerging colonial society.

FOR THE HISTORIAN TRYING TO RECONSTRUCT the meanings and experience of the Santidade de Jaguaripe, the postcolonial insight that "language is power because words construct reality" leads to nagging doubts when confronting the sources at hand, all of which were written from the perspective of colonial authorities.[22] The written sources for the Santidade de Jaguaripe consist of a Jesuit annual letter from 1585[23] (presumably, other Jesuit sources exist or existed[24]) and trials from the Portuguese Inquisition. The trials that describe the sect date from 1591 and 1592, when a Visiting Inquisitor arrived in Bahia to establish a temporary presence of the Holy Office of the Inquisition.[25] Because the inquisitor had heard many residents of Salvador and the Recôncavo denounce the Portuguese and the mixed-race Mamelucos who tolerated and participated in the rituals of the sect, he tried six of those so accused.[26] It is only because of these trials that historians can reconstruct the sect at all. Yet these descriptions come to us in the written language, terminology, and codes of the Inquisition. The denunciations, confessions, and interrogations contained in the trials never record first-person accounts but, rather, are written in the more remote third person used by the notary. Beyond the fact that the statements of individuals were transformed by the notary of the Inquisitorial court, the historian can never know how individuals tailored their confessions and denunciations to reveal or to hide what they did or did not know, or to protect or to incriminate those around them. Descriptions of millenarian movements inevitably represent the opinions and information of unsympathetic outsiders, and the Santidade de Jaguaripe is no exception. Virtually all the denunciations were made by individuals who had little direct experience with the sect, while the confessions of those who did believe each contained a statement recanting those beliefs. The Inquisitorial court did not record the testimonies of any Indian or African slaves

[22] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *Empire Writes Back*, 89.

[23] Jesuit annual letter of 1585, *Annuae Litterae Societatis Iesu, Anni MDLXXXV* (Rome, 1587), 129–41. I thank Ronaldo Vainfas, Sandra Lauderdale Graham, and Richard Graham for locating and copying the letter, and Colin Wells for translating it from the Latin text.

[24] Jesuit historian Pierre du Jarric wrote about the Santidade de Jaguaripe: R. P. Petri Iarrici, *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum* (Coloniae Agrippinae [Cologne], 1615), 374–78; and *Histoire des choses plus memorables advenues tout en Indes Orientales que autres pais de la decouverte des Portugais*, 3 vols. (Bordeaux, 1608–10), 2: 319–23, which suggests that he may have had access to other sources. The great Jesuit historian of Brazil, Serafim Leite, S.I., however, notes only the annual letter of 1585; see *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1938), 2: 22–24.

[25] The books of denunciations and confessions were first published as *Primeira visitação do Santo Ofício às partes do Brasil pelo Licenciado Heitor Furtado de Mendonça: Confissões da Bahia 1591–1592* (Rio de Janeiro, 1935); and *Primeira visitação do Santo Ofício às partes do Brasil pelo Licenciado Heitor Furtado de Mendonça: Denunciações da Bahia 1591–1593* (São Paulo, 1925). Ronaldo Vainfas has produced a new edition of the confessions of the first Inquisitorial visit; see Santo Ofício da Inquisição de Lisboa, *Confissões da Bahia* (São Paulo, 1997). The full trial records of those tried for participation in the sect are only to be found in the Inquisição de Lisboa collection of the ANTT.

[26] The six trials are Domingos Fernandes Nobre, IL 10,776, ANTT; Fernão Cabral de Tayde, IL 17,065, ANTT; Gonçalo Fernandes, IL 17,762, ANTT; Iria Alvarez, IL 1,335, ANTT; Cristovão de Bulhões IL 7,950, ANTT; and Pantalião Ribeiro, IL 11,036, ANTT. The trial of Marcos Tavares, IL 11,080, ANTT, makes reference to his belief in the Santidade, as does the incomplete trial of Heitor Antunes, IL 4,309, ANTT.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who participated in the sect. The historian cannot even list the names of the believers.

Flawed as these sources are, they do produce a picture of the movement, at least as it was seen by the Jesuit Provincial in 1585 and recorded by the Inquisition notary in 1591 and 1592. According to these sources, the movement began when an Indian known simply as Antonio began to preach in the wilderness beyond Jaguaripe, outside the Bay of All Saints. Antonio had been raised in a Jesuit mission on the island of Tinharé and from there had fled into the wilderness, where he "invented" the sect.[27] Rumors spread rapidly through the Bay of All Saints that "Saint Mary Our Lady, Mother of God" had appeared among the Indians.[28] Indians, both free and slave, ran away from the plantations of the Portuguese to join the sect. A Portuguese sugar planter, Fernão Cabral de Tayde, proposed to the governor of Bahia that he would send his veteran Mameluco backwoodsman, interpreter, and Indian slaver, Domingos Fernandes Nobre, to find the sect in the interior and bring it to his estate in Jaguaripe.[29] Nobre led a troop of twenty Mamelucos and eighty Indian archers into the backlands. There they found Antonio and eighty followers.[30] The Mamelucos then participated in the sect's rituals. According to Nobre, they only feigned enthusiasm, because their ulterior motive was to bring the sect to Cabral's estate. Nobre did send some sixty followers to Cabral's plantation, but he remained in the wilderness ostensibly to persuade the rest, and Antonio the "Pope," to go to Jaguaripe, too. Cabral, apparently interested in acquiring more laborers for his plantation, allowed those who came from the wilderness to build a village and a temple.[31] A woman known as "Mother of God" led the temple in Jaguaripe, and

[27] Antonio's Indian name was Tamanduare according to Paulos Dias, who also said that he had "heard" that Antonio "used to be of the Jesuits." See his confession in the trial of Domingos Fernandes Nobre, IL 10,776, ANTT. Bras Diaz stated that Antonio had been raised in the "missions" of the Jesuits and that he had invented the sect; see his confession in *Confissões da Bahia*, 159. The island of Tinharé is just to the south of Jaguaripe, in the Captaincy of Ilheus. The Jesuits had two missions on the island, both of which were founded in 1561, at the request of an Indian chief of the region who had been baptized; see Antonio Blasquez to Diogo Lainez, September 1, 1561, *Monumenta Brasiliae*, 3: 424–27. At their founding, the missions had 6,000 residents. However, the missions were shortlived due to the severe plague and famine that broke out in 1563–1564. A vivid description of the terror of that plague, which apparently arrived on a ship that landed at Ilheus, is recounted in Leonardo do Vale to Gonçalo Vaz de Melo, May 12, 1563, *Monumenta Brasiliae*, 4: 9–22. According to Serafim Leite, the Indians fled from the two mission villages after the plague; *História da Companhia de Jesus*, 2: 58.

[28] Cross-examination of Cristovão de Bulhõis in his trial, IL 7,950, ANTT; confession of Luisa Rodriguez, *Confissões da Bahia*, 206.

[29] See the trial of Fernão Cabral, especially the letter of Manoel Telles Barreto, IL 17,065, ANTT, as well as the trial of Domingos Fernandes Nobre, IL 10,776, ANTT. Nobre, widely known by his Indian nickname "Tomacauna," is a fascinating example of a mixed race go-between. Because he was able to negotiate the Indian and the Portuguese worlds, he and others like him were invaluable allies to the early Portuguese colonists. See Alida C. Metcalf, "Intermediários no mundo português: Lançados, pombeiros e mamelucos do século XVI," *Sociedade Brasileira de Pesquisa Histórica* 13 (1997): 3–13.

[30] See the trials of Domingos Fernandes Nobre, IL 10,776, ANTT; Cristovão de Bulhõis, IL 7,950, ANTT; and Pantalião Ribeiro, IL 11,036, ANTT.

[31] The most obvious explanation for Cabral's behavior was that he sought to obtain labor for his plantation. His kinsman, for example, stated that, through his initiative, he brought the Indians from the wilderness, suggesting that Cabral paid for the expedition in the same way that other planters paid for expeditions to obtain Indians from the wilderness. See denunciation of Francisco d'Abreu, in *Denunciações da Bahia*, 315–16. When the Visiting Inquisitor asked Domingos de Oliveira why Cabral behaved as he did, Oliveira responded that it was to "acquire the Indians"; *Denunciações da Bahia*, 266. Domingos de Almeida stated that "it was said" that Cabral consented to the Santidade so as to acquire many slaves; *Denunciações da Bahia*, 251.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

soon her fame spread to other plantations.[32] Not only did slaves flee from their masters and seek the sect in Jaguaripe, but new congregations sprang up in other parishes of the Bay of All Saints.[33] It was said that Cabral entered the sect's temple on several occasions and doffed his hat as a sign of respect, as did others, including the nephew of the governor.[34]

The governor of Brazil, who resided in Salvador, ordered Cabral to dismantle the sect; but Cabral stalled, arguing that to do so would endanger Nobre, who was still in the wilderness negotiating with Antonio. Unwilling to wait, the governor dispatched troops under the command of the Portuguese sugar planter Bernaldimo Ribeiro da Gram to Cabral's estate. There, Cabral refused to help Gram, saying that they would all be killed; but Gram went to the temple anyway, where in the Indian language, he persuaded them to surrender. He burned the temple and took the idol and holy books to the governor.[35]

Meanwhile, the governor had sent the Mameluco sugar planter Álvaro Rodrigues and his brother Rodrigo Martins to the wilderness to imprison the rest of the sect's followers. Rodrigues testified that he found many congregations, all of which he destroyed "by force of arms." In some battles, he destroyed the faith of the believers by singling out the leaders, who claimed that no sword or chain could hurt them, and executing them in front of their followers.[36]

None of the confessions or denunciations speak clearly of the fate of Antonio. In the annual letter, however, the Jesuit Provincial wrote that some of the mission Indians, having fallen prey to "the ancient serpent" and having succumbed to the "poison" of the sorcerer (Antonio?), saw the light. For when the sorcerer was passing through, they imprisoned and beat him until the Jesuits intervened to save his life. Then the sorcerer was sent to the governor, who put him on trial. The outcome, according to the Jesuits, was that "he who a little before had made himself God was dragged in public through the villages to be the sport and mockery of everyone."[37] Turning him over to the Indians who had apprehended him, the Jesuit letter continues, the governor expected him to be killed, and the Indians obliged, by hanging him. But the governor himself stated in another document that the "pope"

[32] Francisco d'Abreu, *Denunciações da Bahia*, 315–16; Antonio da Fonsequa, *Denunciações da Bahia*, 346–47; Domingos de Oliveira, *Denunciações da Bahia*, 264–65; Bernaldimo Ribeiro da Gram, *Denunciações da Bahia*, 381–82; Belchior da Fonsequa, *Denunciações da Bahia*, 276–78; and others refer to the role of this woman known as "Mother of God" or "St. Mary" on Cabral's estate.

[33] Gonçalo Fernandes stated in his confession that the fame of the sect was so great throughout the Captaincy of Bahia that all Indians, both slave and free, either fled from their masters to join the sect at Jaguaripe or adopted the sect's beliefs and followed its rituals where they were; see his trial, IL 17,762, ANTT. Maria Antunes described a Mameluca woman in Matoim who joined her slaves and did the ceremonies with them; *Denunciações da Bahia*, 411.

[34] Trial of Fernão Cabral, IL 17,065, ANTT. The confession of Cristovão de Bulhões, IL 7,950, ANTT, states that the governor's nephew had also entered the temple and revered the idol.

[35] Francisco d'Abreu, *Denunciações da Bahia*, 315–16; Bernaldimo Ribeiro da Gram, *Denunciações da Bahia*, 381–82; Manoel Telles Barreto to Bernaldimo Ribeiro da Gram in the trial of Fernão Cabral. Cabral, however, states in his confession that he ordered the sect disbanded and the temple burned. He further states that he gave over to the governor the "Mother of God," her husband, and all the slaves whom he had ordered brought from the wilderness to his estate; see trial of Fernão Cabral, IL 17,065, ANTT.

[36] See the *certidão* of Manoel Telles Barreto and the denunciations of Álvaro Rodrigues and Diogo Dias in the trial of Fernão Cabral, IL 17,065, ANTT; Vainfas, *A heresia dos índios*, 98–99.

[37] Jesuit annual letter of 1585, *Annuae Litterae*.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

disappeared and fled and there was no further news. Other leaders of the sect, such as the "Mother of God," were sent to Portugal.[38]

The Visiting Inquisitor responded to all of this information in what seems to the modern reader to be a surprising fashion. He singled out the Portuguese sugar planter Cabral, who had tolerated the sect on his plantation, and ordered him imprisoned. Setting and then catching Cabral in a perjury trap, the inquisitor sentenced Cabral to a stiff fine and banished him from Brazil for two years. Nobre and the other Mamelucos who confessed to joining in the ceremonies in order to bring the congregation to Jaguaripe were given spiritual penitences to complete and ordered never to return to the wilderness. Gonçalo Fernandes, who confessed to believing in the sect while a teenager, was given spiritual penitences, a small fine, and ordered not to return to the wilderness. Iria Alvares, whom the inquisitor interrogated to get her to confess that she had forced her son into the sect, was ordered to appear at the Inquisition's public auto-da-fé with a lit candle and instructed to meet regularly with her confessor.[39]

With these measures, the inquisitor dealt with the lingering memories of the Santidade de Jaguaripe. From his perspective, the case was closed. But the historian must revisit the sources over and over to piece together what the Santidade de Jaguaripe might have meant to its believers. These sources leave many unanswered questions. But they do reveal a compelling picture of a passionate community, composed primarily of slaves, that defined itself in opposition to the colonial order, using a new kind of language and religious ritual.

WHEN THE MILLENARIAN MOVEMENT known as Santidade arose, Brazil was still at an early stage of colonial evolution. Although Pedro Álvares Cabral's voyage from Lisbon in 1500 resulted in the official discovery of Brazil, systematic colonization, especially of the Bay of All Saints region, did not begin until 1549. In that year, King João III dispatched a royal governor for all Brazil to reside at Salvador, and authorized the Society of Jesus to begin the evangelization of the Indians. As the capital of Brazil and the residence of the Jesuits, Salvador took on new importance as the site at which colonial authority and Christian evangelization would be made visible. The Jesuits began learning Indian languages to aid in conversion, while the governor encouraged the development of sugar plantations, which the king envisioned as the economic engine of Brazil.[40] Because the sugar planters depended

[38] Cabral claimed that he gave the idol, the leader of the sect ("Mother of God"), her husband, and slaves who followed them to the governor; IL 17,065, ANTT. Francisco d'Abreu stated that the leaders were sent to Portugal; *Denunciações da Bahia*, 316; Manoel Telles Barreto stated that he sent "Mai de Deus" (Mother of God) and her husband to Portugal, but that the "pope" had disappeared; *certidão* of Barreto in the trial of Fernão Cabral, IL 17,065, ANTT.

[39] Trials of Fernão Cabral, IL 17,065; Domingos Fernandes Nobre, IL 10,776; Gonçalo Fernandes IL 17,762; Iria Alvarez, IL 1,335; Cristovão de Bulhões, IL 7,950; and Pantaleão Ribeiro, IL 11,036, ANTT.

[40] On the history of sugar production in Brazil, and its modeling on the experience of the Atlantic islands, see Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations*, 3–27. On the history of the early Jesuits in Brazil, the work of Serafim Leite provides a comprehensive if uncritical foundation; see *História da Companhia de Jesus*, vols. 1–2; for a modern synthesis, see Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540–1750* (Stanford, Calif., 1996), 71–75, 474–83.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on Indians for labor and because Indian slavery quickly became the norm, Jesuits soon clashed with colonists over Indian slavery.[41] Epidemics in the 1560s and 1570s decimated the Jesuit missions and created labor shortages for planters.

During the 1580s, slavery expanded in Bahia, and the Jesuits initiated a new ministry for slaves. These two factors would influence the Santidade de Jaguaripe. The decline of the Indian population was by then indisputable. A Jesuit writer wrote during the 1580s that whereas the Jesuits (who numbered seventy in their collegio of Bahia in 1584)[42] once ministered to 40,000 Indians living in fourteen missions, only three missions still remained, with less than 3,500 Indians.[43] Even with this catastrophic decline, the plagues had not yet stopped. In the annual Jesuit letter of 1581, the head of the Brazilian mission field, the Jesuit Provincial José de Anchieta describes a devastating plague of smallpox and then dysentery in Bahia, which claimed the lives of 9,000. On the plantations, not only did the mills stop, but the cassava roots, essential for subsistence, were not planted. "Masters and mistresses, and their children, served their slaves," he wrote, "but not even this was enough to stop the majority of them from dying."[44] The numbers of African slaves began to increase as planters turned to new labor sources. Certainly, African slaves were in Bahia before 1580, but in few numbers.[45] Anchieta wrote in 1581 that "the slave trade from Guiné has increased greatly, and this year we are certain that more than two thousand have entered in this city [of Salvador] alone."[46] Planters also outfitted expeditions in search of new Indian slaves in the Brazilian interior, while Jesuits dispatched trained linguists to coax Indians to leave their tribal homelands

[41] The initial colonization of Brazil rested on Indian slavery, and Indian slavery persisted even after the slave trade from Africa was well established in the seventeenth century. Jesuits found themselves in an awkward position between the colonists, whom they wanted to enlist in their evangelical mission to the Indians, and the Indians, whom they wanted to protect from slavery. See Thomas M. Cohen, *The Fire of Tongues: António Vieira and the Missionary Church in Brazil and Portugal* (Stanford, Calif., 1998), 13–49; and Alden, *Making of an Enterprise*, 479–501. On the devastating impact of Indian slavery in sixteenth-century Bahia, see Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations*, 28–72. Similar patterns repeated themselves elsewhere in later centuries; see John Manuel Monteiro, *Negros da terra: Índios e bandeirantes nas origens de São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1994); John Hemming, *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978); and David Sweet, "Rich Realm of Nature Destroyed: The Central Amazon Valley, 1640–1750" (PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1974). On the Portuguese legislation regarding Indian slavery, see Beatriz Perrone-Moisés, "Índios livres e índios escravos: Os princípios da legislação indigenista do período colonial (séculos XVI a XVIII)," in M. Cunha, *História dos índios no Brasil*, 115–32.

[42] Información de los padres y hermanos que ay de la Companhia de Jesus en el Brasil y sus occupaciones, 1584, Provincia Brasiliensis et Maragnonensis, hereafter, BRAS, 5, 1: 18, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, hereafter, ARSI.

[43] This report, known as "Informação dos primeiros aldeiamentos da Bahia" or "Primeiros Aldeamentos na Baía," has been attributed to José de Anchieta. However, Hélio Abranches Viotti believes that Anchieta did not write the report himself, although as Jesuit Provincial he certainly ordered it written. Viotti believes the probable author to be Luis da Fonseca or possibly Quirício Caxa. For the text, see José de Anchieta, *Textos históricos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1989), 153–87. It is also printed in Anchieta, *Cartas: Informações fragmentos históricos e sermões* (Belo Horizonte, 1988), 357–402; and Anchieta, *Primeiros Aldeamentos na Baía* (Rio de Janeiro, 1946).

[44] Carta Ânua, 1581, in José de Anchieta, S.J., *Cartas: Correspondência ativa e passiva*, Hélio Abranches Viotti, S.J., ed. (São Paulo, 1984), 308.

[45] Schwartz notes that in the 1550s and 1560s there were virtually no African slaves on the sugar plantations of the Northeast. By 1591, the Atlantic slave trade brought a steady supply of African slaves, and, while Indian slaves still labored on the plantations, Africans held the skilled jobs. See *Sugar Plantations*, 66–68. The Jesuits owned African slaves as early as 1558, and by 1583 the collegio of Bahia owned seventy African slaves; see Alden, *Making of an Enterprise*, 507–09.

[46] Carta Ânua, 1581, in Anchieta, *Cartas: Correspondência*, 312.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the declining missions.[47] Thus, in the 1580s, new Indian slaves entered Bahia from the wilderness while new slaves from Africa arrived in the port. These Indian and African slaves would labor side by side on the sugar plantations of the Bay of All Saints.

According to a Jesuit, the population of Bahia at the approximate time of the Santidade de Jaguaripe was 25,500. Of these, 8,000 were baptized Indians who worked for the Portuguese as slaves or as free workers in name. Some 2,500 Indians lived in the three mission villages directly under the control of the Jesuits, while 3,000 were African slaves. Those Indian tribes beyond the control of the Portuguese colonists and Jesuits were not enumerated. (See the Table.)

At the time of the Santidade de Jaguaripe, many known and unknown Indian tribes still lived in the wilderness beyond the control of the Portuguese. A new religious movement among such Indians might go unnoticed and was beyond the immediate control of the Jesuits or the governor. What made the Santidade de Jaguaripe threatening to the Jesuits was that it appealed to Christians, that is, to Indians and Africans whom they had already converted and baptized into the faith. To the Jesuits, it was immaterial whether the participants were slaves or free; what mattered was that their participation threatened their Christian salvation. For the colonists and the governor, the movement was made dangerous by its appeal to slaves and free workers who fled from the plantations, bringing the mills to a halt. Planters cared less about the religious heresies of their slaves and free workers (as we see from the behavior of the sugar planter Fernão Cabral) and more about the numbers of laborers available to work their fields and mills. Combining these two perspectives reveals that the Santidade de Jaguaripe was a movement of baptized slaves and free workers. It was not a movement of Indians independent of the planters and Jesuits, and it was not a movement of Indians untouched by Christian evangelization.

How can we know exactly who participated in the Santidade? A careful reading of those statements that denounce Cabral and Nobre (most made by Portuguese-born colonists) reveals the perception that the sect appealed to the Indians and Africans under the control of the Portuguese colonists. De facto Indian slavery was the norm in Bahia at this time. Indians who lived as virtual slaves in the houses and worked the plantations of the Portuguese colonists were not necessarily enslaved legally. The crown had issued mixed signals on Indian slavery, and Portuguese colonists liberally interpreted the royal decrees. Although the Indians who lived on their plantations might be free in name, they still lived under the authority of the plantation owner. The term *gentio*, literally "gentile," was the most frequent term

[47] In the Chapada do Araripe, some 180 leagues from Salvador, for example, the Jesuits clashed with the Mameluco slave hunters commissioned by the sugar planters. The Jesuits intended to bring a thousand Indians to their coastal missions, but Mameluco slave traders preached against the Jesuits and convinced many of the Indians to turn against them. The Jesuits returned with only 250 Indians, while the traders enslaved many of the others; see Carta Ânua, 1581, in Anchieta, *Cartas: Correspondência*, 310–11; and Anchieta, "Informação dos primeiros aldeiamentos," *Textos históricos*, 153–87. The text "Articles touching the dutie of the Kings Majestie our Lord, and to the common good of all the estate of Brasill," in *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (Glasgow, 1906), 16: 503–17, possibly authored by Fernão Cardim, contains a long description of the Indian slaving expeditions of Mamelucos. See also the Inquisition trial of Francisco Pires, a Mameluco slave trader, who confessed to preaching against the Jesuits; IL 17,809, ANTT.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TABLE
Population of Bahia at the Time of the Santidade Movement, 1583

	Number	*Percent*
Portuguese	12,000	47
Christian Indians (free and enslaved)	8,000*	31
African Slaves	3,000	12
Mission Indians	2,500†	10
Total	25,500	100

SOURCE: "Enformacion de la Provincia del Brasil para Nuestro Padre," Bahia, December 13, 1583 (Provincia Brasiliensis et Maragnonensis, 15, 333–39, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu); also published by Frederic Mauro, *Le Bresil au XVII^e siècle: Documents inédits relatifs à l'Atlantique portugais* (Coimbra, 1961).

NOTES: *In the context of the document, these Christian Indians are working in either the sugar mills or in the houses of the Portuguese.
†The Jesuits had three missions: Espiritu Santo, San Juan, and San Antonio.

used to describe the adherents of the Santidade, especially in the shorter denunciations of Cabral and Nobre, and it, like the less common term *Brasis* (literally the Brazils) referred generically to Indians.[48] But in the longer and more detailed denunciations, the more neutral *gentio* and *Brasis* are modified by the term *negro*. The terms *negros da terra*, *negros gentios*, and *negros cristãos*, while literally meaning "blacks of the land," "black gentiles," or "black Christians," carried the implication of forced servitude, if not actual slavery.[49] Sometimes the terms *escravo* (slave) or *negro* (black) were used without the modifying *da terra*; these terms could encompass both Indian and African slaves,[50] but *escravos de guiné* or *negros de guiné* (slaves or blacks of Guinea) explicitly referred to Africans.[51]

In the denunciations, *negro* clearly described an individual possessed by or under

[48] Diogo Dias, Fernão Ribeiro de Sousa, Francisco d'Abreu, Gaspar de Gois, Gaspar de Palma, João d'Avila, Julio Pereira, Francisco Roiz Castilho, Manoel de Paredes, Maria de Oliveira, Nuno Pereira de Carvalho, and Pauloa de Almeida all use the term *gentio*; see their denunciations in *Denunciações da Bahia*.

[49] Denunciations of João Ribeiro, Maria da Fonseca, João Bras, Antonio da Fonsequa, and Pero de Moura in *Denunciações da Bahia*.

[50] Denunciations of Domingos de Oliveira, Maria Antunes, João Bras, and Álvaro Sanchez in *Denunciações da Bahia*.

[51] There are two specific references to *escravos* or *negros de guiné* in the denunciation of Maria Carvalha, *Denunciações da Bahia*, 550, and denunciation of Álvaro Rodrigues in the trial of Fernão Cabral, IL 17,065, ANTT. In the Inquisition records, as in Jesuit letters and reports of the same era, *escravos de guiné* or the less common *escravos de Angola* was used to refer to African slaves. Although the specificity of the terms suggest that these slaves were from those regions of Africa, most historians consider "Guiné," when used in the sixteenth century, to be a generic term that refers to the western coast of Africa. See Pierre Verger, *Trade Relations between the Bight of Benin and Bahia from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries*, Evelyn Crawford, trans. (Ibadan, 1976), 3; Bastide, *African Religions of Brazil*, 46. A slave who deposed to the Visiting Inquisitor in Bahia, for example, was described as "Duarte negro de Guiné, filho de gentio de Angola"; *Denunciações da Bahia*, 408. A sixteenth-century map clearly labels Guiné as the land opposite the Bight of Biafra, opposite the islands of São Tomé and Principe from whence the sixteenth-century African slave trade emanated; Fernão Vaz Dourado, *Atlas* c. 1576, Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon. Most of the slaves embarked for Brazil in the late sixteenth century would have come from São Tomé or from the newer slave ports in Angola.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the control of another. Belchior da Fonsequa, who lived in Jaguaripe at the time of the Santidade, was asked by the inquisitor for the names of Christian slaves (*escravos cristãos*) in the sect. He could not always remember the names of individual slaves, but he did remember the names of their masters. He saw *negros cristãos* of Gaspar Francisco, ten or twelve *negros* of Caterina Alvarez, two or three *negros* of Gonçalo Veloso from the city, and Alexandre, a *negro cristão* of Antonio Pires, as well as others who had run away from their masters to join the sect. Belchior's son, Antonio, remembered that all of Fernão Cabral's *negros da terra* participated in the Santidade. Joam Bras went to Cabral to ask him to return his three *negros*, who had joined the sect. In other denunciations, the term *escravo* describes the adherents. Thus Álvaro Sanchez said that the sect attracted *escravos cristãos*. Bernaldimo Ribeiro da Gram, who destroyed the sect on Cabral's estate, specified that Cabral allowed his *escravos* to worship the idols of the Santidade and that *escravos* and *indios cristãos* (Christian Indians) fled from all regions of Bahia to join the ceremonies. The rector of the Jesuit collegio, Fernão Cardim, was most precise in his terminology: he deposed that a great many of the "male and female slaves, Indians of this land, Christians or gentiles" (*escravos e escravas indios desta terra cristãos ou gentios*) fled from their masters to join the sect at Jaguaripe. Similarly, João da Rocha Vicente precisely stated that his slave, a captive Indian of this land (*seu escravo captivo indio desta terra*), had preached the sect's message as far away as the mission villages of the Captaincy of Porto Seguro, to the south of Bahia.[52]

Although it is impossible to reconstruct a list of the believers of the Santidade de Jaguaripe, it is possible to tally the individuals denounced by name to the Visiting Inquisitor. Such a list is hardly representative of the sect, but it does show that those who lived as de facto or de jure slaves predominated in it. Nine Portuguese were denounced by name for entering the temple at Jaguaripe and encouraging the sect. Most, like Cabral, claimed not to have been believers. Twenty-eight Mamelucos are named in the sources, the vast majority of whom were with Nobre when he met the sect in the wilderness. Nearly all of the Mamelucos with Nobre claimed that they participated in the rituals with an ulterior motive—to convince the sect to relocate to Jaguaripe. Other Mamelucos were, however, believers. It is possible to identify positively only eight free Indians in the sect; there were undoubtedly many more. Fifteen different slaveowners are cited by name in the documents as having had their *negros*, *escravos*, or *gentios* participate in the sect. The Indians and Africans under the control of the slaveowners who can be counted number forty. Some denunciations simply state that an "unknown number" or "all" of a given slaveowner's *negros* joined the sect; thus forty is obviously very low. We know, for example, that sixty participants in the sect lived at Jaguaripe alone, yet only ten of Cabral's slaves are individually named. Similarly, a secret gathering of ten *negros* was reported by Paulo Adorno, but he could only name three, Lucrecia, Ilena, and Domingos.[53] This count from the documents does not definitively measure the size

[52] Denunciations of Belchior da Fonsequa, *Denunciações da Bahia*, 277–78; Antonio da Fonsequa, 346–47; Joam Bras, 351; Álvaro Sanchez, 308; Bernaldimo Ribeiro da Gram, 381–82; Fernão Cardil [*sic*], 327–28; and João da Rocha Vicente, 447–48.

[53] Denunciation of Paulo Adorno in the trial of Fernão Cabral, IL 17,065, ANTT.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the sect, or even its composition, but it does suggest that the great majority of the sect members were known as *negros* who lived under the control of Portuguese colonists.

While the vast majority of the denunciations of the Santidade de Jaguaripe suggest that its members were Indians under the control of Portuguese colonists, one of the most important denunciations explicitly described the participation of African slaves, that of Álvaro Rodrigues, the Mameluco sugar planter who, with his brother, led the expedition into the wilderness against the last survivors of the sect. This denunciation was never published, and few of the scholars who have written about the Santidade de Jaguaripe as an indigenous movement know of its content.[54] Rodrigues begins by saying that in the wilderness of Bahia among the *gentios* (Indians) arose the Santidade in which they called some Jesus, another St. Mary, and another St. Paul. Among these Indians were many Christians, some free and some slaves who had fled from their masters. Later, when the sect became established on Cabral's estate, many Christians, both *Brasis* (Indian) and *de guiné* (African) joined them. Rodrigues describes Cabral's estate as where "the *Brasis cristãos* [baptized Indians] and many Mamelucos, sons of *Brasis* and of whites, all being Christians believed in the abuse and left the faith of Christ our Lord, and the *negros cristãos de guiné* [baptized slaves from Africa] began to do the same."[55] Another denunciation, that of Maria Carvalha, an eighteen-year-old free servant of Cabral, specifically refers to an African slave in the movement. She denounced Petronilha, whom she described as a "baptized African slave born in this land" (*negra de Guiné creoula desta terra cristãa*). According to Carvalha, while she was dusting a painting of the Virgin one day, Petronilha slapped the image of Mary and said that it was worthless and made of wood, while hers, the stone image of the Santidade, was better.[56]

THE BELIEVERS IN THE SANTIDADE DE JAGUARIPE created a syncretic religion.[57] Syncretism, which occurred frequently in the sixteenth century when colonialism destroyed the old indigenous societies of the Americas, was a sociocultural necessity, according to sociologist Cristián Parker, for natives to resist "anomic disintegration."[58] One form of syncretism can be seen in the Santidade de Jaguaripe, the reinterpretation of Christianity, that is, the acceptance of Christian

[54] The denunciation of Álvaro Rodrigues was part of a book of denunciations from the Recôncavo that was lost; hence only those scholars who consulted the actual Inquisition trials in Lisbon have seen his report. Siqueira, who read Rodrigues, characterizes the Santidade de Jaguaripe as a movement that united Indians, blacks, and Mamelucos; see "A elaboração da espiritualidade"; Vainfas, who read Rodrigues, states that the African slaves joined the movement for reasons "impossible for us to know"; *A heresia dos índios*, 158; although in a more recent article, he emphasizes the importance of the participation of African slaves in the Santidade de Jaguaripe; see Ronaldo Vainfas, "Deus contra Palmares—Representações senhoriais e idéias jesuíticas," in Reis and Santos Gomes, *Liberdade por um fio*, 60–80. I discuss this article below.

[55] Denunciation of Álvaro Rodrigues, in the trial of Domingos Fernandes Nobre, IL 10,776, ANTT.

[56] *Denunciações da Bahia*, 550.

[57] See Siqueira's analysis of the syncretism of the sect in "A elaboração da espiritualidade."

[58] Cristián Parker, *Popular Religion and Modernization in Latin America: A Different Logic*, Robert R. Barr, trans. (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1996), 12–13.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rites but with the addition of new meanings.[59] The reinterpretation of Christianity rested on a new language, a "language invented by them."[60] Nobre describes the participants "speaking a new language" as part of the ceremony of the sect, while Pantalião Ribeiro calls the language "gibberish that only they understood."[61] The sect used a ceremonial language in rituals, which to one unsympathetic outsider sounded like animalistic howling and bleating, and included shaking, quivering, grunting, and twisting the mouth.[62] The Jesuits, disgusted, vividly portrayed a scene where they spoke "among themselves without moving their lips": "they suddenly fall down only half-alive and tremble violently in all of their limbs; they twist their faces obscenely, and sticking out their tongues in a shameful manner, throw themselves around as if crazy, and with their whole body writhe on the ground."[63]

However repulsed the Jesuits might have been, inadvertently they helped the followers of the Santidade de Jaguaripe develop a common language that gave slaves from disparate cultures a shared vocabulary. Although it is a common perception in Brazil that slaves, either Indian or African, were not the focus of missionaries, the Jesuits did see them as part of their ministry.[64] This mission, moreover, increased rapidly in the years immediately preceding the emergence of the Santidade de Jaguaripe. When the Jesuit Cristovão de Gouveia arrived in Brazil in 1583, he, as Jesuit Visitor, had the charge of reviewing each Jesuit collegio and residence and evaluating their mission. In Bahia, he ordered the brothers to visit the plantations and take care of the spiritual needs of slaves. Fernão Cardim, the Jesuit Visitor's secretary, described the ministry as follows: "we are in continual mission to the mills and farms of the Portuguese . . . [T]hese missions have given such benefits that a father who was there for fifteen days baptized 200 slaves, adults and children, both from Guinea and of this land, and [celebrated] up to 100 marriages . . . and gave them knowledge of the creator and of salvation."[65] In four months, Gouveia claimed, Jesuits had baptized close to 800 *indios* and *escravos de guiné*, married 500, and heard a great number of confessions. From other

[59] Parker, *Popular Religion and Modernization*, 232.

[60] Confession of Gonçalo Fernandes, IL 17,762, ANTT.

[61] Confession of Domingos Fernandes Nobre in his trial, IL 10,776, ANTT; confession of Pantalião Ribeiro in his trial, IL 11,036, ANTT.

[62] Pantalião Ribeiro used the words bleating and howling in his confession, IL 11,036, ANTT; several describe the shaking movements of the rituals; see confession of Domingos Fernandes Nobre in his trial, IL 10,776, ANTT; and denunciation of Paulo Adorno in the trial of Fernão Cabral, IL 17,065, ANTT.

[63] Jesuit annual letter of 1585, *Annuae Litterae*.

[64] The early Jesuit Jerónimo Nadal defined the Jesuit ministry as directed to those "for whom there is nobody to care or, if somebody ought to care, the care is negligent," which meant that Jesuits ministered especially to the poor and the outcast; see John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), 72–73.

[65] "Enformacion de la Provincia del Brasil para Nuestro Padre, in Frederic Mauro, *Le Bresil au XVII^e siècle: Documents inédits relatifs à l'Atlantique portugais* (Coimbra, 1961), 143. Although this report is signed by the Jesuit Visitor Cristovão de Gouveia, its probable author is Fernão Cardim. See also the annual letters of José de Anchieta, "Carta Ânua da Província do Brasil, de 1583," in Achieta, *Cartas: Correspondência*, 344–61; and "Carta Ânua de 1584, ou breve narração das coisas atinentes aos colégios e residências, existentes nesta Província do Brasil," in Anchieta, *Cartas: Correspondência*, 368–86. The Jesuit Visitor to the missions also comments repeatedly about the mission of Jesuits to slaves; see Cristovão de Gouveia to Claudio Aquaviva, November 1, 1584, Lusitania, hereafter, LUS, 68, Epp. 407–09, ARSI; and Gouveia's report of his visit to Brazil, "Visitas dos Padres," BRAS 2, 139–49, ARSI.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

documents written by Gouveia, we know that he cautioned the Jesuits not to baptize (except *in extremis*) if the Indians and African slaves did not know the prayers or have a good understanding of Christianity. The detailed description that Gouveia sent to Rome about how these missions to the plantations should work suggests that the Jesuits had already developed a systematic approach. A priest in whom the order had great confidence, and a reliable companion, would be given the responsibility to visit each plantation yearly. Upon arrival, they would take a census of all the slaves and indicate who had been baptized, who was married, and who had made confessions; they were not to leave until all slaves had received the help and correction needed. They were to say Mass in the morning on saints days because those were the days that the slaves and Indians had off; after Mass, they were to teach the doctrine before the slaves left to work their own gardens. They were to encourage the establishment of the confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary. At night, or during the evening meal, they were to teach the doctrine to the Indians and slaves using the approved catechism.[66]

The effects of the Jesuit mission to Indian and African slaves can be seen in the religious beliefs and rituals of the Santidade de Jaguaripe sect. Accounts to the inquisitor describe rituals of baptism with water, confession of sins, prayer, prayer beads, and the naming of saints. Bras Dias confessed that the sect imitated the Christian church with its crosses and statements that Christ, who gives food, was lord of the world and son of the Virgin Mary, but noted that in these beliefs were "many imperfections" and "nonsense" as it was "a thing of *negros* who know little."[67] In the annual letter of 1585, the Jesuit Provincial depicted a sect with a high priest "as we ordain the Pope," consecrated bishops and priests, and schools to teach the children. The Jesuits were particularly uneasy with the obvious links between the Santidade de Jaguaripe and their own missionary work. The provincial wrote that he found the "cult the more dangerous [than previous superstitions] in that it more closely followed Christian rites and ceremonies, obviously so that by the very similarity of the laws and congruence of the customs the Devil could persuade people who are not the wisest that our customs differ in no way from their customs, and that if they do nonetheless somewhat differ, it is our customs that stray from the truth."[68] The millenarian and Messianic beliefs of the Santidade de Jaguaripe expressed the hopes of slaves who had experienced famine, survived plagues, crossed the forest or the Atlantic in chains, and labored continually in the sugar fields and the mills. The term "millenarian" can be defined loosely to describe phenomena, visible throughout the world in virtually every religious tradition, which evoke "any conception of a perfect age to come, or of a perfect land to be made accessible."[69] Used in this sense, the Tupi-Guaraní tradition of following *caraíbas* who promised a golden age can be seen as millenarian. Álvaro Rodrigues's testimony that the believers were convinced that food crops would grow for them and they would not want for food or drink seems to follow the indigenous pattern. But the millenarian imagery of the Santidade de Jaguaripe sect was also influenced

[66] Gouveia, "Visitas dos Padres," BRAS 2, 139–49, ARSI.
[67] Confession of Bras Dias, *Confissões da Bahia*, 159.
[68] Jesuit annual letter of 1585, *Annuae Litterae*.
[69] Thrupp, *Millennial Dreams in Action*, 12.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

specifically by beliefs that originate in the Judeo-Christian tradition. The Book of Daniel contains one of the most powerful paradigms of millennial transformation; it calls for the saints of God to rise up and overthrow the evil, demonic power loose in the world.[70] Early Christians transformed the Jewish expectation of the Messiah and a millennial age on earth into the return of the Messiah and the inauguration of a heavenly kingdom.[71] In the Book of Revelation, the Messiah returns on a white horse, leading heavenly armies to make war against a ten-horned beast, the false prophet, and thereafter creates a new Jerusalem where the faithful will live with God.[72] He inaugurates the "millennium," the one thousand-year reign of Christ on earth when the devil will be held in bondage.[73]

It was surely the Jesuits who introduced Indians and Africans to Christian millenarian ideas. According to Carole Myscofski, the Jesuits projected a millenarian Christianity in Brazil through their plays and catechism. José de Anchieta's plays, performed in the 1580s, dramatized the Apocalypse in recognizable terms. In the trilogy *Na Vila de Vitória*, Anchieta portrays Bahia as corrupt, ruled by the devil, and in its last days. Redemption comes when saints Ursula and Mauricio overthrow evil and begin a new age.[74] Through Jesuit catechism, Indian and African slaves received exposure to the idea of apocalypse, to the transformative power of redemption, and to the idea of the eternal punishment of evil. A basic part of Jesuit teaching in the *Doutrina Cristã*, the catechism used in Indian and African languages, introduced the concept of the Day of Judgment. Taught in a simple question and answer dialogue, the *Doutrina Cristã* outlined the scenario in plain language. The Jesuits taught that Christ will return from heaven on a cloud; no one, not even

[70] Composed *circa* 165 BC at the height of the Maccabean Revolt, the Book of Daniel prophesies that Israel will overthrow the Greek empire and thereafter dominate the world. Norman Cohn summarizes Daniel's imagery: "The world is dominated by an evil, tyrannous power of boundless destructiveness—a power moreover which is imagined not as simply human but as demonic. The tyranny of that power will become more and more outrageous, the sufferings of its victims more and more intolerable—until suddenly the hour will strike when the Saints of God are able to rise up and overthrow it. Then the Saints themselves, the chosen, holy people who hitererto have groaned under the oppressor's heel, shall in their turn inherit dominion over the whole earth. This will be the culmination of history." Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (London, 1957), 4.

[71] As Cohn explains, "more than any other religion, Jewish religion centers on the expectation of a future Golden Age; and Christianity, developing out of Judaism inherited that expectation." Norman Cohn, "Medieval Millenarism: Its Bearing on the Comparative Study of Millenarian Movements," in Thrupp, *Millennial Dreams in Action*, 31–43; see also Scholem Gershom, *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah, 1626–1676*, R. J. Zwi Werblowski, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1973), 95.

[72] Rev. 19–21; see Cohn, *Pursuit of the Millennium*, 7–10.

[73] Trompf, *Cargo Cults and Millenarian Movements*, 1. According to Scholem, intense hatred of the Roman Empire (the "whore of Babylon" in the Book of Revelation) combined with visions out of the Jewish apocalyptic tradition (with some Christian elements) make Revelation one of the most revolutionary books in literature; *Sabbatai Sevi*, 95–97.

[74] Carole Myscofski, "Messianic Themes in Portuguese and Brazilian Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Luso Brazilian Review* 28 (1991): 77–94. Marjorie Reeves describes the Jesuits as the order that inherited the millenarian outlook of Joachimism in the sixteenth century, for she argues that they saw themselves charged with evangelizing the world and fulfilling prophecies that heralded the second coming of Christ; see Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1993), 274–90. The millenarian beliefs of Antonio Vieira, the influential seventeenth-century Jesuit in Brazil and Portugal, are well known; see Cohen, *Fire of Tongues*. The portrait of the Jesuits drawn by Cohen and Reeves supports Myscofski's thesis that the Jesuits introduced a millennial outlook in Brazil. But John W. O'Malley does not characterize the early Jesuits as millenarian; rather, he sees them as practical in their thinking and not apocalyptic. *First Jesuits*, 262, 269, 322, 372.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

animals, will escape; all will die and then be reborn; the good will be beautiful and the bad ugly. Christ will judge all and will take the good to heaven, where they will live forever, while the evil will go to the fire of hell, where they will suffer eternally.[75]

The application of millenarian teachings to the lives of Indians and Africans can be seen in the confessions of those who participated in the sect. According to the free Indian woman Iria Alvarez, the leaders preached that "God our Lord would descend from the sky to the earth and that God would change this world, and that when God came here to earth all would die, and that after they died, they would rise up again."[76] Cristovão Bulhões confessed that when he and the other Mamelucos under the command of Nobre met the "pope" in the wilderness, they were told to "go and wash," for "a new fire would be born among them."[77] Gonçalo Fernandes confessed that they understood that "God was coming now to free them from their captivity in which they were and to make them lords of the white people and that the whites would become their slaves."[78] Luisa Rodrigues confessed that she believed that "Our Lady and Our Lord would return and walk here on earth."[79]

The Jesuits were not the slaves' sole source of Judeo-Christian Messianic and millenarian beliefs. The Portuguese colonists of Bahia, among whom were numbered crypto Jews, New Christians (the descendants of converted Jews), and Christians, possessed a religious tradition richly interwoven with Messianic beliefs and millenarian prophesies. Although Christian church leaders condemned millenarian and prophetic writings as heresy in the fourth century, these persisted in the popular religion of Christians throughout Europe.[80] In Iberia, millenarian theologies and folk beliefs became an integral part of Catholicism.[81]

The Christian millenarianism of Iberia had roots in Messianic beliefs of the Sephardic Jewish communities of Spain and Portugal. Messianic fervor is a prominent feature of Jewish history,[82] and in the Sephardic communities of Iberia,

[75] Joseph de Anchieta, *Doutrina Cristã* (São Paulo, 1992), 1: 172–75.

[76] Cross-examination of Iria Alvares in her trial, IL 1,335, ANTT.

[77] Confession of Cristovão Bulhões in his trial, IL 7,950, ANTT.

[78] Confession of Gonçalo Fernandes in his trial, IL 17,762, ANTT.

[79] Confession of Luisa Rodrigues. *Confissões da Bahia*, 206.

[80] Cohn, *Pursuit of the Millennium*, 14; Daniels, *Millennialism*, xiv. In medieval Europe, Cohn argues, millenarian views took on revolutionary forms among those who lived in the rapidly growing cities, where trade and industry dramatically redefined family and social life. The large, marginal populations of the cities lived in a state of chronic frustration and anxiety with few rights and limited social networks. Any disruption of the familiar, such as war, famine, a plague, a crusade, tended to push those living on the edge into salvationist groups led by someone regarded as holy; *Pursuit of the Millennium*, 30–32.

[81] The reconquest of Granada from the Moors in 1492 and the expulsion of Jews from Spain in the same year fanned the flames of a militant Catholicism with millenarian overtones. The expansion of western Europe into Africa and the Americas, many believed, would culminate in a millenarian-like redemption. The journals of Columbus express this belief, as do the feverish mass baptisms of Indians in Mexico by Franciscans who believed that the conversion of the last remaining gentiles would hasten the day of the Messiah's return. See Roberto Rusconi, *The "Book of Prophecies" Edited by Christopher Columbus*, Blair Sullivan, trans. (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 31–33; John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 2d edn. (Berkeley, 1970); and Jacques LaFaye, *Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe: The Formation of Mexican National Consciousness, 1531–1813*, Benjamin Keen, trans. (Chicago, 1976).

[82] Widespread belief in the imminent arrival of the Messiah led Jews into the devastating war against the Romans that culminated in AD 70 with the capture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple. Thereafter, dispersed, lacking a nationality, Jews continued to imagine the apocalyptic war that would

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Messianic movements erupted as Jews found themselves increasingly under attack by the crusading fervor of Catholicism. Among the *conversos* (Jews who had converted to Christianity in Spain), Messianic movements appeared, sparked by the intense investigation of *conversos* by the Inquisition, the expulsion of Jews from Spain, and the forced conversion of Jews in Portugal.[83] Messianic hopes cropped up repeatedly among the New Christians in Portugal: Isaac Abravanel predicted the arrival of the Jewish messiah in 1503; David Reubeni sought help to liberate the Holy Lands from the Turks in the 1520s in order to prepare for the Jewish messiah; and Luís Dias was known as the messiah of Setúbal when he was imprisoned by the Inquisition in 1530.[84] The Portuguese New Christian poet Gonçalo Annes (more commonly known by his nickname, O Bandarra) wrote poetry infused with apocalyptic and Messianic themes. Bandarra's *Trovas* describes the coming of a great king and savior who would completely transform the world. Written sometime before 1537, the verses circulated widely, and reached the attention of the Inquisition, which interrogated Bandarra in 1545.[85]

This millenarian and Messianic folk culture in the New Christian community developed into Sebastianism, which appeared after the tragic death of the Portuguese King Sebastião in 1578. Sebastião was widely regarded as the "desired" prince described by Bandarra and others who would lead Portugal into greatness. Instead, Sebastião's short reign ended in tragedy for the military expedition against Morocco, which Sebastião organized, culminating in his own death at Alcácer-Quibir in 1578. Among the devastated Portuguese people, the belief took hold that Sebastião had not died in Morocco but instead had escaped and remained in hiding. Some believed Sebastião would return in glory and inaugurate his prophesied reign.[86]

Denunciations and confessions to the Visiting Inquisitor in Bahia reveal that

---

reunite the scattered communities, restore them to their homeland, and punish their oppressors. In the first century AD, the apocalyptic prophesies of Ezra and Baruch pictured the Messiah as a mighty warrior who would not only rout the Romans but avenge Israel by destroying all those who had once ruled over Jews, and then establish a blissful earthly paradise. In the Middle Ages, a millenarian, utopian imagination remained very much a part of the Jewish outlook. According to Cohn, the massacres of Jews from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries produced messiahs who led millenarian movements, as did the expulsion of Jews from Spain and Portugal. Still later, the preaching of Sabbatai Sevi united virtually the entire Jewish diaspora into millennial expectation in the seventeenth century. See Cohn, *Pursuit of the Millennium*, 5–15; and Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*.

[83] Stephen Sharot, "Jewish Millenarianism: A Comparison of Medieval Communities," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (1980): 394–415; John Edwards, "Elijah and the Inquisition: Messianic Prophecy among *Conversos* in Spain, c. 1500," in Edwards, *Religion and Society in Spain, c. 1492* (Aldershot, Hampshire, 1996), 79–94; W. William Monter, "The Death of Coexistence: Jews and Moslems in Christian Spain, 1480–1502," in *The Expulsion of the Jews: 1492 and After*, Raymond B. Waddington and Arthur H. Williamson, eds. (New York, 1994), 12.

[84] Maria José Ferro Tavares, "O messianismo judaico em Portugal (1ª metade do século XVI)," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 28 (1991): 141–51; Carole Myscofski, *When Men Walk Dry: Portuguese Messianism in Brazil* (Atlanta, Ga., 1988), 47–48.

[85] See Tavares, "O messianismo judaico"; Myscofski, *When Men Walk Dry*, 52–54; Jacqueline Hermann, *No reino do desejado: A construção do sebastianismo em Portugal, séculos XVI e XVII* (São Paulo, 1998), 23–72. The poems are available as *Trovas do Bandarra*, 9th edn. (Porto, 1866), facs. edn. in António Machado Pires, *D. Sebastião e o encoberto*, 2d edn. (Lisbon, 1982), 125–45.

[86] Hermann, *No reino do desejado*; Machado Pires, *Dom Sebastião e o encoberto*, 123–45; on the controversy surrounding the Jesuit role in these events (Jesuits were advisers to King Sebastian), see Alden, *Making of an Enterprise*, 79–91. For the impact of Sebastianism on Brazil, see Myscofski, "Messianic Themes in Portuguese and Brazilian Literature," 77–94.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

millenarian and Messianic religious beliefs were part of the folk religion of Bahia. Many of those denounced to the inquisitor were New Christians, including one who purportedly participated in the rituals of the Santidade de Jaguaripe.[87] A recently arrived New Christian merchant denounced his companion on the sea voyage, Gregorio Nunes, as a crypto Jew who avoided prayers on board ship, turned his back to the cross, and recited verses of the *Trovas* of Bandarra from memory.[88] Before Mass one day, three men discussed the Anti-Christ—how he would come before the day of final judgment and do great harm to good people.[89]

Millenarian ideas, prophesies, and Messianic figures, then, were hardly remote or even fantastic in the world of late sixteenth-century Bahia. But it was the appropriation of millennial prophesies by slaves and their application to slavery that made the Santidade de Jaguaripe threatening to sugar planters and royal officials.

THE SANTIDADE DE JAGUARIPE bonded Indian and African *negros*, *escravos*, and *captivos* into a community. It created a new religion that validated them in a world that did not. For some, one of their first acts was violently to reject the world that oppressed them. According to the Jesuits, as the "superstition" spread among the Indians who lived among the Portuguese, they burned the houses of the Portuguese, destroyed the cane fields, razed the sugar mills to the ground, and killed their masters, then fled.[90] The governor of Bahia, Manoel Telles Barreto, also described the Santidade as the cause of much unrest in Bahia because the majority of the Indians, both free and slave, fled to join the sect, and in the process burned plantations, killed whites, and mistreated the Jesuit brothers.[91] Álvaro Rodrigues explicitly described to the inquisitor how the sect violently challenged the authority of slaveowners: "if the masters of the slaves [*escravos*] prohibited their slaves from following the cult, the slaves rose up against their masters; they wounded and killed them and robbed and burned their estates. It put this land into the hands of those of the cult. They created a riot and a general uprising against the whites and they laid waste to everyone."[92] Others joined the Santidade secretly, and after long days of work in the homes and plantations of the Portuguese, or on Sundays and Holy Days (when the mills were supposed to be idle), they met to perform the rituals that gave them a new identity.[93]

More so than any other denunciant, Álvaro Rodrigues attempted to explain the beliefs of the Santidade de Jaguaripe to the Visiting Inquisitor. Rodrigues was a Mameluco and a sugar planter. As a Mameluco, he understood the Indian culture

[87] A trial for the New Christian Heitor Antunes was begun by the Visiting Inquisitor because of his participation in rituals associated with the Santidade de Jaguaripe, but Antunes died before the trial was completed; see IL 4,309, ANTT. The New Christian community of Salvador da Bahia at the time of the second visitation in the early seventeenth century has been studied by Anita Novinsky, *Cristãos Novos na Bahia* (São Paulo, 1972).

[88] According to his accuser, Nunes recited the *Trovas* because he was waiting for the Messiah; denunciation of João Bautista, *Denunciações da Bahia*, 317.

[89] Denunciation of Antonio Guedes, *Denunciações da Bahia*, 421–22.

[90] Jesuit annual letter of 1585, *Annuae Litterae*.

[91] Letter of Manoel Telles Barreto in the trial of Fernão Cabral, IL 17,065, ANTT.

[92] Denunciation of Álvaro Rodrigues, in the trial of Domingos Fernandes Nobre, IL 10,776, ANTT.

[93] Denunciation of Paulo Adorno in the trial of Fernão Cabral, IL 17,065, ANTT.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

better than most sugar planters, but a sugar planter, Indian slaver, and slaveowner he was, nonetheless. The beliefs of the Santidade de Jaguaripe, in his view, required a different kind of response from that given by Fernão Cabral. For Rodrigues, until the millenarian faith of the believers was destroyed, there would be no peace in Bahia. He told the inquisitor that when he took the leaders of the sect as prisoners, they said that "they would fly to the sky and that they had no fear of the swords nor of the chains because the iron would change into wax and would not harm them."[94] To break the power of the leaders, who claimed that no sword could hurt them, he had to kill them in front of their followers. Only then, "after they [the leaders] died, when the believers saw that what they said was false" did he have control over them, for he stated, "many died on their feet out of fear of punishment and amazement, with no sign of any illness."[95]

Subsequent episodes of slave resistance in Bahia would continue to torment planters and royal officials. Could any of these have likewise been millenarian? The evidence at hand is even more fragmentary, sketchy, and less reliable. But this evidence does reveal that Indians and Africans joined on occasion to resist the colonial order and that these communities had religious characteristics. When King Philip I named him governor of Brazil in 1588, Francisco Giraldes received a detailed set of instructions. One of the problems he was to address was Indian and African slave resistance. The king stated that "there are more than three thousand Indians . . . who have caused much damage to the estates of my vassals and who have drawn to their side all the runaway slaves from Guiné."[96] In the early seventeenth century, the term *santidade* appeared in royal correspondence as a descriptor of runaway Indians and African slaves who practiced idolatry. Writing to a later governor of Brazil, Gaspar de Sousa, in 1613, King Philip II reported he understood that "in two or three places there are groups of Indians and African slaves who had fled their masters and joined together with others, and that they lived in idolatry, and that they called their communities *santidades*."[97] Because these Indians and slaves were robbing and killing, and their numbers were multiplying, the king feared loss to his royal income. He was especially concerned about the Indians who had joined or who were allied with *negros* in rebellion—that

[94] Denunciation of Álvaro Rodrigues, in the trial of Domingos Fernandes Nobre, IL 10,776, ANTT.

[95] Denunciation of Álvaro Rodrigues.

[96] Regimento de Francisco Giraldes, in Instituto do Açúcar e Álcool, *Documentos para a história do açúcar* (Rio de Janeiro, 1963), 1: 359–60. When King Philip II of Spain took the crown of Portugal, he became Philip I of Portugal, and Francisco Giraldes (Geraldes) was his first governor; however, Giraldes never arrived in Brazil. See Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *Do Brasil filipino ao Brasil de 1640* (São Paulo, 1968), 35–39. The king actually referred specifically to Jaguaripe, which led historian Stuart Schwartz to link these instructions to the Santidade de Jaguaripe and to suggest that they prove that Giraldes's predecessor (Governor Manoel Telles Barreto) had not succeeded in destroying the sect; see *Sugar Plantations*, 48; and Stuart B. Schwartz, "The *Mocambo*: Slave Resistance in Colonial Bahia," *Journal of Social History* 3 (1970): 313–33. Yet the king's words are puzzling, because they locate Jaguaripe between Pernambuco and Bahia, when in fact, Jaguaripe is to the south of the city of Salvador, on the southern edge of the Recôncavo, and nowhere near the overland road to Pernambuco. Most scholars rely on a copy of the Regimento extant in Rio de Janeiro, first published in *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, 67, part 1, 220–36, rpt. in *Documentos para a história do açúcar*; and in Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça, *Raizes da formação administrativa do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1972), 1: 259–77. I have not found the original document.

[97] King Philip to Gaspar de Sousa, January 19, 1613, in *Cartas d'el Rey Escriptas aos Sres Álvaro de Sousa e Gaspar de Sousa*, transcribed by Deoclecio Leite de Macedo (Rio de Janeiro, 1989).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is, with runaway African slaves. Interestingly enough, he suggested that the governor call on Afonso Rodrigues, son of Álvaro Rodrigues, to help him. In another letter later in the same year, the king refers to the same problem, naming Jaguaribe, fourteen leagues from Salvador on the frontier of the wilderness, as a place where "there have been many uprisings of Indians and deaths of white people and runaways of slaves from the plantations" and that "thirty leagues distant is a big village of runaway Indians [*gentio*] that they call *santidade*."[98]

Portuguese officials use the term *santidade* in such a way that it seems to refer to communities of runaway slaves.[99] In 1610, the governor of Brazil wrote to the king that in the wilderness was a *santidade* of *indios* and *negros de guiné* of more than 20,000 souls, which he requested permission to attack and enslave.[100] In 1612, Diogo de Campos Moreno, a Portuguese official appointed to study Brazil, uses *mocambo*, the term later used to denote a community of runaway African slaves, and *santidade* to describe the ills plaguing Brazil. Moreno wrote that the crown lost income by outlawing Indian slavery and entrusting Indians to the Jesuits. He blamed the appearance of "*mocambos* among blacks [*negros*], or camps of runaways, which are called *santidades*" and other problems on their poor learning of Christian doctrine from their tutors.[101] Moreno lamented the fact that Indians, who would be of great use to the Portuguese colonists, were instead in villages under the control of Jesuits, and did not do the work for which they were paid. When the Jesuits attempted to punish them, however lightly, "the Indians immediately run away to the forest, where they create . . . abominable rituals and behaviors and join the runaway blacks of Guiné, and from this deaths, robberies, scandals, and violence result, and for these reasons it is not possible to travel through the wilderness nor for the settlements to grow inland."[102]

The use of *santidade* in this official correspondence is striking, for the term traditionally described a religious state. In Latin, *sanctitas* means sanctity, holiness, and moral purity. As we have seen, in 1549 Manuel da Nóbrega used *santidad* to describe the only ceremony he found religious among the Indians—those times when an Indian wizard preached and promised a golden age, causing his followers to shake and froth at the mouth, after which he cured them and holiness (*santidad*) entered them.[103] More than thirty years later, Fernão Cardim, secretary to the Jesuit Visitor Cristovão de Gouveia, used *santidade* in the sense of Sua Santidade (His Holiness, as in the Catholic Pope) to describe the wizards (*feiticeiros*) who rose up among the Indians from time to time, known as *caraíbas*. His use of *santidade* has a religious meaning. He describes how an Indian "of evil ways" promises that the hoes will work on their own and the baskets will fill themselves with food. "Drunk," the Indians fail to look after themselves or till their crops. Dying of hunger, the

[98] King Philip to Gaspar de Sousa, May 24, 1613, in *Cartas d'el Rey*. The letter clearly states Jaguaribe, not Jaguaripe.

[99] I am not the first to see this coincidence; compare Ivan Alves Filho, *Memorial dos Palmares* (Rio de Janeiro, 1982), 10–11.

[100] Diogo de Meneses to King Philip, September 1, 1610, Fragmentos, Caixa 1, Maço 1, Doc. 6, ANTT. Schwartz believes that these numbers are inflated to convince the crown of the need for military action: *Sugar Plantations*, 49.

[101] Diogo de Campos Moreno, *Livro que dá razão do estado do Brasil—1612* (Recife, 1955), 110.

[102] Moreno, *Livro que dá razão*, 113.

[103] *Informação das terras do Brasil do P. Manuel da Nóbrega*.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

group gets smaller and smaller until Sua Santidade remains alone or until they kill him.[104] In the Jesuit annual letter of 1585, written in Latin, *sanctitas* is used to refer to a religious experience—the state of exhaustion or madness that the followers of the Santidade de Jaguaripe attained through their rituals: "When these agitations are followed by the quietness of exhaustion, then finally they are washed with water and made holy [*sanctus*]; and whoever has produced the more horrible signs is thought to have attained the more sanctity [*sanctitas*].[105]

In the Inquisition sources, *santidade* likewise has a religious meaning. Throughout the sources, it refers either to the name of the sect or to the state of religious ecstasy achieved by the believers. Those confessing or denouncing used Santidade to name the sect, but qualified their use of the word. Gonçalo Fernandes, for example, stated that Santidade was the name that the believers gave to their religion: he referred to "their abuse [*abusão*] and idolatry that they called Santidade."[106] Fernandes also used *santidade* to refer to the state the believers achieved after drinking the sacred smoke, praying, and speaking in their "invented" language: he stated, "they drank the said smoke until they fell drunk with it, saying that with that smoke the spirit of *santidade* entered them."[107]

The term clearly had a religious meaning as it was used by the Jesuits and the residents of Bahia in the 1590s. If *santidade* had a religious meaning then, we must ask ourselves if the later uses of the term by government officials and the king were meant to convey a religious experience, too. If so, these cases show additional examples of slaves from very different homelands building on a common religious vocabulary to create a new religion that modified and reinterpreted Christianity.

Ronaldo Vainfas argues that *santidades* were the "true ancestors" of *quilombos* communities in Brazil. *Santidades*, in his view, were communities of Indians who had fled from slavery on the plantations of the Portuguese and from catechism in the missions of the Jesuits. Because African slaves also took part with the Indians in common rituals and warfare against the colonial society, masters of slaves deeply feared *santidades*. Moreover, Vainfas asserts that the specific Santidade de Jaguaripe became a precursor in an Indian form to what Palmares would become in the seventeenth century. "In the Bahian Santidade," he writes, "there were African rebels, just as in Palmares there would be Indians"; both were rebellions directed against the colonial slave regime.[108]

In a remote region between Salvador and Pernambuco, the famous runaway slave settlement of Palmares formed. In 1602, the governor of Pernambuco, Diogo Bothelho, organized the first expedition against five of six villages of runaway *negros de guiné* located in the wilderness.[109] Situated in the present-day state of Alagoas, during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Palmares was remote

[104] Fernão Cardim, *Do princípio e origem dos índios do Brasil*, in *Tratados da terra e gente do Brasil*, Ana Maria de Azevedo, ed. (Lisbon, 1997), 166–67.

[105] Jesuit annual letter of 1585, *Annuae Litterae*.

[106] Confession of Gonçalo Fernandes, IL 17,762, ANTT.

[107] Confession of Gonçalo Fernandes.

[108] Vainfas, "Deus contra Palmares," 60–64.

[109] Alves Filho, *Memorial dos Palmares*, 8; F. A. Pereira da Costa, *Anais Pernambucanos, 1493–1590* (Recife, 1952), 2: 195–99; Décio Freitas, *Palmares: A guerra dos escravos*, 4th edn. (Rio de Janeiro, 1982), 41; all of these authors refer to evidence contained in the correspondence of Diogo Botelho, which may be found in *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brazileiro* 73, part 1 (1910): 1–258.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

enough to be defended by the escaped slaves, yet close enough for slaves to attack roads, plantations, villages, and even the city of Salvador. Recent archaeological excavations of Palmares reveal extensive Indian influence at the site, a fact that reinforces the image of the community as one formed by both Indians and Africans seeking freedom.[110]

Could Palmares, Brazil's renowned *quilombo*,[111] have begun as a millenarian movement? Scholars who have studied Palmares indicate that there is little in the historical record to suggest that the community was millenarian.[112] Indeed, there are no known eyewitness descriptions of Messianic or millenarian rituals at Palmares, or for that matter at any other *quilombo* in Brazil.[113] Yet religion did play an important role at Palmares. Seventeenth-century descriptions of Palmares reveal that the communities had churches and priests. A document from the 1640s describes the religion of Palmares as "an imitation of the Portuguese," which suggests syncretic beliefs. The same document refers to the existence of priests and to the fact that the king forbade witchcraft.[114] In the 1670s, one of the most detailed descriptions of Palmares reported, "although these barbarians have all but forgotten their subjugation, they have not completely lost allegiance to the Church. There is a *capela* [chapel], to which they flock whenever time allows, and *imagens* [statues, as of saints] to which they direct their worship."[115]

FINDING WRITTEN EVIDENCE OF MILLENARIANISM among communities of runaway slaves is particularly problematic, for millenarian events by their very nature are fleeting and often isolated. Few slaves were literate or likely to produce the kinds of written records needed for historical analysis several hundred years later. In Jewish history, Gershom Scholem notes that most Messianic movements petered out and that "but for some contemporary chroniclers or letter writers not even an echo of many of these movements would have reached us. Occasionally traditions about such an outbreak would linger in popular memory, but after a generation or

[110] Pedro Paulo de Abreu Funari, "A arqueologia de Palmares—sua contribuição para o conhecimento da história da cultura afro-americana," in Reis and Santos Gomes, *Liberdade por um fio*, 26–51.

[111] The term *quilombo* first appeared in Angolan history to describe the war camps of the Jaga; in Brazil, it is used to refer to runaway slave communities; see Jan Vansina, "Quilombos on São Tomé, or in Search of Original Sources," *History in Africa* 23 (1996): 453.

[112] Ivan Alves Filho argues in his book on Palmares that it is difficult to support the contention that religion was an important characteristic of the *quilombo* and that "at no time was collective behavior characteristic of messianism recorded"; *Memorial dos Palmares*, 16. Décio Freitas also wonders if Palmares might have been Messianic but concludes that "generally speaking, slave rebellions in the Americas do not take a prophetic or messianic character, in contrast to the rebellions of the social groups of the free poor"; *Palmares*, 48.

[113] See above in note 13 my discussion of the *malê* revolt in Bahia.

[114] Gaspar Barléu, *História dos feitos recentemente praticados durante oito anos no Brasil*, Cláudio Brandão, trans. (1940; rpt. edn., São Paulo, 1974), 253. R. K. Kent cites the expedition of Jürgens Reijmbach, a Dutch army lieutenant, who led an expedition against Palmares in 1645 and noted that there was a church at Palmares. See Kent, "An African State in Brazil," in Richard Price, ed., *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas*, 2d edn. (Baltimore, Md., 1979), 178–79. The banning of witchcraft is interesting because in African millenarian movements of the twentieth century, a target of millenarian leaders was always traditional witchcraft and its practitioners. See Karen E. Fields's discussion of how the Watchtower prophets used baptism as a way of getting rid of witches; *Revival and Rebellion in Colonial Central Africa* (Princeton, N.J., 1985), 163–92.

[115] Report of the Fernão Carrilho expedition, as utilized by Kent, "African State in Brazil," 179.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

two everything would be forgotten."[116] In the absence of written descriptions of millenarianism among slaves, most scholars have discounted the possibility that it existed, particularly among African slaves. Yet powerful millennial resistance to colonialism can be found in Africa among the peoples of the Gulf of Guinea and the Bantu and the Ba-Kongo of central Africa—regions heavily affected by the slave trade.[117] This tradition can be seen at least as early as the first decade of the eighteenth century, when the prophetic leader Beatrice created rituals that blended Christian and indigenous African beliefs, called her followers to restore the traditional capital of São Salvador, and challenged the authority of the Capuchin missionaries.[118] In the nineteenth century, the juxtaposition of missionary teachings against the backdrop of the colonial power structure created fertile ground for Messianic movements. Messianic churches were most prevalent where evangelism by missionaries was extensive and where racial discrimination, instituted by colonial laws, was intense.[119]

In one part of the African diaspora, millenarianism is a recognized and documented part of slave religion: the southern United States. Early in this century, W. E. B. Du Bois described African-American religion as millenarian in its blending of pragmatic and escapist elements.[120] Following in Du Bois's footsteps, several scholars of slave religion in North America have analyzed in considerable detail the millenarian and Messianic characteristics of slave religion.[121] Among these schol-

[116] Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, 3.

[117] Fields, *Revival and Rebellion*; Bengt Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (London, 1961); and Georges Balandier, *The Sociology of Black Africa*, Douglas Garman, trans. (New York, 1970).

[118] *Relations sur le Congo du Père Laurent de Lucques (1700–1717)*, J. Cuvelier, trans. (Brussels, 1953). For additional sources and analysis, see J. Vansina, "The Kingo Kingdom and Its Neighbours," in *Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, *General History of Africa*, Vol. 5, B. A. Ogot, ed. (London, 1992), 573–74; and Wyatt MacGaffey, "The Cultural Roots of Kongo Prophetism," *History of Religions* 17 (1977): 177–93. An earlier cult in Malawi (southeast Africa), occurred in the context of the upheavals caused by the presence of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. While not described as millenarian, the Mbona cult nevertheless featured a redemptive leader known as Mbona or "black Jesus"; see J. Matthew Schoffeleers, *River of Blood: The Genesis of a Martyr Cult in Southern Malawi, c. A.D. 1600* (Madison, Wis., 1992).

[119] The colonial regimes in Africa reduced the amount of land Africans could own, enforced rigid segregation, and weakened the power of traditional chiefs; but, at the same time, Africans learned in the mission churches that they were equal to whites in the eyes of God. This obvious contradiction began, according to Georges Balandier, to educate Africans politically. These movements gave birth not only to black churches but also to political movements against the colonizers that became the basis for African nationalism; Balandier, *Sociology of Black Africa*, 412. Balandier further argues that it was through reading the Bible that African protest and resistance acquired a semi-mythical, semi-literary form (p. 470). Balandier's study of Simon Kimbangou, one of the famous African prophets of the twentieth century, illustrates how the combination of colonialism and missions led to the creation of independent African churches. Known as Gounza (all of these at once, or messiah), his teaching rapidly gained followers in the Belgian Congo. Arrested and deported in 1921, he became a martyr. As the Kimbangist church developed, believers transformed the prophet into the lord. They described Simon Kimbangou as the founder of a new religion, a black religion: "He [God] has sent us Simon Kimbangou, who is to us what Moses was to the Jews, Christ to the foreigners and Mahomet to the Arabs" (p. 418). Kimbangists believed that the savior would return and put an end to the white man's rule; this return would be accompanied by great natural catastrophes and war (p. 426). See also Georges Balandier, "Messianismes et Nationalismes en Afrique Noire," *Cahiers Internationale de Sociologie* 14 (1953): 41–65; and Fields, *Revival and Rebellion*.

[120] Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms: Social and Literary Manipulations of a Religious Myth* (University Park, Pa., 1982), 68.

[121] Lewis V. Baldwin presents a well-developed analysis of millenarian and Messianic themes in slave religion, which he argues carried over into southern black churches; see *There Is a Balm in Gilead: The Cultural Roots of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Minneapolis, 1991); and Baldwin, "Martin Luther King, Jr.,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ars, Lewis Baldwin argues that there was a part of slave religion that did foment rebellion. Slaves who resisted slavery, he writes, "not only believed in the possibility of God's deliverance in the here and now, but in their very actions sought to make that possibility a reality."[122] Some slave rebellions had millenarian overtones. The accounts of Nat Turner's rebellion preserve the clearest evidence of millenarian slaves. Eugene Genovese calls Turner a "messianic Christian prophet," while Lewis Baldwin refers to Turner's followers as "slaves who attempted to fulfill their millennial vision here on earth." In his "confession," Turner spoke of visions, revelations, miracles, and signs from God that convinced him that "the Saviour was about to lay down the yoke he had borne for the sins of men, and the great day of judgement was at hand."[123] He described an apocalyptic battle in the heavens, between good and evil, whites and blacks: "I saw white spirits and black spirits engaged in battle, and the sun was darkened—the thunder rolled in the Heavens, and blood flowed in streams."[124] The persistence of the millenarian hope for salvation among African Americans, scholars argue, can be seen in African-American literature,[125] as well as in new religious movements, such as the Nation of Islam.[126]

Scholars have not drawn the parallels between the U.S. South and Brazil with respect to millenarianism and have not thought of Brazilian *quilombos* as millenarian communities, even briefly in their origins.[127] Yet the names of some of the *quilombos* in Maranhão, to the north of Bahia, are tantalizing: São Luis (St. Louis),

---

the Black Church, and the Black Messianic Vision," *Journal of the Interdenominational Theology Center* 12, nos. 1–2 (1984–85): 93–108. Moses argues that while U.S. culture has been historically rich with Messianic symbolism, it is strongest among black Americans. Like Baldwin, he also sees Martin Luther King, Jr., as coming out of a southern, Protestant, and African-American religious tradition that historically created hopes for a Messiah; *Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms*. In his classic *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York, 1980), 289–318, Albert Raboteau illustrates how the Old Testament books of Exodus and Daniel figured prominently in slave Christianity. Exodus promised deliverance to a radically different future, while Daniel contained the fundamental millennial prophesies, which slaves interpreted to mean the triumph of the North in the Civil War. Cornel West discusses the evolution of black theology from prophetic Christian roots during slavery in *Prophesy Deliverance! An Afro-American Revolutionary Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1982). Baldwin, Raboteau, and Dwight N. Hopkins and George C. L. Cummings discuss how slave visions of heaven and slave imagination of the Day of Judgment revealed a millenarian outlook, because heaven to slaves became bound up with their vision of freedom, a transcendent freedom to be realized in God's, not the master's, heaven. Slaves pictured heaven as a place where families would reunite, where wrongs would be righted, where slaves would extract their revenge, and where communities would be reconstructed; see Louis V. Baldwin, "'A Home in Dat Rock': Afro-American Folk Sources and Slave Visions of Heaven and Hell," *Journal of Religious Thought* 42 (1984): 38–57; Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 291; and Hopkins and Cummings, *Cut Loose Your Stammering Tongue: Black Theology in the Slave Narratives* (New York, 1991), 57–59.

[122] Hopkins and Cummings, *Cut Loose Your Stammering Tongue*, 57.

[123] "The Confessions of Nat Turner," in Henry Irving Tragle, *The Southampton Slave Revolt of 1831: A Compilation of Source Material* (Amherst, Mass., 1971), 309.

[124] "Confessions of Nat Turner," 308.

[125] Maxine Lavon Montgomery, *The Apocalypse in African-American Fiction* (Gainesville, Fla., 1996), 1–14.

[126] Moses, *Black Messiahs*, 181–95; Dennis Walker, "The Black Muslims in American Society: From Millenarian Protest to Trans-Continental Relationships," in Trompf, *Cargo Cults and Millenarian Movements*, 343–90.

[127] Bastide rejects the relevance of the U.S. South to Brazil because the slave religions of the United States came out of a Protestant tradition, which he argues is necessary for the Old Testament prophesies to be introduced; *African Religions of Brazil*, 361.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

São Sebastião (St. Sebastian), and São Benedito do Ceu (St. Benedict of the Sky). One *quilombo* named Cris-Santo (Cristo-Santo?/Holy Christ) had a king by the same name.[128] Moreover, the millenarian tradition in northeastern Brazil among the rural poor is a deep and long one.[129] Slaves and former slaves joined such movements. One of these millenarian movements in Sergipe, to the north of Bahia, appeared in 1888, the date of the abolition of slavery in Brazil, and virtually replicated the Santidade de Jaguaripe three hundred years earlier. In this sect, Mamelucos, blacks, runaways, and criminals joined together to create a heaven on earth through rituals of holiness, again known as "santidade."[130] The most famous of the modern millenarian movements of the Brazilian Northeast was that led by Antonio Conselheiro at Canudos, immortalized by Euclides da Cunha in *Rebellion in the Backlands* (1944). There, the followers of Antonio, many of whom were former slaves, withdrew from the larger society to live in a community of their own construction to await redemption on the Day of Judgment.[131]

THROUGH THE SANTIDADE DE JAGUARIPE, slaves in Bahia articulated resistance to the colonial society then being constructed by colonists, crown officials, and the Jesuits. They appropriated the rudimentary Christian vocabulary taught to them by the Jesuits and used it to create a new religious experience. That experience, and its common language, provided a means for defining a new identity among persons of widely varying nations, who were dehumanized by slavery and colonialism. The millennial beliefs of the sect, drawn from Tupi-Guaraní and Judeo-Christian traditions, created the context within which the preachers identified evil with white slaveowners, who would be punished when God came to judge. This moral vision allowed slaves to view the power of the master as evil. It called on slaves to resist their masters *in this world* and not to suffer in expectation of salvation in the next. With the promise of supernatural intervention, slaves challenged the physical control that slaveowners used to keep them slaves. After breaking free, slaves created a new community in which very different rules were in force. This new community emphasized the power of spiritual transformation through rituals of cleansing, renaming, dancing, and "drinking the holy smoke" of tobacco. Initiates became saints and actively participated in the religious ceremonies. So compelling was this vision of a new, spiritually alive, community that it challenged the very foundation of Portuguese colonialism.

The Santidade de Jaguaripe appeared early in the process of colonial formation in Brazil. Before colonial societies were fully constructed by the crown and church, there were openings—moments of confusion, division, or uncertainty—in which

[128] José Alipio Goulart, *Da fuga ao suicídio: Aspectos de rebeldia dos escravos no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1972), 213–16.

[129] See Robert M. Levine, *Vale of Tears: Revisiting the Canudos Massacre in Northeastern Brazil, 1893–1897* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 217–26; Patricia Pessar, "Millenarian Movements in Rural Brazil: Prophecy and Protest," *Religion* 12 (1982): 187–213; and Pessar, "Three Moments in Brazilian Millenarianism: The Interrelationship between Politics and Religion," *Luso Brazilian Review* 28 (1991): 94–116.

[130] Ariosvaldo Figueiredo, *O negro e a violência do branco: O negro em Sergipe* (Rio de Janeiro, 1977).

[131] E. Cunha, *Rebellion in the Backlands*; and Levine, *Vale of Tears*.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

different directions might have been taken. The Santidade de Jaguaripe occurred in such a moment. The millenarian faith of the followers in their leaders' invincibility proved to be illusory, for the leaders of the sect were hurt by swords and restrained by chains. The quest for independence was cut short by colonial authorities. But subsequent acts of slave resistance and the persistence of a millenarian folk Catholicism in the Brazilian Northeast suggest that the desire for the kind of community that the Santidade de Jaguaripe tried to create did not die out. Whether other millenarian slave movements existed in Brazil and whether other openings early in the construction of other American colonies allowed syncretic, multiethnic, millenarian movements of slaves to emerge are questions that invite further historical research.

Alida C. Metcalf is a professor of history at Trinity University. She received her BA from Smith College in 1976 and her PhD in 1983 from the University of Texas at Austin, where she studied with Richard Graham. A specialist in Brazilian history, she is the author of *Family and Frontier in Colonial Brazil: Santana de Parnaíba, 1580–1822* (1992), which was awarded the Harvey Johnson Book Award in 1993 and honorable mention for the Bolton Prize in 1994. Metcalf's current research focuses on Jesuit and Mameluco go-betweens in sixteenth-century Brazil.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AHR Forum

Demagogues or Mystagogues? Gender and the Language of Prophecy in the Age of Democratic Revolutions

SUSAN JUSTER

On May 19, 1780, all of New England was plunged into darkness. At mid-morning, the sky turned an eerie yellow. Within an hour, it had become so dark that people had to dine by candlelight. In the afternoon, the clouds took on a "higher and more *brassy* color" with occasional flashes that resembled the Northern Lights.[1] We now know that the "Dark Day" of 1780 was caused by the common New England practice of burning fields to clear the brush more effectively and provide a fertile coating of ashes, but to men and women living amid the dislocations of revolution, the event had supernatural meaning. For some, it heralded the imminent appearance of Christ in the Second Coming; for others less certain of their ability to read celestial signs with such precision, it was at least a warning that "these are the latter days."[2] The millennial expectations unleashed by the Dark Day can be traced in numerous pamphlets, newspaper articles, and almanacs, and have been read by historians as evidence of the pervasiveness of millennial thinking in revolutionary America among all classes of people, from learned divines to ordinary farmers. Far from being the preserve of a small number of biblical scholars and theologians, prophetic exegesis was a vernacular genre in eighteenth-century North America, a way of interpreting past, present, and future events according to the narratives of biblical history. A people as literate and as well versed in millennial lore as the New England Puritans could scarcely avoid interpreting the Dark Day of May 1780 as a prophetic "sign of the times."

Thanks to the labors of intellectual historians like Ruth Bloch, James Davidson, and Nathan Hatch, we have a fairly good grasp of the extent and depth of millennial thinking (or at least of publications devoted to millennial themes) in North America during and after the revolutionary crisis. We know that, contrary to the situation in Great Britain, millennialism was a constant theme in religious literature from the

A version of this essay was presented to the UCLA Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies and the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, as part of the seminar "Millenarianism and Revolution," April 1998. I am grateful to the center for the opportunity to participate in this stimulating workshop, and to Ruth H. Bloch, Michael Meranze, Jeremy Popkin, Michael Barkun, and the other participants for their helpful comments. Thanks also to Don Herzog, Susan Thorne, Valerie Kivelson, Kenneth Lockridge, and the anonymous readers of the journal for their careful criticism of earlier drafts.

[1] *Boston Gazette*, May 22 and 29, 1780.

[2] "A Farmer in the State of Massachusetts-Bay," *Some Remarks on the Great and Unusual Darkness, that appeared on Friday, May 19, 1780* (Danvers, Mass., 1780), 6.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

early seventeenth through the eighteenth century; rather than spiking at specific moments in response to public crises, millennial expectations proved remarkably enduring through the ebb and flow of colonial politics. We know that, beginning with the Seven Years' War and escalating during the imperial crisis of the 1760s and 1770s, this tradition of millennial exegesis was increasingly politicized, though still consensual: the allegorical symbols of the prophetic scriptures (the four beasts, the seven vials, for example) came to represent concrete political figures and events, while sacred and human history were conflated in the eschatological drama of the Book of Revelation. We know that North American writers tended to favor a postmillennial (gradual progress) over a premillennial (cataclysmic collapse) interpretation of the Bible, even though the distinction between these two hermeneutic modes was less stark in the 1770s and 1780s than it would become a century later. Once independence was gained and Americans turned their attention from waging war to forming new governments, the political edge of millennial discourse was blunted and apocalyptic thinking declined. A kind of popular secular optimism, shorn of political urgency and latitudinarian in impulse, reigned as Americans looked benignly toward the future. Moments of doubt and despair certainly intruded on the national consciousness as Americans weathered the periodic economic and political crises of the 1780s and the partisan battles of the 1790s, but overall the prophetic scriptures were understood to herald the eventual triumph of the United States as the leader of the "free" and the Christian world, which were assumed to be one and the same thing.[3]

So subsumed into nationalist republican ideology was the millennial scenario in the revolutionary era that historians have tended to take for granted the intermingling of religious and political languages into a seamless discursive web in American culture, a web that stretches from John Winthrop to Billy Graham. Snared in this web were a multitude of competing biblical images of America (Canaan or Egypt?) and a multiplicity of voices, from nativist Indian prophets to visionary women to millenarian slaves (see Alida Metcalf's article in this issue). Disentangling these images and voices takes some doing, given the investment Americans have had—then and now—in the myth of our exceptional past and our privileged future, a sense of entitlement to prosperity and power that stems from our very identity as a chosen people. But the millennial promise has never meant the same thing to all Americans.

The revolutionary crisis was a particularly fertile moment for millennial aspirations that could not be easily reconciled under the capacious umbrella of "Christian republicanism."[4] For a slave facing a lifetime of servitude and the hardening of racial attitudes in the late eighteenth century, the millennium meant, literally, freedom. For nativist Indians, facing communal dislocation and the collapse of traditional folkways, the millennium meant a war of red against white and the

[3] This paragraph is drawn from the following studies: Ruth H. Bloch, *Visionary Republic: Millennial Themes in American Thought, 1756–1800* (New York, 1985); Nathan O. Hatch, *The Sacred Cause of Liberty* (New Haven, Conn., 1977); James West Davidson, *The Logic of Millennial Thought in Eighteenth-Century America* (New Haven, 1977); Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).

[4] The phrase is Mark Noll's; see "The American Revolution and Protestant Evangelicalism," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23 (1993): 615–38.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rebirth of ancient traditions out of the ashes of European civilization.[5] For the "black regiment," the legion of Congregational clergy who served the Continental Army in support of the rebellion, the millennium meant national independence and the rejection of European cultural and political arrogance.[6] One man's heaven was another's hell: the slaveowning patriarchs who ruled the new republic and introduced their bondspeople to the promises of Christianity were horrified when slaves turned the Bible against them and preached the destruction of all whites, as Nat Turner did in 1831.

For all its internal contradiction and apocalyptic potential, the millennial strand in revolutionary political culture did not (until 1860, at least) divide white Americans into lasting political or intellectual enmities. When viewed from abroad, revolutionary millennialism looks remarkably *un*revolutionary. There were, outside Indian country, few inspired individuals preaching imminent death and destruction, no crowds of agitated citizens gathering en masse for the Apocalypse. Rather, millennial exegesis was primarily the preserve of writers—ministers and theologians, as well as literate lay people—not charismatic prophets.

The contrast with Europe in the same time period is striking. If we look at the British political landscape in the 1790s, we see a parade of arresting public figures who proclaimed themselves to be prophets of God. From Richard Brothers, whose intemperate calls for the overthrow of the British monarchy landed him in an insane asylum in 1795, to Joanna Southcott, whose "mystical pregnancy" in 1814 captivated the London reading public, the history of millennialism in Britain at the turn of the eighteenth century is dominated by inspired prophets and their popular followings. Learned publications on the finer points of biblical exegesis poured out of London's presses from the 1780s to the 1810s, to be sure, but this flood of printed matter was animated by the presence of living prophets who embodied the allegorical figures of the biblical texts in their very persons. While churchmen were busily speculating on the meaning of the mysterious "woman clothed with the sun" who appears in the twelfth chapter of Revelation, a host of female prophets were laying claim to that identity—Southcott, Mother Buchan, Dorothy Gott, Sarah Flaxmer, all proclaimed themselves the "Woman of Revelation" come to redeem a fallen nation. Southcott's followers numbered in the tens of thousands, testimony to the enormous popular interest in millenarianism that swept Britain in these years of political repression and continental war.[7] In France, Catherine Theot declared herself to be the "New Eve" who was sent to deliver the world from the transgressions of the first Eve; her

[5] For millenarian slaves, see Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms: Social and Literary Manipulations of a Religious Myth* (University Park, Pa., 1982); Albert Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York, 1980). For Indian prophets, see Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore, 1992); Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York, 1969).

[6] For accounts of the "black regiment," see Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* (New York, 1986); and Donald Weber, *Rhetoric and History in Revolutionary New England* (New York, 1988).

[7] W. H. Oliver, *Prophets and Millennialists: The Uses of Biblical Prophecy in England from the 1790s to the 1840s* (Auckland, 1978); J. F. C. Harrison, *The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism, 1780–1850* (London, 1979); on Southcott, see James K. Hopkins, *A Woman to Deliver Her People: Joanna Southcott and English Millenarianism in an Era of Revolution* (Austin, Tex., 1982).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

compatriot Suzette Labrouse boldly announced that the regeneration of the world would occur when she was miraculously elevated to heaven.[8]

Such charismatic figures are rare in the annals of eighteenth-century North American millenarianism. There were occasional sightings of the Messiah, as when one Nat Smith "proceeded to assume & declare himself to be the Most High God and wore a cap with the word GOD inscribed on its front," but few were taken seriously.[9] The best-known prophet of the revolutionary era, Jemima Wilkinson, or the Publick Universal Friend, attracted a small following in her native New England but was largely unknown outside the region. Forsaking public acclaim after a brief but unsuccessful preaching tour, she retreated with a handful of followers in 1790 to western New York, where she established a community she called "New Jerusalem" and lived out the remainder of her life in relative obscurity. Not surprisingly, her prophetic career left few traces in the millennial projects of the postrevolutionary era.[10] Dozens of local millenarian sects did spring up in the fertile soil of rural New England in the 1770s and 1780s, as Stephen Marini notes, but these tended to be short-lived religious communities that were unable to translate the inchoate anxieties and hopes of their impoverished followers into a national movement for millennial change. Out of these localized sects grew the Shakers (United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing) and the Freewill Baptists, two of the most successful evangelical movements of the early nineteenth century, but in the process of institutional consolidation the charismatic powers of the sects' founders were diffused and ultimately transformed into theological abstractions.[11]

The clearest example of the fate of would-be prophets in revolutionary America is that of Ann Lee: proclaiming herself to be either the Second Coming of Christ in female form or the "Woman of Revelation" (depending on which sources one credits), Lee's status as a charismatic figure was uncertain and unstable. She published nothing in her own lifetime, so the Shaker community had to rely largely on memory and oral testimony about Lee's spiritual gifts until the society authorized a retrospective biography of its founder in 1816. Whatever her original aspirations may have been, it is clear that in the years following her death in 1782 her role as a prophet was deliberately suppressed by the Shaker leadership. Successive editions of *Testimonies of the Life and Character of Mother Ann Lee* downplayed Lee's charismatic powers (the gifts of healing, speaking in tongues, communing with the spirits of the dead) and emphasized instead her nurturing role as "Mother Ann." In the process, Lee's status as the female godhead was transposed into a theological principle of dual divinity. Not Lee herself but the principle of "female divinity" became the cornerstone of Shaker theology and

[8] Clarke Garrett, *Respectable Folly: Millenarians and the French Revolution in France and England* (Baltimore, 1975).

[9] Ezra Stiles, *Extracts from the Itineraries*, 418; quoted in Catherine A. Brekus, *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740–1845* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), 85.

[10] For two recent accounts of Wilkinson's career, see Brekus, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, chap. 2; and Susan Juster, "'Neither Male nor Female': Jemima Wilkinson and the Politics of Gender in Revolutionary America," in Robert Blair St. George, ed., *Possible Pasts: Becoming Colonial in Early America* (Ithaca, N.Y., forthcoming).

[11] Stephen Marini, *Radical Sects in Revolutionary America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

practice as the sect entered the nineteenth century.[12] Here again, there was scant room for an inspired prophet (especially a female one) in the American millenarian tradition.

In the absence of a charismatic figure to galvanize public emotion, millennial expectations remained fairly subdued, if immanent, in revolutionary America. When inspired messengers did come forward, reaction could be swift and violent: no one knew better than the Delaware, whose villages were turned upside down in the 1760s by the nativist preachings of Neolin, how quickly the embers of millenarian despair could be ignited into a full-blown conflagration by the presence of a real prophet. But with so many mainstream religious figures and periodicals eager to satisfy the public desire for eschatological narratives in their sermons and treatises, millenarian fever could be safely contained in the world of print rather than being transformed into action. The sheer printedness of so much millennial speculation in the 1780s and 1790s stripped apocalyptic predictions of much of their urgency and violence; Americans could read about the coming battle with the Anti-Christ and the establishment of the millennium without having to act on their fears or hopes, secure in the knowledge that others were being vigilant on their behalf. A kind of vicarious millenarianism thus lulled white Americans into the posture of complacent expectancy that has characterized the mainstream religious mood in this country ever since. Somehow, sometime, the millennium will come: and when it does, Americans as a nation and a people feel relatively confident that they will be among the Elect at the end of time.[13]

We can see this dynamic at work in the transformation of one of the most recognizable biblical figures, the "Woman of Revelation," into an allegory of American exceptionalism during the revolutionary era. While there were few American candidates for this mysterious character, in contrast to the European prophetic scene, the figure of the "Woman" appears with some frequency in millennial tracts—but not in reference to a flesh-and-blood female prophet. Rather, it is America itself that assumes this persona. David Austin's 1794 compendium of millennial texts offers a stirring image of America as the Woman of Revelation. "See, on the wings of a bounteous providence, how she is wafted across the Atlantic, and settled in these peaceful American abodes!" Victorious over the "Protestant Dragon," who "vomited forth for the destruction of the woman in the American wilderness" a "flood of troops, armies, and fleets," the Woman succeeds in fulfilling the scriptural prophecy by giving birth to the "Man-child"—the new republic.

[12] See Jean Humez's introduction to *Mother's First-Born Daughters: Early Shaker Writings on Women and Religion* (Bloomington, Ind., 1993), for a discussion of how the character of Lee became transformed into the theological principle of "Holy Mother Wisdom."

[13] As Lawrence Sweet observed in 1979, "Watching, waiting, and working for the millennium" is "America's favorite pastime." Quoted in Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 12. Most Americans watch and wait, even while a vigorous subculture of prophecy devotees actively works to prepare for the millennium. Boyer describes the culture of prophecy belief in contemporary America as a series of concentric circles, with an energetic core of true believers, a larger circle of nominal believers whose knowledge of biblical eschatology is hazy but who nevertheless believe that the millennium will come some day, and an even larger circle of secularists who disdain the doomsayers of the evangelical fringe but are shaped by that very culture in ways they scarcely recognize (12–13).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Behold the regnum montis, the kingdom of the mountain, begun on the Fourth of July, 1776, when the *birth* of the MAN-CHILD—the hero of civil and religious liberty took place in these United States . . . Follow him, in his strides across the Atlantic!—See him, with his spear already in the heart of the beast!—See tyranny, civil and ecclesiastical, bleeding at every pore![14]

Bombastic and patriotic, Austin's prose is typical of the kind of brisk, ready-to-hand millennial rhetoric that historians associate with the first, most optimistic phase of the American Revolution.

Women served the visionary republic, then, more as literary tropes than as flesh-and-blood participants. Invoked to represent the vulnerability of the American revolutionary experiment, the figure of the "Woman of Revelation" served a number of rhetorical and political purposes for millennial writers. It added the emotional power of outraged femininity to the patriot cause and allowed revolutionaries to portray the English crown (the Beast) as a sexual as well as political predator. It drove home the message of secular political addresses that the soul of America was imperiled as much by its own effeminacy as by the brutal overtures of the British "dragon," and urged America to transform itself from the fragile woman of the wilderness to the sturdy "Man-child" she gives birth to. The dramatic plot of Revelation is telescoped in the American renditions of the millennial script, as America is portrayed as both the Woman and the Man-child, the former representing her colonial vulnerability and the latter her newfound strength as an independent nation. Politically, the rhetorical coupling of America with the Woman of Revelation accomplished the same ends as the secular impulse to portray Liberty as female: redefined as allegory, women's political usefulness could be safely contained in the realm of myth rather than action.[15] Readers found such allegorical maneuverings very reassuring.

TO GRASP THE PLACE OF MILLENNIALISM, then, in revolutionary America, we have to understand the politics of reading and myth-making. American prophetic writers were engaged as much in an extended critique of the culture of print itself as in scriptural exegesis. In this, they have much to tell scholars who see the revolutionary era as a pivotal moment in the history of print culture, a moment when the acts of reading and writing became politicized to an unprecedented degree and the new

[14] David Austin, *The Millennium* (Elizabethtown, N.J., 1794), 393–94, 413. For other examples of this metaphorical association of America with the Woman of Revelation, see Samuel Sherwood, *Church's Flight into the Wilderness* (New York, 1776); William Foster, *True Fortitude Delineated* (Philadelphia, 1776), 17; [Wheeler Case], *Poems, Occasioned by Several Circumstances . . . in the Present Grand Contest of America for Liberty* (New Haven, Conn., 1778), 21.

[15] On the use of female allegory in the early republic, see John Higham, "Indian Princess and Roman Goddess: The First Female Symbols of America," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 100 (1990), 45–79; Jan Lewis, "'Of Every Age Sex and Condition': The Representation of Women in the Constitution," *Journal of the Early Republic* 15 (1995): 359–88. As Lynn Hunt and Joan Landes have shown in the context of the French Revolution, the iconic presence of women in the symbols of revolution was a graphic reminder of their marginality in the political culture of the new republic; Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), 113–19; Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), 83.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nation itself was constructed along textual lines.[16] Print was the medium of prophecy in the late eighteenth century, a fact of which prophets themselves were keenly aware as they sought to claim the privileges of authorship and instill the responsibilities of readership in their audience. For all their nationalist pride, American prophets were in fact following the lead of British millennialists, who elevated the art of textual prophecy to new heights during the last decades of the century. Differences of culture and politics notwithstanding, American and British millennialists shared a common conceptual vocabulary and hermeneutic position in the revolutionary era—one that locates them firmly within the orbit of the democratic public sphere as it was first described over thirty years ago by the political theorist Jürgen Habermas.

The democratic or bourgeois public sphere that supposedly came into being in the reading rooms, coffeehouses, lyceums, and salons of eighteenth-century Europe and America was characterized above all by the qualities of transparency, universality, rationality, and negation of the self. Habermas contrasted the privatized authority of monarchical states, where sovereignty is maintained by "secrecy" and the suppression of ideas, to the impersonal rule of law in democratic societies, where the common good is promoted through public disclosure and the free circulation of opinions.[17] The ethos of publicity that Habermas identified as the guiding principle of bourgeois civic life demanded widespread literacy and the establishment of a "republic of letters," where printed texts—shorn of the personalized traits of their authors—circulated widely among anonymous individuals who collectively imagined themselves part of a community of "unknown and *in principle unknowable* others," in Michael Warner's words.[18]

The ideal public man was thus one who rose above the entanglements of family and community to engage other men in the disinterested pursuit of universal principles through the medium of print. That such a vision of enlightened citizenship was encoded male in the gendered discourse of republican theory is now clear, thanks to the work of political theorists Joan Landes and Carole Pateman. The public sphere as it emerged in Britain and France in the eighteenth century was constructed via a series of ideological oppositions that associated the virtues of bourgeois civic life with manliness and the vices of aristocratic society with effeminacy.[19] To be manly was to be open and sincere, to use language to elucidate rather than obscure truth, to create a society where abstract reason and impartial appeals to scientific knowledge determined right from wrong. To be effeminate was

[16] Jay Fliegelman, *Declaring Independence: Jefferson, Natural Language, and the Culture of Performance* (Stanford, Calif., 1993); Michael Warner, *Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).

[17] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Thomas Burger, trans. (1962; Cambridge, Mass., 1989). As Habermas notes, the specific form of the "public" in Britain was "the bourgeois reading public of the eighteenth century. This public remained rooted in the world of letters even as it assumed political functions" (p. 85). For a recent study of the discursive institutions that shaped the public sphere in eighteenth-century America, see David Shields, *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters in British America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997).

[18] Warner, *Letters of the Republic*, 40.

[19] Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*; Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford, Calif., 1988); and Pateman, *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism, and Political Theory* (Stanford, 1989).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to conceal and equivocate, to use artifice to deceive, to rely on superstition and primitive attachments to override the public good.

In such a semiotic universe, the world of religion was gendered female. Religious enthusiasm in general was derided by enlightened thinkers as a remnant of medieval superstition and fanaticism. Religious fanatics, like women, like the common people, were ruled more by their passions than their reason. If, in the republican critique, monarchies governed by the illicit powers of mystification and concealment, with the full complicity of their deluded and ignorant subjects, the same was true of populist preachers who used verbal trickery to gull their credulous followers. Enthusiasts were depicted as "vulgar Mystagogues" who seduced their ignorant followers into error by their "*glib, deceitful Tongue[s],*" their "cloudy, intricate, and Mysterious manner of writing."[20] The charge of "mystagoguery" has a certain irony, considering the general charge of democratic leveling that conservative churchmen often directed against dissenters who insisted that anyone with an inner call, regardless of special knowledge or formal training, could preach to the faithful. The powerful oratory of a John Wesley or a George Whitefield, both of whom were famed for reducing their audiences—men and women alike—to tears, was often decried as a form of demagoguery. Like radical democrats, evangelists in the Whitefieldian mode used simple but emotionally powerful words and images to elicit feelings of anger, disgust, and resentment against Satan's emissaries on earth (usually the standing clergy).

But whether described as demagogues or mystagogues, religious enthusiasts were condemned for using the unchecked power of language to lead true Christians (especially weak women) astray. In the essay *False Prophets*, the British author Henry Drummond castigated these enthusiasts for violating the ethos of publicity that was so essential to the maintenance of the public sphere. "They have come in secretly; they did not begin by proclaiming their doctrines publicly in the open streets, in the places of greatest concourse," he complained. Unlike "true preachers," who "proclaim from the house-tops, in the market-places, in the great assemblies, and concourse of the people," false prophets "*creep into houses, and lead captive silly women laden with sins, led away with divers lusts.*" In these secret spaces, false prophets speak the degraded language of courtiers. "This false teaching they effect by *babbling*; that is, waging a war of words, quibbling upon terms and expressions, instead of rightly dividing, dissecting the word of truth, so as to leave it open, and its very entrails exposed to the view of all."[21] Drummond's tirade, characteristic of many written after the prophetic frenzy of the early 1800s, concisely summarized the anti-republican tendencies of radical religion. Even though he himself was no democrat, he recognized in the form and language of enthusiastic religion a serious threat to the conventions of reasoned public discourse that kept a free society from collapsing into anarchy.

These, then, were the oppositions that structured the discourse of politics in the

[20] For "vulgar Mystagogue," see Stafford Cleveland's description of Jemima Wilkinson in *The History and Directory of Yates County* (Penn Yann, N.Y., 1873), 1: 38; and the satirical poem on the Methodists, *Fanatical Conversion; or, Methodism Displayed* (London, 1779), vii. Methodists and Moravians were considered two of the worst offenders of the art of "mystagoguery" according to Anglican churchmen; see George Lavington, *The Moravians Compared and Detected* (London, 1755), iv, xiii.

[21] Henry Drummond, *False Prophets* (London, 1834), 4, 6.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"age of revolution": reason versus mysticism, plain speaking versus "glib tongues," transparency versus concealment, enlightenment versus ignorance, manliness versus effeminacy. These were also the oppositions structuring the discourse of prophecy. Were prophets conservatives who reached backward to an archaic form of authority, to the "mystery" of monarchies with their secret societies and closed systems of knowledge, or democrats who shrewdly used the print culture of the new bourgeois public sphere to proclaim a message of spiritual equality? Did they speak in the arcane language of the Old Testament patriarchs or in the modern tones of enlightened republicanism? Were they, to use the terminology of the day, demagogues who manipulated the vulgar and uninformed by a glib appropriation of the language and symbols of democratic politics or mystagogues who seduced the weak and credulous through the exploitation of primitive religious passions?

The answer depended largely on the gender of the prophet. Male and female prophets assumed different audiences for their texts, positioned themselves differently as divine oracles, and expounded radically different models of reading. Prophets and prophetesses, in other words, enacted different versions of spiritual "citizenship" that turned many conventional assumptions about the relationship between language and authority on their head. By making the act of interpretation itself a principal object of study, prophets and their followers contributed to broader political discussions about the rights of subjects to know and interpret the laws that bound them. The same question that animated prophetic discourse—who has access to truth?—was at the heart of the political controversies of the late eighteenth century in both Britain and America. These debates pitted reason against inspiration, literacy against experience, knowledge against secrecy, and—often—men against women. Male prophets tried to find an uneasy middle ground between secular republican politics and the mysteries of faith. Female prophets, by contrast, rejected wholeheartedly the linguistic and epistemological precepts of enlightened republicanism while insisting that they, too, spoke for the common people.

THE ULTIMATE SYMBOL OF DEMOCRATIC POLITICS was, of course, Thomas Paine, whose writings introduced a new literary style to hundreds of thousands of readers. Paine's objective was to open up public life to all men by breaking down the linguistic barriers (the "bewitching bonds . . . of enticing eloquence," as one democrat put it) of class and custom.[22] In England, Paine's direct counterpart in the world of religious prophecy, a "republican prophet" if such a thing could be said to exist, was James Bicheno, whose measured writings in the 1790s and early 1800s injected a degree of gentility and rationality into prophetic discourse. An enthusiastic supporter of both the American and the French revolutions, and of political reform at home, Bicheno was a consistent spokesman for the expansion of knowledge and learning throughout the European continent. Disclaiming any direct access to

[22] "Declaration of the Belfast Volunteers," rpt. in the Philadelphia periodical, *The American Museum* 10 (September 1791): 153.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

divine revelation ("I am no prophet," he declared),[23] he sought to provide a commonsense "translation" of the prophetic scriptures for his readers. "I make no pretensions to any extraordinary qualifications for the interpretation of Prophecy," he insisted; "If I have any true light, and be not deceived by the illusions of fancy, it is derived from the source which is open to all."[24] Through the use of natural reason, the "mazes of these wonderful visions may be treated with precision" and their predictions enlisted in the service of democratic reform.[25] The bulk of his writings consisted of simple translations of the arcane symbolism of the prophecies into concrete historical and contemporary referents.

Bicheno was as disdainful of his more mystical counterparts as his republican allies, and he tried to distance himself from both the "dreams" of Joanna Southcott and the "visions" of Richard Brothers.[26] Yet he shared more with Brothers, in particular, than either man would perhaps have wished to admit. On most counts, Richard Brothers—certifiable lunatic and political cause célèbre of the 1790s—inhabited a world far removed from that of republican politics. Brothers' intemperate calls for a political revolution that would place him at the head of a reconstituted Hebrew nation as king and high priest inspired little confidence in republican circles, and his rabid hatred of the commercial classes made him an unreliable ally for those middling groups who favored a reformist agenda. Yet he drew unabashedly on the Painite tradition of plain speaking in disseminating his prophetic visions to the public. In the preface to his principal text, *A Revealed Knowledge of the Prophecies and Times*, Brothers spoke frankly of his status as the chosen one. "[W]hen I began to write, I believed it necessary to adopt the same language as the Scripture does, regularly imitating it in the words—ye, thee, and thou; but God spoke to me in a vision of the night, and said—'Write in the same manner as I always speak to you, write as other men do, write according to the Custom of the Country you live in: you will then be better attended to, and what you write will be more easily understood.'"[27] In blunt, simple language, Brothers' writings—like those of Bicheno—laid out a prophetic key to current events that any reader could understand. Promising to "remove the Covering of secrecy" that had hitherto prevented his fellow citizens from understanding the prophetic scriptures, Brothers' pamphlets constitute a catalogue of names, dates, places, and events that are unusually specific by the standards of the genre.[28] The "loud and unusual Thunder" heard in January 1791 was none other than "the voice of the Angel" of Revelation proclaiming destruction upon the city of London; the French Revolution was a direct fulfillment of the Book of Daniel.[29]

Such frank language represented the triumph of reason over priestcraft for his many admirers. Whereas "the *priests* have, as it best suited their interests, opinions

[23] James Bicheno, *The Fulfillment of Prophecy Farther Illustrated by the Signs of the Times* (London, 1817), preface.

[24] Bicheno, *Fulfillment of Prophecy*, vi.

[25] James Bicheno, *The Signs of the Times; or, The Overthrow of Papal Tyranny in France, the Prelude of Destruction to Popery and Despotism; but of Peace to Mankind* (London, 1793), n.p.

[26] Bicheno, *Fulfillment of Prophecy*, 6.

[27] Richard Brothers, *A Revealed Knowledge of the Prophecies and Times*, Book the Second (London, 1794), iii.

[28] Brothers, *Revealed Knowledge*, Book the First, 53.

[29] Brothers, *Revealed Knowledge*, Book the First, 41; Book the Second, 7.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

or inclination, introduced a set of dogmas and abstruse, metaphysical mysteries, which the people have been wont to imagine *too sacred* for their inquiry," argued John Crease, Brothers wrote "in all the familiarity of conversation"—as one man to another.[30] His testimony was, in William Sales's view, a "plain and honest language, void of equivocation," not the "FLATTERY and FALSEHOOD" of priests and magistrates.[31] Critics, not surprisingly, ridiculed the prosaic quality of Brothers' "celestial compositions." "When the final sentence of destruction against London is sealed," sneered Henry Spencer, "then the following words will appear in the Heavens, written in gigantic characters: 'IT IS DONE.' How sublimely simple the expression! how tremendously laconic! 'It is all over, my boys! you are done up.'"[32]

Even more than their British counterparts, American male prophets articulated a radical political agenda to the dissemination of plain prophetic truths throughout the reading public. Benjamin Gale, for whom "the whole tenor of Divine Revelations appears to originate from one general contest and struggle between *rulers*, for an undue extension of *power*, and the *ruled*, in order to maintain their *natural* and *constitutional rights*," understood this eternal political struggle of liberty against power in linguistic terms as well, as a battle between allegorical and literal readings of the divine scriptures. "There has long been a strange disposition among men to convert some of the most plain and simple doctrines of revelation into *allegory*, *metaphor* and *mystery* . . . and from this source, the doctrines of revelation are often rendered *dark, intricate, mysterious* and *unintelligible*, to the great *joy* and *sport* of *infidels*." False prophets, like tyrannical rulers, use "*unintelligible jargon*" to lead the common people astray.[33] Another ardent republican prophet, William Scales, styled himself an American Jesus, of lowly origins and simple understanding. Disdaining the "flowery elevated stile" of the learned world, he urged his readers to "read this piece with candour . . . without quibbling, carping, or wrestling reason and scripture," for those who "are not pleased with plain language are in a state of spiritual death." Scales's pamphlet endorsed the revolutionary ideal of universal enlightenment: "I know indeed the arts of your spiritual task masters; they will, with their beguiling words . . . endeavour to keep you in ignorance. But let me beseech you to see for yourselves; don't give up your understandings to other men."[34]

The best example of this fusion of republican and millennial language can be found in the writings of David Austin, perhaps the closest thing America had to a charismatic prophet in the topsy-turvy decade of the 1790s. Recovering from a near fatal bout with scarlet fever in 1796, Austin—then a well-respected Presbyterian preacher in Elizabethtown, New Jersey—heard the voice of God calling him to the prophetic office. "I beheld the blessed Jesus as our *elder brother*," he recounted in his journal; "Here I seemed to stand, stripped of myself, and of all self-dependence, looking faintly at the blood which seemed to have issued from the Saviour's side."

[30] J. Crease, *Prophecies Fulfilling; or, The Dawn of the Perfect Day* (London, 1795), 29, 16.

[31] William Sales, *Truth or Not Truth; or, A Discourse on Prophets* (London, 1795), 3.

[32] Henry Spencer, *A Vindication of the Prophecies of Mr. Brothers and the Scripture Expositions of Mr. Halhed* (London, 1795), 28–29.

[33] Benjamin Gale, *A Brief Essay; or, An Attempt to Prove from the Prophetick Writings of the Old and New Testament, what Period of Prophecy the Church of God is now under* (New Haven, Conn., 1788), 23, 56.

[34] William Scales, *The Confusion of Bable Discovered; or, An Answer to Jeremy Belknap's Discourse upon the Lawfulness of War* (1780), v–vi.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In this vision, he was directed to read the third chapter of Zechariah, which "sent faintness into my soul and weakness into my bones . . . So powerful was the impression of that chapter upon my mind . . . that it dropped me to the floor, and produced the self-abasement of which the journal hath spoken. The character and standing of *Joshua* was presented as my *own*."[35] What did it mean for Austin to take on the role of Joshua to the American people? As he describes his prophetic "office," his responsibilities were largely those of a republican publicist rather than a charismatic seer: he initiated a project to collect and publish the sermons of various evangelical clergymen (the first four volumes of *The American Preacher*) in order to disseminate Christian literature more widely throughout the country; he founded a magazine, *The Christian Herald, or the Union Magazine*, which became the leading periodical of millennial thought in the early 1800s; and he circulated a proposal for a national "concert of prayer" in which Americans in their individual homes and communities would pray as one at a designated hour—a perfect expression of the anonymous public sphere. Austin's claims to prophetic status thus rested on his efforts to circulate national texts and to create an imagined community of Christians via collective reading and prayer.[36]

No more stirring rendition of the "visionary republic" as a Habermasian public sphere can be found than in Samuel Hopkins's learned *Treatise on the Millennium*, which was published three years before David Austin had his near encounter with death. In Hopkins's vision of the millennium, learning and print combine to create a universally enlightened society. "Those things which now appear intricate and unintelligible, will then appear plain and easy. Then public teachers will be eminently burning and shining lights . . . And the conversation of friends and neighbors, when they meet, will be full of instruction and they will assist each other in their inquiries after the truth, and in pursuit of knowledge." Everyone will have "sufficient leisure to pursue and acquire learning of every kind that will be beneficial to themselves and to society." Universal brotherhood will be facilitated by the creation of a single universal language; "In the Millennium, all will probably speak *one language* . . . And that language will be taught in all schools, and used in public writings, and books shall be printed; and in a few years will become the common language, understood and spoken by all." The withering away of national and linguistic differences will have the happy effect of "render[ing] books very cheap, and easy to be obtained by all." In time, this "universality of language will tend to cement the world of mankind so as to make them *one* in a higher degree."[37] Thomas Paine could not have said it better.

If the emphasis on plain language was particularly pronounced among American male prophets, it was also more closely tied to a robust tradition of oral address that

[35] David Austin, *The Voice of God to the People of the United States, by a Messenger of Peace* (Elizabethtown, N.J., 1796), 36, 49. For two contemporary descriptions of Austin's prophetic career, see William Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (New York, 1859–69), 2: 195–206.

[36] See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983), for a discussion of the role of print in forging a sense of national identity. The "concert of prayer" is described by Timothy Hall in his study of eighteenth-century itinerancy as an expression of the new community brought into being by the spread of commerce and print culture; *Contested Boundaries: Itinerancy and the Reshaping of the Colonial American Religious World* (Durham, N.C., 1994).

[37] Samuel Hopkins, *A Treatise on the Millennium* (Boston, 1793), 59, 75–77.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

persisted in America well into the nineteenth century. The "Prophet Nathan" spoke for many American writers when he issued a simple plea to his readers: "Will you suffer me, as a friend, to converse with you (if not personally, yet with my pen), about your *difficulties*?" The art of conversation, however encoded in print, was still the paramount ideal of communication in revolutionary and postrevolutionary America, and writers strove to simulate spoken conventions as closely as possible in their written texts.[38] Simon Hough addressed his audience through a series of imagined dialogues between himself and a "hireling" minister, enlisting both their moral and political sympathies on behalf of liberty of conscience.[39] David Austin published numerous pamphlets in the form of epistolary exchanges, which enabled him to carry on conversations with real and imagined correspondents over the finer points of prophetic interpretation.

In contrast, British writers in the tradition of Brothers and Bicheno were much more self-consciously immersed in the expanding world of print culture, which formed not only the medium but the message of their republican brand of prophecy. As much as the simple language of Brothers' writings, his reliance on new modes of dissemination ("the *penny-post*!" marveled Henry Spencer[40]) angered his many detractors. Circulating first among the highest echelons of state power and spiraling outward to the very margins of British political culture, Brothers' texts were intended for the same public then being courted by the London Corresponding Society and other radical organizations. As scribe to the Lord, Brothers translated the oral tradition of revealed Christianity into print in the same way that the corresponding societies translated an inchoate popular radicalism into literate form. Such a creative appropriation of republican print culture was not unique to the lunatic fringe of British prophecy. Indeed, one could say that late eighteenth-century prophecy was itself the product of an expanded print culture; William Reid, for one, blamed the spread of both infidelity and religious heresy on the widespread availability of cheap print. "We have seen the principles of Infidelity transferred from *books* to men; from *dead* characters to *living* subjects," and the result was a flood of blasphemous literature. "Prophecies . . . teem from the British press, some of them in weekly numbers, till government, perfectly aware of these inflammatory means, prudently transferred the prince of prophets [Brothers] to a mad-house."[41] James Bicheno penned an extensive peon to the liberating effects of the print revolution in his final pamphlet, which appeared in 1817. He chose as his main text the tenth chapter of Revelation, in which an angel descends to earth holding a "little book open in his hand." For Bicheno, the book the angel held represented the "*invention of printing*," making this "one of the most sublime visions in all the Apocalypse."[42]

No wonder, then, that so many male prophetic writers in England and America

[38] On the "elocutionary revolution" of the eighteenth century, see Fliegelman, *Declaring Independence*.

[39] Simon Hough, *The Sign of the Present Time; or, A Short Treatise Setting Forth What Particular Prophecies are Now Fulfilling in the Author's Judgment* (Stockbridge, Mass., 1799).

[40] Spencer, *Vindication of the Prophecies*, 19.

[41] William H. Reid, *The Rise and Dissolution of the Infidel Societies in this Metropolis* (London, 1800), iv–v, 2.

[42] Bicheno, *Fulfillment of Prophecy*, 64, 69.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

embraced the idea of revolution with such enthusiasm. Their vision of the millennium corresponded so closely with the vision of republican liberty espoused by political radicals that we can speak of a shared sensibility uniting men across the political and religious spectrum regardless of denomination. Deists and evangelicals made common cause to defend the emerging public sphere against its numerous enemies, political and spiritual, who would reduce the republic of letters to the Tower of Babel. William Scales, in his millenarian manifesto *The Confusion of Babel Discovered*, turned the tricks of these false prophets against themselves, and in the process offers us a wonderfully wicked counter-image to contrast to the millennial hopes of Samuel Hopkins. "I know that I have as good a right to form words as others; especially when the words I form are expressive of the tricks of the deceivers," he argued cleverly. "The word bamboozlement I formed from the verb to bamboozle, which word means to deceive a man out of common sense by much fair speeches, by much insinuation, much sophistical argumentation and pretensions of friendship . . . By the word cajolement, I mean the fair, the beguiling, the enchanting speeches and conversation of false teachers."[43] Not a universal language but a confusion of tongues was the fruit of false teachers.

THIS ANTI-REPUBLICAN VISION was not a mere abstraction or a clever play on words, but was embodied in the practices and beliefs of female prophets. While less visible as public personages than their European counterparts, female prophets and their sects did serve the new American republic in another way: as negative images of the idealized public sphere that male prophets and male republicans were busily erecting in the aftermath of revolution. David Hudson accused Jemima Wilkinson of fleeing into the wilderness of upstate New York in order to isolate her deluded followers from the virtues of enlightened society. "To emigrate with her followers into an entire wilderness, where, as she supposed, they would remain for a long time without the means of ordinary instruction, and in a great measure cut off from a constant intercourse with an enlightened community," he argued, "seemed more likely to perpetuate her dominion."[44] But it was Ann Lee in particular who was the prime target of patriot writers seeking to discredit the anti-republican world of female mystagoguery. Lee's fault (according to her numerous critics) was that she was, first of all, not American but British and hence of suspect political affiliation; and second, that she instituted a very authoritarian mode of spiritual leadership by her claims to special charismatic powers. "To be a body of more than two thousand people, having no will of their own, but governed by a few Europeans conquering their adherents into the most unreserved subjection, argues some infatuating power; some deep, very deep design at bottom," warned Amos Taylor. "The Mother, it is said, obeys God through Christ; European elders obey her; American

[43] Scales, *Confusion of Babel Discovered*, vii–viii.

[44] David Hudson, *History of Jemima Wilkinson, A Preacheress of the Eighteenth Century; Containing an Authentic Narrative of Her Life and Character, and of the Rise, Progress, and Conclusions of Her Ministry* (Geneva, N.Y., 1821), 50.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

laborers obey them."[45] Another apostate, Reuben Rathbun, explained that he was freed from Mother Ann's dominion only when he took up the Bible and read it for himself. "I was astonished with myself that ever I imbibed such absurd ideas; but the reason was, I never searched the scriptures to see if these things were so, but believed and received everything I heard without giving myself liberty to doubt the truth of it." Because the Shaker Elders forbade their followers from reading any books, Rathbun charged, the Believers were "vicious in their natures and ungovernable."[46]

Critics reserved their sharpest attacks for the distinctive Shaker mode of worship, however, in which chaos and impropriety prevailed. "When they meet together for their worship," another apostate wrote, "some will be singing, each one his own tune; some without words, in an Indian tone, some sing jigg tunes, some tunes of their own making, in an unknown mutter, which they call new tongues . . . till the different tunes, groaning, jumping, dancing, drumming, laughing, talking, and fluttering, shouting, and hissing, makes a perfect bedlam; this they call the worship of God."[47] Shaker worship thus presented itself as the perfect antithesis of Hopkins's well-ordered millennium—despotic, singular, and unintelligible. It is not surprising that Lee and her closest disciples were briefly imprisoned for treason in 1780, and that charges of loyalism continued to dog the sect throughout its early years.

In retrospect, it is easy to see why these female-headed millenarian sects were accused of harboring anti-republican sentiments. After all, as Ruth Bloch argues, in many respects the ideas and practices of the Shakers and the Universal Friends were diametrically opposed to those of the American revolutionary movement. Both sects rejected history and reason, even (in the case of Lee) the Bible itself, as guides to the future in favor of the word of inspired prophets who claimed to be reincarnations of Christ. Both rejected traditional family and gender roles, although here the androgynous persona of Jemima Wilkinson and the Shaker conception of the dual-gendered godhead complicates any straightforward association of these two sects with antipatriarchal goals. Most damning of all, both groups portrayed themselves as "otherworldly," owing allegiance to no state but to the kingdom of God.[48]

Yet it seems to me that this characterization of female millenarianism as apolitical and authoritarian is only a partial truth. The point is not that male prophets had fully made the transition to the Enlightenment, with its elevation of reason as the supreme human virtue and the denigration of intuition, superstition, and blind faith, while women prophets remained somehow caught in an older, pre-political moment. Rather, we need to question the assumption that mysticism was an archaic hermeneutic practice, unsuited to democratic political discourse. Female prophets enacted a very different version of the "visionary republic" in their sectarian movements, one that located spiritual and political authority not in the

[45] Amos Taylor, *A Narrative of the Strange Principles, Conduct, and Character of the People Known by the Name of Shakers* (Worcester, Mass., 1782), 3–5.

[46] Reuben Rathbun, *Reasons Offered for Leaving the Shakers* (Pittsfield, Mass., 1800), 16, 24.

[47] Valentine Rathbun, *An Account of the Matter, Form, and Manner of a New and Strange Religion Taught and Propagated by a Number of EUROPEANS . . .* (Providence, R.I., 1781), 11–12.

[48] Bloch, *Visionary Republic*, 90.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

masculine rule of reason but in the feminine realm of mystical power. In so doing, they provide historians with an alternative model of democratic politics that may, in the long run, have been more appealing to a certain sector of American women (those, for instance, who would find in Spiritualism a powerful means of combating social and political ills by the mid-nineteenth century). We can see this by examining more closely the value of literacy, surely the democratic virtue par excellence, in the writings and practices of male and female millenarians.

Most prophets, male and female, spoke proudly of their humble beginnings and rudimentary literary achievements, distancing themselves from the world of learned discourse even while they made effective use of the possibilities offered by the expansion of print culture. Illiteracy could be a badge of spiritual superiority for charismatic seers who spurned the world of men and human knowledge. But illiteracy had a different meaning for millenarian men and women. Simon Hough, a fiery lay millennialist from western Massachusetts, published several tirades against those "wavering, college learnt merchants of the gospel" who were leading good Christians down the path to spiritual death. The learned clergy tell men they cannot understand the prophetic scriptures because they are illiterate; "because men cannot go to college, and by human learning obtain this spirit of discernment, and for fear of losing their lucrative employment, [the clergy] teach the world that they cannot be understood." Acknowledging the impossibility of understanding the Book of Revelation without the "dictates of the same spirit which dictated the penning of it," that is, without an internal spiritual guide, Hough insisted that this "spirit of discernment" could be obtained by human learning. All that is needed is for men to read the Bible for themselves. "O my brethren of the laity," he pleaded, "take heed to yourselves, put no trust in man, but read your Bibles."[49] The virtue of illiteracy, in other words, does not reside in forsaking the Bible in favor of direct inspiration but rather in rejecting the tutelage of learned men who pretend to have special knowledge of divine laws. The act of reading is, for male prophets, the supreme act of self-enlightenment, that which frees ordinary men from the dead hand of tradition and the sophistry of "hireling" ministers. "*Blessed is he that READETH*," Benjamin Gale proclaimed.[50]

The "illiteracy" of female sectarian movements was of a very different order. Here, American and British prophetesses diverged on one crucial point: in the United States, women like Wilkinson and Lee rejected the presuppositions of print culture altogether in reaching for a spiritual power beyond the written word, while in England women like Joanna Southcott and Sarah Flaxmer cleverly exploited the technologies of print to proclaim a *new* Word, one rooted more in the medieval and Renaissance traditions of mystical writing than in the linguistic conventions of a Habermasian public sphere.[51] For American female sectarians, reading—divine texts or even the words of the founder—was discouraged and at times actively suppressed; the emphasis in these movements was on oral communication, on

[49] Simon Hough, *An Alarm to the World: Dedicated to All Ranks of Men* (Stockbridge, Mass., 1792), 8–9, 23.

[50] Gale, *Brief Essay*, 54.

[51] For a discussion of the "baroque" tradition of visionary writing and its reformulation in the seventeenth century, see Michel de Certeau, *The Mystic Fable*, Vol. 1: *The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Michael B. Smith, trans. (Chicago, 1992).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

spiritual conversation between individuals who could see and touch one another. Those who were divinely inspired had special verbal powers (Ann Lee, though unable to read, was said to be able to speak fluently as many as seventy-two languages) that both set them apart from ordinary believers and allowed them to translate the spirit's message to their audiences.[52] The ability to "speak in tongues" became a hallmark of Shaker worship after Lee's death, a form of supernatural communication that was understood to supersede more conventional modes of access to God's word, including the Bible. For the Shakers, all printed texts were false representations of the true "word" of God, which could be known only in the hearts of believers. Lee herself became a kind of "living Bible" to her followers ("I am Ann the Word," she declared), and she called her disciples "my epistles, read and known of all men."[53] Refusing for years to contaminate the society's tenets and practices by committing them to print, Lee initiated a crusade in 1782–1783 against formal learning that ultimately led to book burning.[54] Only in 1808, more than half a century after the founding of the society in England, did the Shakers agree to issue a public statement of their faith. As the preface of this work stated, "in all this time of sixty years, the testimony [of the saints] hath been verbal . . . without any written creed or form of government relating to ourselves." Even now, the Shakers insisted, "we are far from expecting, or even wishing any of our writings to supersede the necessity of a living testimony . . . for the letter killeth, *but the spirit giveth life*."[55] In like manner, Jemima Wilkinson in her one published work condemned all who are "begotten out of the letter" as unclean scribes and Pharisees, and promised to redeem America in the same manner as Jesus redeemed the Apostles: by the spirit rather than by the "book."[56]

This wholesale rejection of books and reading in favor of immediate inspiration set the Shakers and the Universal Friends apart from their male sectarian counterparts. However much they scorned college-educated ministers, no male millenarian ever extended this critique of book-learning to the Bible itself. In an age when women generally had much lower literacy rates than men, and in which debates over the benefits of female education still took place under the shadow of a longstanding association of learned women with sexual and moral deviance, it makes sense that some female millenarians would offer a vision of the "New Jerusalem" in which literacy was irrelevant and even harmful.[57]

[52] Hannah Adams, *An Alphabetical Compendium of the Various Sects which have Appeared in the World from the beginning of the Christian Era to the present Day* (Boston, 1784), lviii; and Rathbun, *Account of the Matter, Form, and Manner of a New and Strange Religion*, 6.

[53] *Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations, and Doctrines of Our Ever Blessed Mother Ann Lee* (Hancock, Mass., 1816), 26. In similar fashion, the millenarian movement headed by Mother Buchan in England substituted the "living book of life, which is the love of God displaying itself through the body of a saint" for the "dead letter" of the Bible; James Purves, *Eight Letters between the People Called Buchanites and a Teacher near Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1785), 49. Mother Buchan herself was also described as a "living bible"; *Satan's Delusions: A Poem on the Buchanites* (London, 1784), 9.

[54] Clarke Garrett, *Spirit Possession and Popular Religion from the Camisards to the Shakers* (Baltimore, 1987), 198.

[55] *The Testimony of Christ's Second Appearing, Containing a General Statement of All Things Pertaining to the Faith and Practice of the Church of God in this Latter-Day* (Lebanon, Ohio, 1808), 12.

[56] [Jemima Wilkinson], *Some Considerations, Propounded to the several Sorts and Sects of PROFESSORS of this Age . . . by a Universal Friend of Mankind* (Providence, R.I., 1779), 42, 44.

[57] For debates over the wisdom of educating women, see Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980), chap. 7.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The alternative was to redefine literacy itself, to use the advantages of print culture to undermine the very presuppositions on which that culture supposedly rested. This was the path that British female millenarians pursued, with vigor and creativity. Ann Lee's closest British counterpart—the woman who embodied anti-republican license and linguistic impropriety at its most pernicious—was Joanna Southcott. Southcott is perhaps most distinguished among her British and American counterparts by her sheer prolixity. The author of sixty-five pamphlets (and thousands of pages of unpublished manuscripts), Southcott constituted a one-woman cottage industry in the world of British publishing from the time her first tract appeared in 1801 until her death in 1814. A conservative estimate puts the number of copies of her writings published between 1801 and 1816 at 108,000—a figure below that of Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* but well above most other religious and political literature.[58] Her output was not only prodigious but also represented an extended reflection on the act of reading itself that placed texts and their relationship to readers at the very heart of her prophetic mission.

The contemporary and historical verdicts on Joanna Southcott converge on one score: her writings are tedious, circuitous, and maddeningly opaque. Written half in verse and half in prose, her "communications" are a crazy quilt of voices (first, second, and third person), images, and phrases that manage to be repetitive and obscure at the same time. These "rhapsodies of ignorance, vulgarity, indecency, and impiety" represented to the literary and ecclesiastical establishment not the true language of the "Spirit" (who "always speaks in good grammar and good sense") but a "farrago of nonsense."[59] Even those scholars who accord the Southcottian movement some measure of intellectual respectability find Southcott's writings, and her peculiar relationship to the world of print culture in general, an enigma. Clearly, as J. F. C. Harrison notes, the fact that her prophecies circulated largely in print had "momentous consequences" for the success of the movement and for broader questions of popular literacy in an age of restricted educational opportunities. The available evidence suggests that access to her printed works was remarkably broad, and the laborious work of copying, recopying, and indexing Southcott's manuscripts that her followers undertook in her lifetime and beyond constituted "a form of pseudo-learning" for the mostly poor farmers and artisans who made up the backbone of the movement.[60]

But precisely how Southcott's writings were read by her followers is a question of considerable more complexity. For woven into the very substance of her prophecies was a highly systematic if idiosyncratic discourse on the practice of reading that demands closer attention. The image of the Bible as a "sealed" book whose contents can only be understood by those who have access to the prophetess's words was the dominant motif in Southcott's writings. The Bible, Southcott told her readers, was composed of "types" and "shadows," parables whose meaning could never be discerned by human reason or scholarly investigation. The "substance" of

[58] J. Hopkins, *Woman to Deliver Her People*, 84.

[59] *A Letter to T. P. Foley* (London, 1813), 36–38, 43, 45.

[60] Harrison, *Second Coming*, 88, 229. James Hopkins documents widespread ownership, or at least possession, of Southcott's pamphlets among her followers; in one congregation, for instance, the 123 believers possessed more than 1,400 copies of her works—an average of twelve per member. Hopkins, *Woman to Deliver Her People*, 115–16.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these shadows was revealed in Southcott's communications, and in the events these writings predicted would come to pass. Rather than urging men and women to read the scriptures in light of their natural reason, as male prophets from Brothers to Austin had done, Southcott insisted that the scriptures were and must remain a "mystery." Her deliberate obscurantism infuriated men like Robert Hann, for whom her writings were an "opium" that led readers to "prostitute their judgment, and give themselves up as willing sacrifices to delusion and imposture."[61]

Such charges of female mystagoguery had a long provenance in the history of Anglo-American dissent, but in the case of Joanna Southcott the accusation seems more than justified. Her communications were intended to confuse and unsettle—to "stumble," in her words—those who read them.[62] If believers could not arrive at spiritual truth through the usual means of enlightened reading, how, then, were they to be saved? Given the Southcottians' insistence that only those who had read Joanna's writings were worthy of being "sealed" for all time, an alternative practice of reading had to be devised, one that would retain the mysterious quality of the sacred texts while allowing believers some access to the divine truths contained therein. Southcott devised multiple strategies for this purpose, most prominently the age-old method of "promiscuous" reading—the random selection of passages without any order or sequence. As generations of Christians had done before her, she read the Bible by randomly opening the book and reading the first passage that appeared.[63] As David Hall has described, such a mode of reading was commonplace in the early modern world of reformed Protestantism, where "intensive" reading—the rereading of certain key texts, "not once or twice, but '100 and 100 times' "—was still practiced. In advocating the intensive and promiscuous reading of scripture, however, Southcott violated another central tenet of the reformed Protestant tradition—the belief that, in Hall's words, "the meaning of the Bible was self-evident. It was a book that made its message felt without there being any mediation—no intermediaries, no gloss, no message that called for interpretation. In the root sense of the word, the Bible was *immediately* available."[64] In Southcott's world, sacred texts (scripture and her own writings) were always and complexly mediated.

Her use of highly metaphorical forms of argumentation (the vocabulary of types, shadows, parables, dreams, visions) placed her squarely in the mystical tradition of early modern dissent, yet she also invented new methods for confounding her readers that relied heavily on manipulating the technologies of print. One of the most effective, and most provocative, was her practice of deliberately scrambling texts. She admitted in her reply to a critic, Louis Mayer, that she had reprinted his accusations not as a single block of text but broken into pieces, dispersed

[61] R. Hann, *A Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London concerning the Heresy and Imposture of Joanna Southcott* (London, 1810), 13, 7.

[62] Joanna Southcott, *A Dispute between the Woman and the Powers of Darkness* (London, 1802), 4; and the communication of July 12, 1802, in the Notebook of Divine Communications and Letters (item 327), Joanna Southcott Collection, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas, Austin.

[63] See, for example, Joanna Southcott, *Prophecies: A Warning to the World, from the Sealed Prophecies of Joanna Southcott* (London, 1803), 53; and Southcott, *Explanation of the Parables Published in 1804* (London, 1806), 51.

[64] David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgement: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (1989; Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 42, 26–27.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

throughout some fifty pages of print, in order to impress upon her readers the idiosyncratic placement of truth in the scriptures.[65] On another occasion, at the Spirit's express command, Southcott ordered that the explanation of certain parables be published separately: a parable of the adulterous nation introduced by Rev. Thomas Foley (in *What Manner of Communication Are These?*) was explained in William Sharp's tract, *Sharp Answer to the World*, while Sharp's parables were explained in Foley's pamphlet. The Spirit explained: "I now tell thee, these two books that I ordered to be printed in this manner, that you could not understand one without going to the other . . . perfectly so, I tell thee, stand the Scriptures of Truth!"[66]

Southcott thus offered a very archaic, and very authoritarian, understanding of literacy to the British public. Her method confounds all the tenets of a Habermasian print culture: that language is transparent, that it is impersonal—that the relationship of signs to signifiers is not secured by the personal attributes or resources of any individual or social group but by the universal recognition of "rational" correspondences—and that knowledge is equally distributed throughout the population and not the special preserve of any one person or class. Whereas republican prophets like James Bicheno believed that the language of scripture was readily accessible to people across the social and political spectrum without specialized training, Southcott insisted that only true believers could understand the Word of God, and then only after it had been channeled through the interpretive faculties of an inspired prophet.[67]

How "democratic" is such an approach to language? The labels "radical" and "conservative" are not particularly helpful in trying to understand Southcottian prophecy in the context of the political struggles of the age of revolution. On the one hand, her mission was extremely autocratic. She was clearly jealous of her prophetic standing and refused to acknowledge any rivals or alternative routes to salvation save through her own writings. She was equally firm in her rejection of political radicalism, arguing that the only revolution needed or possible was a spiritual one. Above all, she resurrected an archaic form of Old Testament prophecy in which authority is rooted in the charismatic appeal of a single individual rather than in the collective worship of believers.[68] On the other hand, Southcott portrayed herself as the defender of the underprivileged classes—women (especially single women) and the poor, and offered them a vision of redemption through the agency of a "poor illiterate woman."[69] She, like the Methodist clergy

[65] Southcott, *Explanation of Parable*, 55.

[66] Rev. T. P. Foley, *What Manner of Communications Are These?* (London, 1804); William Sharp, *Sharp Answer to the World* (London, 1806); Joanna Southcott, *On Parables* (London, 1806), 59.

[67] In this, she departed from the linguistic practices of female Methodist preachers, who—like male prophets—adopted an "ethos of simplicity" in their spoken and written performances that affirmed Methodism's theological message of universal redemption; Christine L. Krueger, *The Reader's Repentance: Women Preachers, Women Writers, and Nineteenth-Century Social Discourse* (Chicago, 1992).

[68] For a persuasive account of the authoritarian and coercive nature of charismatic religious figures, see Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*.

[69] Anna Clark provides a good reading of the "feminist" implications of Southcott's theology in "The Sexual Crisis and Popular Religion in London, 1770–1820," *International Labor and Working Class History* 34 (1988): 56–69; see also Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), 107–11.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

she so bitterly resented, was scornful of "learning" and "civilized" society, and preached the standard anti-clerical message of the day—that ministers are nothing but "hirelings" and hypocrites who know less about true Christianity than their humble followers. In a strange way, it may also be that her peculiar brand of obscurantist language was a mark of rebellion: after all, women who tried to adopt the prevailing discourses of political radicalism (such as appeals to reason and the "universal" rights of mankind) were not particularly successful in articulating a feminist vision of the polity in the 1790s.[70] Her retrieval of the archaic language of prophecy may, in the end, have constituted a far more effective challenge to democratic politics than the reasoned discourses of Mary Wollstonecraft or Hannah More.

A "mystical republic" thus offered powerful support to women whose inferior mental capacities and cultural "illiteracy" did not entitle them to civic or political standing.[71] What would become of the female millenarian tradition represented by Ann Lee and Joanna Southcott after the political storms of the revolutionary era had subsided? Ironically, it was republican prophets who found themselves pushed to the margins of Anglo-American political culture after 1815 rather than the mystagogues they scorned.

THE FLOWERING OF MILLENARIAN SECTS in antebellum America (from the Millerites to the Mormons) represented a defiant resurgence of the mystical strand of eighteenth-century millennialism. Republican prophecy did not so much disappear as become absorbed into a potent populist brew. Paul Boyer argues that the fusion of democratic and millenarian beliefs reached its zenith in the Millerite movement of the 1840s. "Just as the Jacksonians claimed that any (white male) citizen could perform the duties of government, so the Millerites insisted that untutored believers could unravel the apocalyptic mysteries. Millerism heralded the full democratization of prophetic belief in the United States," he argues.[72] If Millerism represents the apogee of the republican tradition of biblical exegesis, in which Every Man could read and interpret the prophetic passages for himself,[73] it was eclipsed in importance by the stunning success of Joseph Smith and the Mormons.

[70] The fate of Mary Wollstonecraft's writings is a good case in point; for her reception in the United States, see Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, 222–31.

[71] We can find evidence of a similar repudiation of enlightenment practices in the worship of African-American slaves and their descendants well into the nineteenth century. Though the desire for literacy was an important stimulus to conversion for African-American slaves in the late eighteenth century, who rightly saw in evangelical Protestantism an opportunity to capture the power of the written word for themselves, direct inspiration remained the paramount source of spiritual authority among Christianized slaves. As Albert Raboteau notes, slaves "valued the experience of God's power as the norm of Christian truth rather than the Bible"; *African-American Religion: Interpretive Essays in History and Culture*, Timothy E. Fulop and Albert J. Raboteau, eds. (New York, 1997), 97. For a recent overview of the place of literacy in slave Christianity, see Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998).

[72] Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 85.

[73] David L. Rowe, "Millerites: A Shadow Portrait," in *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century*, Ronald Numbers and Jonathan M. Butler, eds. (1987; Knoxville, Tenn., 1993), 1–16.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Drawing on diverse intellectual resonances ranging from medieval heremeticism to eighteenth-century mesmerism and Swedenborgianism, Smith's fantastic tale of buried treasure and "lost" scriptures written in ancient hieroglyphics reached an audience eager to recapture the power of the mystical word from a disenchanted world.[74] Other prophets would follow his lead, some (like the Prophet Matthias) for their own aggrandizement and some (like Matthias's most famous convert, the ex-slave Isabella Van Wagenen, who would become the abolitionist Sojourner Truth) out of genuine concern for spiritual renewal.[75] In England, the dramatic and well-publicized death of Joanna Southcott in 1814 from what she believed to be a "mystical pregnancy" dealt a serious blow to the millennial hopes of thousands of English men and women, but despite the ridicule heaped on her believers by churchmen and journalists, would-be successors to her prophetic mantle carried her message to a new generation of British millenarians. Well into the 1830s and 1840s, new prophets like John Wroe and "Zion" Ward claimed to be Southcott's true "heir," the Man-child she had promised to produce in her dying days.[76]

The mystical tradition of millennial interpretation was thus carried into a new age by a "radical underworld" of prophets and visionaries, to paraphrase Iain McCalman, despite the best efforts of republican prophets and political radicals alike in the waning decades of the eighteenth century.[77] And there it would remain, for better or worse, to vex historians to the present day.

[74] John L. Brooke, *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644–1844* (New York, 1996).

[75] Paul Johnson and Sean Wilentz, *The Kingdom of Matthias: A Story of Sex and Salvation in 19th-Century America* (New York, 1994); Nell Irvin Painter, *Sojourner Truth: A Life, a Symbol* (New York, 1996).

[76] On Southcott's pregnancy and death, see Susan Juster, "Mystical Pregnancy and Holy Bleeding: Visionary Experience in Early Modern Britain and America," forthcoming in *William and Mary Quarterly*; on her successors, see Harrison, *Second Coming*.

[77] Iain McCalman, *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries and Pornographers in London, 1795–1840* (Oxford, 1993).

Susan Juster is an associate professor of history at the University of Michigan. Her previous publications include *Disorderly Women: Sexual Politics and Evangelicalism in Revolutionary New England* (1994) and (with Lisa MacFarlane) *A Mighty Baptism: Race, Gender, and the Creation of American Protestantism* (1996). She is currently working on a study of radical prophecy in Britain and North America during the period 1760 to 1820.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AHR Forum
"Redeemer Empire": Russian Millenarianism

DAVID G. ROWLEY

> [T]he Russian people, in accordance with their metaphysical nature and vocation in the world, are a people of the End. Apocalypse has always played a great part both among the masses of our people and at the highest cultural level among Russian writers and thinkers. In our thought the eschatological problem takes an immeasurably greater place than in the thinking of the West and this is connected with the very structure of Russian consciousness.
>
> Nicolas Berdyaev, *The Russian Idea*.[1]

In 1907, Anatolii Lunacharsky published *Religion and Socialism*, in which he argued that Marxism was the highest form of religion because it would satisfy in the real world the yearning for justice and righteousness that religions only promise in the hereafter. He also pointed out the parallels between Marxism and Christian eschatology: the suffering of the proletariat and the passion of Christ, the socialist revolution and the Day of Judgment, and socialism and Christ's millennial reign on earth.[2]

In 1995, Valerii Khatiushin published "If We Understand, We Will Be Saved," in which he argued that the collapse of the Soviet Union was the work of Satan. Khatiushin asserted that Satan's legions were preparing a five-year bloodbath for Russia, in which Russia, like Christ, would be crucified. In the year 2000, he prophesied, Russia would be resurrected as the leader of the world.[3]

The visions of Lunacharsky and Khatiushin certainly seem to substantiate Nicolas Berdyaev's characterization of the Russians as a millennial people. Yet these expressions of millenarian expectation raise serious questions about the project of

I wish to thank James Mochoruk for his helpful comments on this paper when I first presented it at the Northern Great Plains History Conference in September 1998. I am particularly grateful to A. E. Bothwell and Barbara Handy-Marchello for their careful reading and helpful critiques of the article in its fully developed form. I thank Kristi A. Groberg for reading a late draft and for pointing me toward some important works that I had overlooked. I am grateful, as well, for the comments and advice of Michael Grossberg and the editors and anonymous reviewers for the *AHR*.

[1] Nicolas Berdyaev, *The Russian Idea* (New York, 1948), 193.

[2] Lunacharsky was a philosopher, dramatist, and Bolshevik whom V. I. Lenin expelled from the Bolshevik Party in 1909 in consequence of both his attitude toward religion and socialism and his revolutionary extremism. Lunacharsky was received back into the party in 1917 and served as the Soviet Commissar of Education from 1918 to 1929. He died in 1933. A. V. Lunacharsky, *Religiia i sotsializm*, 2d edn., 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1908).

[3] Valerii Khatiushin is a poet and publicist who regularly contributes to Russia's right-wing patriotic journals, particularly *Molodaia Gvardiia*. Khatiushin, "Esli poimem—spasemsia," *Molodaia Gvardiia* 3 (1995): 27–40.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

identifying and comparing cultural forms and traditions. Do religious and secular expressions of the millenarian vision really express the same idea? Is it possible to have a millenarian "tradition," and, if so, what cultural vehicle carries the millennial idea from one generation to the next? Looking for answers to these questions in the Russian context provides a new vantage point from which to examine the nature of Russian imperial ideology and national identity, the place of Communism in Russian history, and the political and ideological choices now facing the Russian Federation.

I will argue that, first, the use of the unqualified term "millenarian" to apply to secular and mainstream as well as to religious and marginal movements has served as a pejorative critique of modern, secular "millenarianisms" and produces serious misunderstandings of the millenarian idea. Second, the millenarian idea of an end of human history and the beginning of an earthly paradise does not entail unrealistic thinking or pathological behavior. Millenarian expressions may be used in a purely metaphorical sense. What distinguishes between "religious" and "secular" millennialism is not the idea of the millennium but the social meaning and function of that idea. Third, one powerful cultural vehicle for millenarianism in Russia has been the ideology of Russian imperialism, and it is to this tradition that the millennialism of the Communist revolution can be attributed. Fourth, the imperial style of thought is the antithesis of modern nationalism, and the millenarian outlook in an imperialist guise has been a symptom of Russia's failure to become a nation-state. Finally, since the point of Khatiushin's millenarian tirade is to mourn the collapse of the Soviet empire and to call for the regeneration of a Greater Russia, the extent to which he represents contemporary Russian political culture is of crucial importance for Russia's future.

BASED SIMPLY ON THE CONCEPTS THEY EMPLOY, it seems self-evident that Khatiushin and Lunacharsky confirm the trend in the interpretation of Russian culture that holds the Russians to be a millennial people and the Communist revolution to be a product of millenialism.[4] Certainly, Khatiushin would seem to reinforce such an interpretation since a Russian, Christian apocalypse is central to his vision. Khatiushin quotes Fedor Dostoevsky that "no atheist can be a Russian," and says that "Russia is a heavenly country; to be a patriot means to carry in you the deathless Russian soul—a part of the transcendent Russian soul." Khatiushin depicts the suffering of Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union as nothing less than the final act in the struggle between God and Satan. "The Prince of Darkness," he writes, "has taken offense at Russia and is expending all his powers here."[5] Satan's agents, the Jews, are behind the world conspiracy (in which the Communist Party played a role): "first to introduce and then to destroy Soviet power." Not only

[4] This has been a common generalization ever since the revolution. It is dealt with most thoroughly in Berdyaev, *Russian Idea*; Nicolas Berdyaev, *The Russian Revolution* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1961); and *The Origin of Russian Communism* (Ann Arbor, 1960). See also James H. Billington, *The Icon and the Axe: An Interpretive History of Russian Culture* (New York, 1970); and Michael Barkun, *Disaster and the Millennium* (New Haven, Conn., 1974).

[5] Khatiushin, "Esli poimem—spasemsia," 30, 33.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that, Khatiushin insists that they are preparing the way for the bloody czar-despot, "as predicted in the Protocols of the Elders of Zion."[6]

Russia's suffering duplicates the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. Khatiushin writes that "Christ came in order to take upon himself pain, blood, and humiliation in order to save the human race," but that salvation only lasted for two thousand years. Now humankind, to be saved again, must itself suffer. Russia will be the first to take upon itself "pain, blood, and humiliation," and Russia "will be the first to be purified."[7]

Khatiushin points to signs and omens that portend the end of the world. The birthmark on the forehead of Mikhail Gorbachev ("Mikhail the Marked") is the mark of the Devil. Haley's comet foretold the Chernobyl disaster, and wormwood grows at Chernobyl. Therefore, since the Book of Revelation speaks of a great star "whose name is wormwood" that will fall to earth, make the waters bitter, and kill many people, the Chernobyl meltdown proves that the return of Jesus must be at hand.[8] Khatiushin reports that when the Shoemaker-Levi Comet smashed into Jupiter, astrologers and occultists said this signified the end of the world, and he adds that it also signaled "the second coming of Christ with his heavenly host in order to finally and forever defeat the enemy of humankind." "There are only five years until the end of the old world and the beginning of the new," Khatiushin continues. "The time of the living Christ is nearing."[9]

If the themes of Christian eschatology are explicit in Khatiushin's article, however, they are more problematic in Lunacharsky's work. Whereas Khatiushin speaks literally of the return of Christ, Lunacharsky only draws an analogy between socialism and religion. Lunacharsky set as his goal "a more or less deep investigation into the interrelationship between religion and socialism; to determine the place of socialism among other religious systems."[10] What connects socialism and religion, in Lunacharsky's view, is not their belief in the supernatural but their concern for the poor. He asserts that Judaism was a religion of labor in which God stood for the poor and downtrodden against the oppression of the wealthy. "Christianity in Rome and Palestine," he adds, "was a movement of the proletariat." And, in the early church, "Christianity fostered a sense of unity and brotherhood among the unfortunate, the cast off, the despairing." The heroism of Christian martyrs "revealed the height of enthusiasm that is awakened by the idea of communism." Christian millenarians of the Middle Ages, he points out, also believed in the brotherhood of the poor, hated the rich, and rejected the evil society in which they lived. Lunacharsky insists that medieval millenarianism was both communistic and revolutionary.[11]

Lunacharsky draws a series of parallels between the proletariat and God or Christ. Just as Jehovah struck down Sodom and Gomorrah, so will the workers destroy the Satanic capitalists of the modern world. Lunacharsky deplores Christ's meekness (not at all an appropriate model for the militant proletariat), but he

[6] Khatiushin, "Esli poimem—spasemsia," 28, 29.
[7] Khatiushin, "Esli poimem—spasemsia," 29.
[8] Khatiushin, "Esli poimem—spasemsia," 32. The passage to which he refers is Rev. 8: 10–11.
[9] Khatiushin, "Esli poimem—spasemsia," 33.
[10] Lunacharsky, *Religiia i sotsializm*, 1: 8.
[11] Lunacharsky, *Religiia i sotsializm*, 1: 184, 2: 61–62.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

emphasizes that Jesus was a carpenter and thus one of the laboring masses. He offers an extended analogy between the proletariat and Christ. The three wise men—Robert Owen, Mikhail Bakunin, and Karl Marx—bowed down at the manger of the newly born proletariat. Did not Labor feel anger at the merchants and bankers and want to drive them from the temple of life? Moreover, Lunacharsky suggests that the suffering of the workers in the revolution parallels the crucifixion of Christ. "And on the hill of Golgotha arises a new Messiah, his blood has been spilled and they have nailed him to the cross . . . But it is impossible to kill Labor, it is resurrected and continues its heavy struggle; it carries its cross from Golgotha to Golgotha . . . for in truth the Savior of the World never dies."[12]

Ultimately, however, Lunacharsky's images are only metaphors for the socialist movement. The real difference between Christians and proletarian revolutionaries, according to him, is simply that Christians are passive and workers are active. The socialist paradise toward which Marxism points will be realized on earth through human and not divine agency. Christians, he says, believed that a transcendent God would create the new world; the workers know they will have to do it themselves.[13]

Of course, the writings of Lunacharsky and Khatiushin do not, in themselves, prove that "Russians are a people of the End." In the context of a purported Russian millenarian tradition, however, their use of the language of Christian eschatology provides the opportunity to investigate the implications that their visions might have for understanding Russian history. They also highlight an ambiguity in the scholarly use of the term "millenarian," and I shall discuss their broader significance for millenarian movements before examining the specific case of Russia.

COMPARISON OF THE MILLENARIAN EXPRESSIONS of the two writers immediately brings into question the appropriateness of the unqualified term "millenarian" to encompass them both. Khatiushin can be read as a literal expression of the Christian doctrine, based on the Book of Revelation, which holds that Jesus Christ will return to earth to defeat Satan and rule over a transfigured world for one thousand years.[14] Lunacharsky can be called "millenarian" only because of the parallels he draws between the Marxist conception of proletarian revolution and Christian eschatology. This raises the fundamental issue of using "millenarianism" as a concept in history and the social sciences. Is millenarianism to be defined by its ideas alone or does it signify a particular approach to social and political existence?

The predominant use of the term "millenarian" by historians and social scientists has been to generalize into a typology of human behavior the beliefs and actions of certain early Christian communities who rejected Roman civilization, who allowed themselves to be martyred for their faith, and who lived in expectation of Jesus' imminent return.[15] As Christianity became a more worldly religion (ultimately, the

[12] Lunacharsky, *Religiia i sotsializm*, 1: 186–87, 101–02.
[13] A. V. Lunacharsky, "Budushchee religii," *Obrazovanie* 1 (1907): 22.
[14] See Rev. 19 and 20.
[15] For a discussion, see Michael J. St. Clair, "Early Christianity as a Millenarian Movement," in his *Millenarian Movements in Historical Context* (New York, 1992).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

official religion of the Roman Empire), church fathers Origen and Augustine argued that Revelation expressed symbolic and not literal truth.[16] From this point on, literal belief in an imminent apocalypse appeared only in movements that deviated sharply from mainstream culture.

Indeed, it was the spectacularly irrational and self-destructive behavior (from the point of view of secular, mainstream society) of people who expected Christ's imminent return in medieval Europe that has provided the most commonly used model for millenarianism. Norman Cohn's classic study *Pursuit of the Millennium*, which examined Christian millennial movements in the Middle Ages, pioneered a scholarly tradition of treating millenarianism as a "phantasy of salvation" and a social pathology.[17] Cohn portrayed medieval millenarian movements as violent and wholly negative social rebellions—suicidal products of economic vulnerability and social alienation.[18] Analogous social phenomena have been discovered among peoples in nearly all ages and regions of the world and have been categorized as millenarian on the basis of their violent and counter-cultural characteristics. Weston La Barre's definition of such movements as "crisis cults" reinforced Cohn's representation of millenarian behavior as abnormal and pathological.[19] This remains the most widely accepted understanding of the term.[20]

Not all scholars who use the term in this counter-cultural sense treat it as a wholly negative phenomenon. Eric Hobsbawm and Christopher Hill, for example, agree with Lunacharsky in interpreting many European millenarian movements as progressive manifestations of class struggle by the lowly against their oppressors. Similarly, historians such as Peter Worsley and Michael Adas have treated non-European millenarian movements as struggles against colonialism.[21] However,

[16] Indeed, in 431, a church council denounced the expectation of Jesus' imminent return as "an error and a fantasy." Yonina Talmon, "Millenarism," in *The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, David L. Sills, ed. (New York, 1968), 350.

[17] Norman Cohn proposes "to regard as 'millenarian' any religious movement inspired by the phantasy of a salvation which is to be (a) collective . . . ; (b) terrestrial . . . ; (c) imminent . . . ; (d) total, in the sense that it is to utterly transform life on earth . . . [and] (e) accomplished by agencies which are consciously regarded as supernatural." Cohn, "Medieval Millenarism: Its Bearing on the Comparative Study of Millenarian Movements," in Sylvia L. Thrupp, ed., *Millennial Dreams in Action: Essays in Comparative Study* (The Hague, 1962), 31.

[18] "So it came about that multitudes of people acted out with fierce energy a shared fantasy which, though delusional, yet brought them such intense emotional relief that they could live only through it, and were perfectly willing both to kill and to die for it." Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, rev. and expanded edn. (New York, 1970), 87–88.

[19] "A 'crisis cult' means any group reaction to crisis, chronic or acute, that is cultic. 'Crisis' is a deeply felt frustration or basic problem with which routine methods, secular or sacred, cannot cope . . . The 'cultic' is the indisposition to accept either disruptive feedback or the ego-critique of experience, but instead, supported by the wish-needs of fellow communicants, to indulge the appetite to believe. The term crisis cult basically includes any new 'sacred' attitude toward a set of beliefs; it excludes the pragmatic, revisionist, secular response that is tentative and relativistic." Weston La Barre, "Materials for a History of Sketches of Crisis Cults: A Bibliographic Essay," *Current Anthropology* 12 (February 1971): 11.

[20] The notion of millenarianism as social aberrance (often with violent rhetoric if not violent action) is the understanding of the term that informs a recent collection, Thomas Robbins and Susan J. Palmer, eds., *Millennium, Messiahs, and Mayhem: Contemporary Apocalyptic Movements* (New York, 1997), even though one contributor, Catherine Wessinger, cautions against this view in "Millennialism with and without the Mayhem." See also Jeffrey Kaplan, *Radical Religion in America: Millenarian Movements from the Far Right to the Children of Noah* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1997).

[21] E. J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

even when these authors adduce rational and progressive explanations for millenarian behavior, they agree with Cohn and La Barre that such movements were profoundly counter-cultural. Indeed, their rejection of the society in which they live is their defining characteristic.

It is in this sense that Alida Metcalf and David Ownby employ the term in their contributions to this *Forum*. Metcalf examines the kind of millenarianism that spreads "during times of disaster, crises of subsistence, civil war, colonialism, the rapid spread of capitalism, or relative deprivation" and that is manifested in a counter-cultural movement.[22] Surely, she is correct in suggesting that few experiences are more disastrous than being enslaved and few movements are more counter-cultural than a slave revolt. Ownby, too, assumes that millenarian movements arise in response to crisis and that they challenge the social and political status quo. His argument that popular millenarianism arose from within mainstream culture but as a fundamentalist or populist reaction against it recognizes that popular millenarianism was a counter-cultural movement that threatened the political elite. Moreover, Ownby shows that, if mainstream and popular millenarianism had the same source, they nevertheless expressed their ideas quite differently. Elite expressions of apocalyptic ideas were phrased in ways that reduced their threat to the status quo; populist millenarianism, by contrast, was potentially explosive.[23]

Simultaneously with the proliferation of studies of "crisis cult" millenarianism in the 1950s and 1960s, other scholars began to apply the term "millenarian" to modern European and United States history. J. L. Talmon, in a series of works on the origins of the modern world, argued that medieval millenarianism was secularized during the Enlightenment into a revolutionary movement, which, as a dark side to the liberal tradition, ultimately produced communist and fascist totalitarianism.[24] A number of other scholars have participated in the same project.[25] As in the study of crisis cult millennialism, however, not all studies of this sort have been negative. For example, in *Millennium and Utopia: A Study in the Background of the Idea of Progress*, Ernest Lee Tuveson argues that the modern idea of progress was a faith in history as a new kind of Providence that "resulted in part from the transformation of a religious idea—the great millennial expectation, which became one of the most firmly established ideas in the Protestant mind." Other

---

Centuries (1959; New York, 1965); Christopher Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1971); Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of Cargo Cults in Melanesia*, 2d augmented edn. (New York, 1968); Michael Adas, *Prophets of Rebellion: Millenarian Protest Movements against the European Colonial Order* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979); Vittorio Lanternari, *The Religions of the Oppressed: A Study of Modern Messianic Cults* (New York, 1965).

[22] Alida C. Metcalf, "Millenarian Slaves? The Santidade de Jaguaripe and Slave Resistance in the Americas," *AHR* 104 (December 1999): 1531–59, 1532.

[23] David Ownby, "Chinese Millenarian Traditions: The Formative Age," *AHR* 104 (December 1999): 1513–30.

[24] Most relevant to this topic are J. L. Talmon, *The Rise of Totalitarian Democracy* (Boston, 1952); and Talmon, *Political Messianism: The Romantic Phase* (New York, 1960).

[25] See Eric Voegelin, *The New Science of Politics: An Introduction* (Chicago, 1952); Rush Welter, "The Idea of Progress in America," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 16 (June 1955). Most recently, Arthur P. Mendel has critically traced the millennial idea through the entire Western tradition. Mendel, *Vision and Violence* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

scholars have also suggested religious origins of the modern outlook, without any pejorative connotations.[26]

However, those scholars who use the term "millenarian" in a modern, secular context employ it in a suggestive and not an analytical sense. By applying "millenarian" to European visions of progress, they use the associations with religious and fanatical extremism of crisis cults to highlight the hopeful expectations of modern liberals or socialists. Yet there is a profound discontinuity between the intellectual and the crisis cult expressions of the eschatological idea. The social origins and behavior of the two kinds of millenarians are strikingly different. Crisis cult millenarianism is a movement of socially marginal and disaffected groups—usually the most downtrodden and miserable—who reveal their millenarianism in what the mainstream considers to be bizarre and antisocial behavior. Liberalism and socialism are, by contrast, movements of intellectual and political elites whose millenarianism is revealed through the publication of their ideas.

The two also differ in their relation to religious belief. Scholars seem generally to assume that crisis cult members literally believe in their visions of apocalypse and regeneration. No one questions the idea that second-century Christians, nineteenth-century Millerites, or Sioux Ghost Dancers (to take but three counter-cultural examples) "really" believed that history was about to come to an end and that the world about to be miraculously transformed. Indeed, it is acting out these beliefs that defines their behavior as "counter-cultural." Conversely, no one could seriously suggest that liberal or socialist intellectuals who believed in the limitless progress of European civilization "really" thought that the ordinary laws of nature would cease to operate or that a divine supernatural force would intervene to make society perfect.[27] At most, their visions of the future can be called hyperbolic or metaphorical. The prevalence of the notion that such intellectuals have "secularized" Christian eschatology emphasizes the fact that these writers did no more than express the millenarian idea in the vocabulary of the mainstream culture in which they lived.

What the two share in common is the millenarian idea—that is, that human history is a story with a beginning and an end, with a plot determined by a transcendent logic, in which a special people play a key role. The notion of a timeless paradise at the end of this story is implicit—all stories must come to an end, and the millenarian believes that the author (or logic) of this story is beneficent. The difference between the two kinds of millenarians lies not in the quality of their belief but in how they manifest the millenarian idea. Henceforth, I will use the term "secular" to refer to those who express the millenarian idea in terms of the mainstream intellectual and political culture and the term "religious" to refer to those who express their millennialism in defiantly counter-cultural action.

[26] Ernest Lee Tuveson, *Millennium and Utopia: A Study in the Background of the Idea of Progress* (Berkeley, Calif., 1949), ix–x; see, for example, Clarke Garrett, *Respectable Folly: Millenarians and the French Revolution in France and England* (Baltimore, Md., 1975). A number of observers of U.S. millenarianism (cited below) take a similar positive view.

[27] Perhaps the closest to this position has been Stephen E. Hanson, who has argued that Marx, Lenin, and Stalin believed that socialist revolution could "master time itself." Hanson, *Time and Revolution: Marxism and the Design of Soviet Institutions* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I wish to emphasize that I use these terms not as definitions but only as useful signs for two different social manifestations of the millenarian idea. The notion that the millennium is a literal reality to the religious millenarian but only a metaphor to the secular millenarian is based on the problematic assumption that religious belief is itself *not* metaphorical. Moreover, the inaccessibility of other people's consciousness makes it pointless to attempt to determine what anyone "really" believes. Some people who really believe in an imminent apocalypse may adhere to all the behavioral norms of their society, while some people who don't really believe the world is on the verge of a miraculous transformation may nevertheless join (or lead) a counter-cultural movement for other reasons. (The leaders of crisis cults are often suspected of self-interested motives.) Whether or not modern Western liberals and socialists are true believers in a religious sense would seem to be equally unknowable.

THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR millenarianism is particularly relevant to the case of the United States. On the one hand, the United States has experienced a long history of counter-cultural millenarian outbursts that can easily be subsumed under the category of "crisis cults" that reject mainstream society and are explained by reference to disaster and alienation.[28] However, following Ira Brown, an increasing number of American historians have downplayed the cultic or sectarian nature of millennial movements in America and have emphasized their closeness to mainstream religion.[29]

Millenarianism in America is particularly problematic because the Puritans fit so poorly into the La Barre paradigm. It is generally understood that, like members of a crisis cult, they were deeply religious and believed in Jesus' return (whether before or after the millennium). Nevertheless, their frequent application of millenarian metaphors to North America must call into question their belief that it would be the literal (as opposed to the metaphorical) location of the Christian millennium. Moreover, they were not the socially deviant, mad, marginal, or fringe elements that constitute crisis cults as conceived by Cohn and La Barre. Just the opposite. American Puritans were members of the wealthy and powerful political elite.[30]

[28] Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Upper New York State, 1800–1850* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1950). Most millenarians cited in St. Clair, *Millenarian Movements in Historical Context*, and in Robbins and Palmer, *Millennium, Messiahs, and Mayhem*, are counter-cultural movements associated with some sort of social stress.

[29] Brown pointed out, "It seems clear that millenarian faith in one form or another was entirely respectable socially and intellectually well into the nineteenth century. America's leading clergymen and college presidents subscribed to such doctrines." Ira V. Brown, "Watchers for the Second Coming: The Millenarian Tradition in America," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 39 (December 1952): 451. See also Avihu Zakai, "Theocracy in Massachusetts: The Puritan Universe of Sacred Imagination," *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 27 (Spring 1994): 23–31; Nathan O. Hatch, "The Origins of Civil Millennialism in America: New England Clergymen, War with France, and the Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly*, ser. 3, 31 (July 1974): 407–30; Ruth H. Bloch, "The Social and Political Base of Millennial Literature in Late Eighteenth-Century America," *American Quarterly* 40 (September 1988): 378–96; John Mee, "Apocalypse and Ambivalence: The Politics of Millenarianism in the 1790s," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 95 (Summer 1996): 673.

[30] It can, of course, be argued that the Puritans originated as a movement that was strongly

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This is brought out with particular clarity by Susan Juster's contribution to this *Forum*. The possibility that the millennium is no more than a metaphor for optimistic hopes for the future is reinforced by Juster's references to the "overblown millennial rhetoric" of the first phase of the American Revolution. The "Man-child" (America) "with his spear already in the heart of the beast" is clearly a metaphor and not a literal description of anything. Moreover, Juster does not attempt to distinguish essentially between the more counter-cultural (Mother Ann Lee and the Shakers, for example) and the more mainstream (the "fusion of republican and millennial language" by men). Instead, she asserts, "Male and female prophets assumed different audiences for their texts, positioned themselves differently as divine oracles, and expounded radically different models of reading."[31] These male and female millenarians shared the same idea; it is the social and political meaning they attached to that idea that distinguishes between them.

Moreover, a number of writers argue that the Puritans' sense of millennial mission has been carried over into American secular, mainstream political ideology.[32] Ira Brown surmises that "the idea that paradise is to prevail on earth for a thousand years [is] an optimistic outlook in tune with 'the American heritage of hope' and conducive to 'progress.' In this broader context millennial thought is related to 'the mission of America' and other concepts outside the realm of religion." Ernest Tuveson agrees, arguing that the source of the American secular ideology of world leadership is religious, and he finds this attitude exemplified in Woodrow Wilson's pronouncement that "America had the infinite privilege of fulfilling her destiny and saving the world." Tuveson calls the United States a "redeemer nation," into which term he subsumes the ideas of chosen nation, a millennial-utopian destiny for humankind, and a continuing war between good and evil in which the redeemer nation plays the central role.[33] Similar allusions have been made by many other historians.[34]

It would seem to be particularly difficult to attempt to situate United States presidents within the Cohn and La Barre paradigm. Such individuals can surely be considered counter-cultural or socially deviant only by their political opponents. Not only do such elected figures epitomize what it means to be a part of mainstream culture, the mood of their millenarianism is not one of despair and desperation but of power and confidence. Their millenarian attitudes cannot be explained by reference to alienation or disaster or relative deprivation.[35] Just the opposite; the

---

counter-cultural in its rejection of contemporary English society. Nevertheless, by the time of the American Revolution, Puritans were fully "mainstream" in U.S. society. For a discussion of how a crisis cult became a hegemonic cultural force, see Jan Nederveen-Pieterse, "The History of a Metaphor: Christian Zionism and the Politics of Apocalypse," *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions* 75 (July–September 1991): 75–104.

[31] Susan Juster, "Demagogues or Mystagogues? Gender and the Language of Prophecy in the Age of Democratic Revolutions," *AHR* 104 (December 1999): 1560–81, 1568.

[32] Ernest Lee Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role* (Chicago, 1968); Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (Madison, Wis., 1978); Cushing Strout, *New Heavens, New Earth* (New York, 1974).

[33] Brown, "Watchers for the Second Coming," 457–58; Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation*, 212, vii–viii.

[34] Anders Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny: American Expansionism and the Empire of Right* (New York, 1995); Bercovitch, *American Jeremiad*.

[35] Moreover, the millenarianism of ordinary Americans who have joined the Shakers, Millerites,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prevalence of millenarian rhetoric at the highest levels of American politics suggests that it serves an important mainstream political function.

Some reflections on the problem of political legitimation suggest why, on purely logical grounds, the colonizers of a (to them) new world would be attracted to millenarian ideas. Invading a new territory that could not be called a "homeland," that lacked any unique myth of a past golden age of national purity, and that was populated by citizens not related by descent from common ancestors, the political leaders of the United States could not rely on the kind of appeals to political legitimacy that is typical of nations.[36] The United States could not represent itself as ruling only in the interests of a particular and unique people.

Instead, the legitimation required by the task of occupying new lands and encompassing new peoples was the same as that required by empires. Whereas nations look backward for their legitimizing myths, empires look forward. The imperial ideal exists in an as-yet-unrealized future when (potentially) all peoples share the benefits of their civilization. As a state that governs more than one people, an empire must represent itself as the bearer of a universal law superior to the particular laws and customs of nations. Even when an empire identifies itself with a people, the characteristics of that people cannot be relative and self-absorbed but absolute, universal, and outward-looking. Moreover, and most tellingly, nations take national self-interest to be their highest moral law, while peoples with a sense of imperial mission conceive of themselves as living up to ideals that are superior to their own self-interest. Nations preach self-interest; empires preach self-sacrifice.[37]

In sum, imperialism, though not identical with or *necessarily* associated with millenarianism, is nevertheless fully consistent and concordant with the millenarian idea. Both imperialism and millenarianism are universalist and forward looking. Both posit a special people whose mission is to sacrifice itself to hasten the day when all humanity will be blessed by the benefits of its law and civilization. Thus I would suggest that the prevalence of the rhetoric of Christian eschatology in America's dominant political discourse can be explained by America's need for an imperial form of legitimation. Millenarianism expressed in imperialist rhetoric

---

Seventh-Day Adventists, or other mass millenarian organizations fit the "crisis cult" mentality very well. They should not be placed in the category of an "American" national tradition any more than Anabaptists should be a "German" tradition, or Ghost Dancers a "Sioux" tradition. Instead, it would be appropriate to apply Michael Barkun's criteria (see text below) and attribute their millenarianism simply to the availability of the millennial idea at a point when they were overcome by crisis.

[36] Anthony D. Smith defines a nation as "a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members." Smith, *National Identity* (Reno, Nev., 1991), 14.

[37] What I set up here are Weberian "ideal-types" and not empirical descriptions of nations and states. In the real world, there are no "pure" nations or "pure" empires. England, for example, was a nation-state that built an empire. Even before they dissolved the Ottoman Empire, the ruling Turks exhibited a considerable sense of nationhood. Nor is the rhetoric of legitimation always consistent. For example, U.S. foreign policymakers advance two contradictory explanations for military intervention beyond their borders: compelling national-security interests (a nationalist justification) and self-sacrifice in support of international law and humanitarianism (an imperialist justification). Nevertheless, my point is that the idea and the logic of empire are quite the opposite of the idea and logic of nation.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

could serve as a powerful ideological justification for expansion across a continent over which European Americans could claim no other right of possession.

It is significant that once the United States had occupied the center of the North American continent, the ideology of Manifest Destiny inexorably carried its leaders toward the idea of extending the benefits of its civilization to the entire world. The millenarian sense of self-sacrifice and universal mission is paradigmatically captured in these often-quoted words of Albert Beveridge to the U.S. Senate on January 9, 1900: "God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration. No! He has made us the master organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns. He has given us the spirit of progress to overwhelm the forces of reaction throughout the earth. He has made us adepts in government that we may administer government among savage and senile peoples. Were it not for such a force as this the world would relapse into barbarism and night. And of all our race He has marked the American people as His chosen nation to finally lead in the regeneration of the world. This is the divine mission of America . . ."[38] Here, the intimate connection between millenarianism and imperialism is explicitly revealed.

THESE CONSIDERATIONS PREPARE US NOW to examine the case of Russia, whose millenarian traditions are even richer—as well as much older—than those of the United States. Indeed, four distinct expressions of the millenarian idea can be identified in Russian society at the beginning of the twentieth century. First, Russia has had a long tradition of popular, counter-cultural millenarian sectarian activity typical of "crisis cults." At the time of the Communist revolution, the Bolshevik V. Bonch-Bruevich counted "at least two hundred messianic sects" in Russia and argued that these sectarians were "instrumental in creating for the new rulership a most favorable climate of messianic ideology."[39] Second, Russian anarchists and socialists (including the Bolsheviks) can be termed millenarian in the sense in which the term has been attributed to European notions of progress. The Marxist view of history can be seen as a secularized form of Judeo-Christian Messianism.[40] Third, at the turn of the century, Russia's Silver Age intellectual and artistic elite employed powerful images of apocalypse, cataclysm, and regeneration that embodied the millenarian idea.[41] Fourth, from the middle of the nineteenth century, a strong millenarian theme had been associated with the legitimizing ideology of the

[38] U.S. Congress, Senate, Senator Beveridge of Indiana speaking for the Joint Resolution on the Philippine Islands, S.J. Res. 53, 56th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 33, pt. 1 (January 9, 1900): 711; rpt. in Albert J. Beveridge, "Our Philippine Policy," in Beveridge, *The Meaning of the Times and Other Speeches* (1908; Freeport, N.Y., 1968), 84–85.

[39] Vatro Murvar, "Messianism in Russia: Religious and Revolutionary," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 10 (Winter 1971): 299–300.

[40] See, for example, Berdyaev, *Origin of Russian Communism*, 171.

[41] James Billington concludes that "a brooding and apocalyptic mentality" played a key role in producing a cultural environment favorable to revolution. Billington, *Icon and the Axe*, 504. Bernice Glatzer Rosenthal has also made major contributions to this idea. See *Dmitri Sergeevich Merezhkovsky and the Silver Age: The Development of a Revolutionary Mentality* (The Hague, 1975); and *The Occult in Russian and Soviet Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

czarist government itself. The religious notion of Moscow as the "Third Rome"[42] posited a divine world mission for Russia that was enthusiastically adopted by Slavophiles, Pan-Slavs, and ideologists for the Russian autocracy.[43]

Scholars who have examined these phenomena make no attempt to distinguish among them. The various Russian expressions of the millenarian idea are taken to be the products of a single cultural tradition—all equally alien from the supposed sober and secular attitudes of mainstream modern Western civilization. While no recent scholars have made the same essentialist claims as Nicolas Berdyaev ("Russians are a people of the End"), nevertheless, by failing to distinguish among Russian millenarianisms, they seem to provide evidence for his position.

Indeed, it has been tempting to a number of scholars simply to combine all these disparate elements into one explanation of the revolution as a millenarian event. Talmon, for example, maintains that Europe's Messianic spirit of revolution "found its natural home in Russia, where it received a new intensity from the resentment created by generations of oppression and the pre-disposition of the Slavs to Messianism."[44] James Billington catalogs the full list of millenarian elements in Russian society: the presence of a popular apocalyptic religious mentality, Messianic expectation among both Zionists and populists, widespread apocalyptic ideas among Russian artists and intellectuals, and the modern idea of progress as secularized millenarianism. Billington also alludes to the notion of "Moscow—Third Rome" when he writes that "Lenin benefitted from the Russian predilection for theories of history that promise universal redemption but attach special importance to Russian leadership."[45] Nicolas Zernov has put this most explicitly: "the Communists are only following the path which was pointed out by the Moscow princes, bishops, and monks at the end of the fifteenth century. The Third International, which has chosen Moscow as its seat, is strangely in accordance with the prophecy that that city has a message of salvation for both the East and the West, as universally significant as that of Rome or Constantinople."[46] Most recently, Geoffrey Hosking has remarked that "the Messianic energy of the original Russian national myth eventually found an outlet in the distinctive Russian variant of socialism, from Bakunin to Lenin, with its passionate belief in the 'people,' its expectation both of imminent destruction and of a subsequent perfect society."[47]

Moreover, there is the Revolution of 1917—massive, anarchic, violent, and hopeful. The combined images of Russian soldiers killing their officers and deserting the front, Russian peasants murdering landlords, burning their homes, and seizing their land, and Russian workers brutalizing their supervisors and taking

[42] The essential idea of "Moscow—Third Rome" is that Rome had lost its religious purity, Constantinople had fallen to the infidels, and only Moscow remained a sovereign and Orthodox capital. It was therefore understood to be the capital of that empire considered to be essential for protecting and promoting the universal Christian church. For an authoritative discussion, see Dimitri Stremooukhoff, "Moscow the Third Rome: Sources of the Doctrine," *Speculum* 28 (January 1953): 84–101.

[43] Marshall Poe, *"Moscow, the Third Rome": The Origins and Transformations of a Pivotal Moment* (Washington, D.C., 1997), 11–12.

[44] Talmon, *Rise of Totalitarian Democracy*, 253.

[45] Billington, *Icon and the Axe*, 528–29.

[46] Nicolas Zernov, *Moscow the Third Rome* (New York, 1937), 99.

[47] Geoffrey Hosking, "The Russian National Myth Repudiated," in Hosking and George Schöpflin, eds., *Myths and Nationhood* (London, 1997).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

control of factories has, not surprisingly, prompted many observers to view the revolution as a millenarian event—a crisis cult on an unprecedented scale. Norman Cohn, for example, drew a parallel between Communist revolutions and medieval millenarian outbursts.[48] Michael Barkun agrees. He represents the Russian Revolution as a massive crisis cult by pointing out that the Communist revolution took place after a long period of stress involving multiple disasters, that millenarian motifs were part of the Russian tradition, that the revolution was led by a "charismatic prophet-figure capable of molding existing doctrine to the needs of the moment," and that the revolution was prepared for not only by Marxist ideology but also by a Russian popular millenarian tradition and official Russian nationalism exemplified in the notion of Moscow as the Third Rome. Barkun argues that "it was Marxism at once Russified and implanted in a situation where salvationist visions were known and accepted responses to crisis. Thus a convergence occurred between Marxism and traditional Russian messianic expectations."[49]

Though plausible simply through the weight of repetition and the multiplicity of millenarian expressions in Russia, all these explanations of the Russian Revolution are flawed by the failure to distinguish between secular and religious millenarianism and the failure to analyze their different sources. Scholars who see the revolution as a millenarian process seem to accept Berdyaev's claim that Russian millenarianism is a single tradition and that it pervades all Russian consciousness. Such a claim, however, contradicts the fundamental conception of millenarian movements as defined by Cohn and La Barre. Religious millenarianism cannot be considered part of a national tradition, since the defining characteristic of such crisis cults is their counter-cultural nature. Taborites, Anabaptists, cargo cultists, and Ghost Dancers are not understood to be millenarian by virtue of a national tradition; instead, scholars represent them as simply having seized on a culturally available millenarian vision because of its usefulness in overcoming their alienation and despair. In this sense, Russian Orthodoxy may have been the cultural source of the millennial vision that inspired "crisis cult" movements such as the Old Believers, the Skoptsy, the Khlysty, or the myriad other Russian sects that expected the imminent end of the world. This does not make them a "Russian" tradition in the sense of mainstream national culture. They are aberrations from, not products of, elite cultural or political traditions.

A recent trend in scholarship on Russia and the Soviet Union (both in Russia and in the West) has emphasized the cultural role of religion, the occult, and apocalyptic expectation in setting the mood for revolution and establishing the spirit on which Stalinism thrived.[50] Aleksandr Etkind, for example, suggests that the Skoptsy (a cult of self-castrators with a long tradition in Russia) provided the totalitarian model that Communism adopted. Bernice Rosenthal and other contributors to *The Occult in Russian and Soviet Culture* present a picture of Russian and Soviet life as being thoroughly saturated with apocalyptic notions, including Satanism, occultism, spiritualism, mystical anarchism, cosmism, and a wide variety

[48] Cohn, *Pursuit of the Millennium*, 286.
[49] Barkun, *Disaster and the Millennium*, 186–87, 191.
[50] For a review of the literature, see Laura Engelstein, "Paradigms, Pathologies, and Other Clues to Russian Spiritual Culture: Some Post-Soviet Thoughts," *Slavic Review* 57 (Winter 1998): 864–77.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of other visions of the magical transformation of the world. Rosenthal concludes that Stalinism was a politicization of this trend. "Soviet propagandists drew on (consciously and unconsciously) occult themes and symbols that were familiar to the masses." "Stalinist rhetoric," she adds, "was a negative theurgy that turned metaphors into reality."[51]

The contributors to the Rosenthal volume provide fascinating descriptions and analyses of Russian culture, yet they, like other scholars of Russian millenarianism, insufficiently distinguish between metaphor and belief and between types of social behavior. The appearance of a revolution in a land in which artists and intellectuals are engaged with occult themes and in which millenarian cults flourish is very suggestive. Nevertheless, the cultic expression of millenarianism can still be taken to be a symptom of social stress, not national tradition. Poets and artists, moreover, regularly employ metaphor and symbol as artistic devices. Whether they "really" believe in them is an open question. More to the point is the behavior and attitudes of the key players in the revolution: the masses of the Russian people and the leaders of the Communist Party, neither of whom were millenarians of the religious variety.

The role of the overwhelming mass of Russian people in the revolution is, on empirical grounds, demonstrably not a form of religious millenarianism. It may be true that the Russian laboring masses were driven to despair by stresses caused by acculturation to capitalism, by poverty and disaster, or by relative deprivation. Yet this desperation did not produce in them the irrational and self-destructive behavior that La Barre and Cohn find to be defining of crisis cults. On the contrary, their behavior was rational, predictable, and sane. It gives every evidence of "the tough, shrewd rebelliousness of the common people" who "played no ignoble part" in "the age-old laborious struggle against oppression and exploitation," which Norman Cohn takes to be the very antithesis of millenarianism.[52]

Studies of the Russian peasants show that their appropriation of the landlords' land and property in 1917 was prompted not by the belief that it would magically bring about the millennium but by the belief that they were rectifying an ancient injustice against them. Graeme Gill has pointed out that, far from being an act of madness, peasant activity was closely related to the normal rhythms of agricultural activity in Russia.[53] The reaction of Russian peasant soldiers to the blunders and cruelty of their officers in World War I was frequently violent but wholly understandable in rational terms.[54]

The same is true of the Russian working class. Study after study reveals that Russian workers were not engaging in suicidal and mystical practices that they believed would magically transfigure the earth. They were concerned, instead, with the problem of earning a livelihood and with the entirely practical project of

[51] Aleksandr Etkind, *Khlyst: Sekty, literatura, i revoliutsia* (Moscow, 1998); Rosenthal, *Occult in Russian and Soviet Culture*, 398, 412.

[52] Cohn, *Pursuit of the Millennium*, 281.

[53] Graeme Gill, "The Mainsprings of Peasant Action in 1917," *Soviet Studies* 30 (January 1978): 63–86.

[54] Allan K. Wildman, *The End of the Russian Imperial Army: The Old Army and the Soldier's Revolt (March–April 1917)* (Princeton, N.J., 1980).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

establishing democracy and workers' control.[55] In no account do we find examples of what La Barre describes as "the indisposition to accept either disruptive feedback or the ego-critique of experience, but instead, supported by the wish-needs of fellow communicants, to indulge the appetite to believe."[56]

One does find the adjectives "utopian" and "millenarian" scattered through the scholarly literature on the Russian Revolution, but the terms are used only for vividness. The enthusiasm and optimism of a people liberating themselves from oppression may be called millenarian in a purely metaphorical sense, but this should in no way imply that those people are part of a crisis cult of the type defined by La Barre and Cohn.[57]

It should also be noted that the concept of the Russian Revolution as a massive crisis cult is undermined by a historiographical school that denies the revolution responded to mass interests at all. According to Richard Pipes, the outcome of the revolution "was determined by conflicts between small elites, and if the Bolsheviks triumphed it was not because they enjoyed greater popular support but because they were better organized, more power-hungry, and less scrupulous."[58] In this view, the mood of the masses (or of poets and artists), whether millenarian or not, would have no bearing on the nature of the revolution. According to this reading of events, the revolution could only be termed "millenarian" if the leaders could be so characterized.

However, the leaders of the Bolshevik Party—unlike the leaders of a crisis cult—were neither mad (in the sense of being out of touch with reality) nor deviant (in the sense of rejecting mainstream traditions and customs). Bolsheviks who masterminded the seizure of power in November 1917, who managed to run the government while engaged in an all-out civil war, and who went on to stabilize the economy and reassemble most of the old, disintegrated Russian Empire into a new state in the early 1920s would seem to exhibit all the characteristics of realistic politicians and diplomats. V. I. Lenin was surely as sane as his contemporary Woodrow Wilson. (The fact that Gregory Butler places Wilson in the same category as the "West's most notorious revolutionary millennialists," in which he includes Oliver Cromwell, Lenin, and Mao Zedong, should draw our attention to the fact

[55] See David Mandel, *The Petrograd Workers and the Soviet Seizure of Power: From the July Days 1917 to July 1918* (New York, 1984); Diane Koenker, *Moscow Workers and the 1917 Revolution* (Princeton, N.J., 1981); William G. Rosenberg and Diane P. Koenker, "The Limits of Formal Protest: Worker Activism and Social Polarization in Petrograd and Moscow, March to October 1917," *AHR* 92 (April 1987): 296–326; and Steve A. Smith, *Red Petrograd: Revolution in the Factories* (Cambridge, 1983).

[56] La Barre, "Crisis Cults," 11.

[57] Both Richard Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution* (New York, 1989), and William Rosenberg, ed., *Bolshevik Visions: First Phase of the Cultural Revolution in Soviet Russia* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1984), reveal the high hopes and utopian expectations of the revolutionary era without placing them in the category of "millenarian." As portrayed by Stites and Rosenberg, the Bolsheviks hoped to *build* a paradise; they didn't think it would arise through acts of magic.

[58] Richard Pipes, "1917 and the Revisionists," *The National Interest* 31 (1993): 70. This approach characterizes not only Pipe's own recent works on the topic, *The Russian Revolution* (New York, 1990), and *Russia under the Bolshevik Regime* (New York, 1993), but also the works of a number of other notable scholars: John S. Curtiss, *The Russian Revolutions of 1917* (Princeton, N.J., 1975); Walter Laqueur, *The Fate of the Revolution: Interpretations of Soviet History from 1917 to the Present*, rev. edn. (New York, 1987); Adam B. Ulam, *The Bolsheviks: The Intellectual and Political History of the Triumph of Communism in Russia* (New York, 1965).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that he is using "millennialist" in its secular and metaphorical rather than its religious sense.[59])

Russian Communist leaders must be sharply distinguished from Russia's millennial cults on two grounds: they are secular and not religious millenarians, and they are the heirs to a Russian mainstream millenarian tradition and not the products of disaster and despair. I have already pointed out the metaphorical nature of Lunacharsky's millenarian Marxism.[60] The national tradition in which I would situate them is Russia's mainstream political culture—Russian imperialism. I have in mind, however, not the frankly religious millenarianism of "Moscow—Third Rome," as suggested by Berdyaev, Billington, Barkun, and Zernov, but the secular and metaphorical millenarianism of the czarist empire.

Most specialists now reject Zernov's notion that the Russian state relied on the notion of "Moscow—Third Rome" to justify its expansion into an empire. Instead, the scholarly consensus holds that the secular Russian state did not claim this Messianic justification because it did not wish to be ideologically subservient to the Russian church.[61] Most recently, Marshall Poe has argued that the idea of "Moscow—Third Rome" was widely known only among "Muscovite bookmen," that it was never officially adopted by the czarist government, and that only after 1840 did the notion become popular in Slavophile and Panslav intellectual circles.[62]

Nevertheless, if the Russian state did not rely on such an explicitly Messianic doctrine as "Moscow—Third Rome," the legitimizing ideology it did develop had all the universalist, forward-looking, and self-sacrificing rhetoric that the imperial idea shares with the millenarian. As indirect a translation of Russian Orthodoxy as the American outlook was of Puritanism, Russian imperial ideology was as secular (and as religious) as American ideas of Manifest Destiny. That is, the legitimizing appeal of Russia's ruling ideology arose from its association with Christianity without explicitly appealing to any particular denomination or national form, and its intent was to justify the expansive policies of an imperial state.

Russia, like the United States, has, since the seventeenth century, conquered and absorbed territories for which it had no historic, nationalist claim. Indeed, empires are logically antithetical to nationalist justification.[63] Thus Geoffrey Hosking, in

[59] Gregory S. Butler, "Visions of a Nation Transformed: Modernity and Ideology in Wilson's Political Thought," *Journal of Church and State* 39 (Winter 1997): 49.

[60] Indeed, the similarities between the socialist revolutionary movement and religion have been noted by Marxists, themselves, as often as by their critics. Friedrich Engels, for example, wrote, "The history of early Christianity has notable points of resemblance with the modern working-class movement. Like the latter, Christianity was originally a movement of oppressed people: it first appeared as the religion of slaves and emancipated slaves, of poor people deprived of all rights, of peoples subjugated or dispersed by Rome. Both Christianity and the workers' socialism preach forthcoming salvation from bondage and misery; Christianity places this as a life beyond, after death, in heaven; socialism places it in this world, in a transformation of society." Quoted in Herbert Aptheker, "Marxism and Religion," in Aptheker, ed., *Marxism and Christianity: A Symposium* (New York, 1968), 30; from Friedrich Engels, "Zur Geschichte des Urchristenthums," *Die Neue Zeit* 13, band 1, no. 2 (1894): 4–13, 36–43.

[61] Daniel B. Rowland, "Moscow—the Third Rome or the New Israel?" *Russian Review* 55 (October 1996): 591–614; Edward Keenan, "Muscovite Political Folkways," *Russian Review* 45 (April 1986): 138–48.

[62] Poe, "*Moscow, the Third Rome*," 2, 10–11.

[63] The most succinct and essential definition of nationalism states that "Nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent." Ernest

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Russia: Empire and People, stresses that the "national imperialism" of Russian czars was not directed toward nurturing a Russian nation but toward preserving the government through "greater administrative unity and coordination," and the major point of his book is intended to show "how the building of an empire impeded the formation of a nation."[64]

To justify this expansion, Russian czars made imperial rather than national claims: they ruled on behalf of God—or their own dynasty—but never on behalf of the Russian people. Ladis Kristof is one of many scholars who points out the careful distinction drawn by Russian rulers between the people (*russkii*) and the state (*rossiiskii*). He implies, moreover, that Christianity, as a universal religion, was more appropriate to imperial legitimation than Russian nationality. "The Orthodox idea, not the Russian tongue or civilization, was the *spiritus movens* of the tsardom. Russia was first of all Holy, not Russian."[65]

Nicholas Riasanovsky also finds that the infamous policy of "Official Nationality" (*narodnost'*) of Czar Nicholas I was not an appeal to Russian interests at all, but was subordinated to the Russian imperial mission. Further, "in the last analysis, God provided the foundation for the authority of the tsar."[66] Richard Wortman also emphasizes the tendency of Russia's rulers to represent themselves as the bearers of universal values. In Wortman's view, for Nicholas I, "there was no contradiction between national and universal; he saw Russian monarchy as the heir to the universal imperial tradition that he defended against the Turks." He used Russian Orthodoxy to make "the Russian emperor heir to the imperial heritage of Christendom."[67]

Russian Slavophiles and Pan-Slavs followed the czar in identifying the Russian people with a universal religion, and they never produced the sort of particularistic notion of nations as ends in themselves that is typical of European nationalism either. No Russian "nationalist" ever proposed a government of, by, and for Russians. Patriotic Russians continued to believe in the importance of the czar and in the idea of empire. Most important of all, by identifying Russianness with the values of the Orthodox church, these thinkers made Russians into a universal and imperial people whose national interests were subordinate to universal (religious) principles.[68]

Dostoevsky has expressed an idea that is closest in spirit (if not in vocabulary) to the American idea of Manifest Destiny: "The Russian soul, the genius of the Russian people is perhaps the most capable among all other peoples to fulfill in itself the idea of universal union and brotherhood." Riasanovsky adds that

---

Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983), 1. Empires, of course, encompass multiple "national units."

[64] Geoffrey Hosking, *Russia: People and Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 397, xix.

[65] Ladis K. D. Kristof, "The State-Idea, the National Idea and the Image of the Fatherland," *Orbis* 11 (Spring 1967): 244, 246.

[66] Nicholas Riasanovsky, *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia, 1825–1855* (Berkeley, Calif., 1959), 124.

[67] Richard Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy*, Vol. 1, *From Peter the Great to the Death of Nicholas I* (Princeton, N.J., 1995), 385.

[68] Nicholas Riasanovsky, *Russia and the West in the Teaching of the Slavophiles: A Study of Romantic Ideology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), 180–81.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Dostoevskii stressed in particular the all-inclusive nature of the Russians, which enabled them to understand, help, and lead all the nations of the world." Berdyaev quotes Dostoevsky: "The Russian alone has the capacity of being especially Russian precisely and only at that time that he is especially European."[69]

As I have already argued, the key distinction between nationalism and imperialism, the element that makes imperialism so amenable to millenarian associations, is the notion of a special people called to serve a historical destiny of universal significance. This attitude was to be found not only among the intellectual elite but also, as Jeffrey Brooks demonstrates, among the general literate and semi-literate population of Russia. "[T]he most humble Great Russian was invited to think of himself as generously assisting the smaller and culturally backward nationalities that comprised the empire."[70] In this regard, it is noteworthy that the suffering and sacrifice of a special people for the benefit of others is a common theme of both Lunacharsky's and Khatiushin's work. Both writers compare Russia (or the Russian proletariat) with Christ as a metaphor for suffering in service to humanity. In both scenarios, whether the Russian proletariat strides "from Golgotha to Golgotha" or Russian Christians suffer "pain, blood, and humiliation," it is Russia that sacrifices itself in a universal mission to save humanity.

This is precisely the sort of universal/imperial/millenarian mission that seems to have inspired Russia's Communist leaders. Just as Marxism can be considered a secularized form of Judeo-Christian eschatology, the Communist revolution can be seen as a revolutionized form of Russian imperial ideology. Lenin and his comrades believed that the Russian workers were the key to bringing socialism to the world—at first because their revolution would spark a general European revolution, later because they believed that the Russian Empire sovietized into the USSR would become the model and the nucleus of a socialist world state.[71]

Like the American notion of Manifest Destiny, Bolshevik millenarianism was secular. It did not propound the literal belief in a Day of Judgment, an end of time, and the divine transfiguration of the world. Instead, the Bolsheviks were metaphorically millenarian in their belief that the Russian proletariat was leading the way to a better future for all humankind. Bolshevism thus carried on the essential imperialist and universalist mood (with Messianic overtones) of Imperial Russian political culture.

Indeed, the leaders of the new Soviet state merely recast the Russian Empire's old universalist and religious style of expression into the equally universalist but secular language of international socialism. The parallels that have been drawn between Communism and Russian nationalism (as Russian imperialism has been

[69] Quoted in Michael Cherniavsky, " 'Holy Russia': A Study in the History of an Idea," *AHR* 63 (April 1958): 634; Riasanovsky, *Russia and the West in the Teaching of the Slavophiles*, 206–07; Berdyaev, *Russian Idea*, 70.

[70] Jeffrey Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read: Literacy and Popular Literature, 1861–1917* (Princeton, N.J., 1985), 245.

[71] As Stalin put it, the "new Russia" "transformed the Red Flag from a party banner into a State banner, and rallied around that banner the peoples of the Soviet republics in order to unite them into a single state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the prototype of the future World Soviet Socialist Republic." Joseph Stalin, *Marxism and the National-Colonial Question: A Collection of Articles and Speeches* (San Francisco, 1975), 199.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

improperly termed[72]) reveal the similarity of their imperial pretensions. Perhaps the most extreme statement on this issue comes from Mikhail Agursky, who asserts, "National Bolshevism in its original form strove for world domination, conceived as the universal Russian empire cemented by Communist ideology."[73] Agursky argues that the Communist revolution was the result of Lenin's continuation of Russian's geo-political rivalry with Germany and that an important element in the success of the Soviet Union was the allegiance of non-Communists who believed that the Soviet Union was the state most capable of advancing traditional Russian (imperial) interests.

That the Soviet leaders never abandoned the ideal of empire is suggested by their failure to create a true nation-state either by fostering a homogenous Soviet proletarian identity or by Russifying the Soviet population. Indeed, the same sort of tension is apparent between "Soviet" and "Russian" that Kristof found between *rossiiskii* and *russkii*. The "Soviet" Communist Party was dominated by Russians, but it did not serve the interests of Russians. In typical imperial/millenarian style, Soviet citizens were asked to sacrifice themselves for an ideal more noble than their own national self-interest. The imperial nature of the Soviet Union is further demonstrated by its demise; the union was destroyed by the same forces that have brought all modern empires to an end—the desire of their component peoples for national self-determination.[74]

It can even be argued that the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 resulted from the final appearance not only of separatist nationalism among the people of the Russian/Soviet empire but because of the desire for national self-determination by the Russian people themselves. Russian nationalism (at least the desire for Russian national self-determination) was expressed politically for the first time by Boris Yeltsin, who used appeals to Russian pride and desire for sovereignty to gain the presidency. Yeltsin subsequently played a key role in dissolving the USSR in the fall of 1991—partly influenced, perhaps, by the writings of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.[75] Indeed, I would argue that Solzhenitsyn is, in fact, the first Russian intellectual to give full expression to the modern idea of nationalism. In a pamphlet titled *Rebuilding Russia*, he called for Russia to separate itself from its empire and build a Russian nation-state.[76] Moreover, Solzhenitsyn is relentlessly anti-millenarian. In

[72] See, for example, Frederick C. Barghoorn, *Soviet Russian Nationalism* (New York, 1956); Adam Ulam, "Russian Nationalism," in Seweryn Bialer, ed., *The Domestic Context of Soviet Foreign Policy* (Boulder, Colo., 1981); and Alain Besançon, "Nationalism and Bolshevism in the USSR," in Robert Conquest, ed., *The Last Empire: Nationality and the Soviet Future* (Stanford, Calif., 1986).

[73] Mikhail Agursky, *Third Rome: National Bolshevism in the U.S.S.R.* (Boulder, Colo., 1987), xv.

[74] For a variety of interpretations of how this process occurred, see Ben Fowkes, *The Disintegration of the Soviet Union: A Study in the Rise and Triumph of Nationalism* (New York, 1997); Robert J. Kaiser, *The Geography of Nationalism in Russia and the USSR* (Princeton, N.J., 1994); Alexander J. Motyl, *Sovietology, Rationality, Nationality: Coming to Grips with Nationalism in the USSR* (New York, 1990); Ronald Grigor Suny, *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (Stanford, Calif., 1993).

[75] John B. Dunlop, "Russian Reactions to Solzhenitsyn's Brochure," *Report on the USSR* (December 14, 1990): 3–8. See also Dunlop, *The Rise of Russia and the Fall of the Soviet Empire*, new postscript, 1995 (Princeton, N.J., 1993); and John Lowenhardt, *The Reincarnation of Russia* (Durham, N.C., 1995).

[76] Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, *Rebuilding Russia: Reflections and Tentative Proposals*, Alexis Klimoff, trans. (New York, 1991). For an elaboration of the thesis that Solzhenitsyn was Russia's first nationalist, see my article "Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and Russian Nationalism," *Journal of Contemporary History* 32 (July 1997): 321–37.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his view, Russia has no mission in the world other than to pursue its own well-being. His nationalism is manifested in a consistent summons for a Russia of, by, and for Russians. He bitterly criticizes both Russian and Soviet imperialism for sacrificing the interests and well-being of the Russian people in the interests of empire.[77]

It is particularly noteworthy in this regard that the central focus of Khatiushin's millenarian screed was the causes and significance of the collapse of the Soviet Union. Khatiushin is no friend of Communism; what gives him anguish is the dissolution of the Russian Empire. Khatiushin attributes cosmic significance to that calamity: it heralds the final struggle between Jesus Christ and Satan. Moreover, the chief individual target of Khatiushin's wrath (after Satan, his hordes of demons, and Jews) is Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. "The time has come," Khatiushin says "to say that Solzhenitsyn is the most insidious but unrecognized enemy of Russia." "His letter *Rebuilding Russia* appeared like a Trojan Horse to defeat and destroy the Soviet Union on behalf of a secret world government."[78]

IN CONCLUSION, HOWEVER, it is not my intention to represent Khatiushin as the spokesperson of the spirit of the new Russia. Anatolii Lunacharsky and Valerii Khatiushin do not, in themselves, prove that Russians have been or continue to be a people of the End. In the context of a purported Russian millenarian tradition, their literal use of the language of Christian eschatology has been useful for providing a context in which to investigate the role of the millenarian style of thought in Russian history. Khatiushin's writing usefully exemplifies the connection between millenarianism and imperialism and reveals that imperialist ideology has not disappeared from Russia. Ultimately, however, the meaning of any individual's millenarian vision does not reside in his words or images themselves but in the context of the social movement with which he is associated.

What made the Russian Revolution "millenarian" was not that Lunacharsky drew explicit parallels between the proletariat and Jesus Christ or between socialism and the millennium but that the Bolsheviks believed themselves to be leading the peoples of Russia on a mission to make the world better for all humanity. Lunacharsky must be considered a secular millenarian because of his participation in a realistic, mainstream, and successful political movement. Similarly, we cannot characterize contemporary Russia as "millenarian" on the basis of one poet. Nor can we characterize Khatiushin as either secular or religious without situating him in a social context.

Line by line, Khatiushin's diatribe against the satanic conspiracy to destroy Russia expresses the sort of "madness" generally associated with counter-cultural millenarianism.[79] On the one hand, if the Russian Federation takes on the form of

[77] This is the predominant theme in Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, *The "Russian Question" at the End of the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1995).

[78] Khatiushin, "Esli poimem—spasemsia," 38.

[79] Not only does he refer to heavenly signs and portents, Khatiushin asserts that Satan has sent demons and biorobots to possess the souls of godless people, and that godless scientists, under the spell of demons, are turning people into zombies with the help of radio, television, and "the irradiation of people with psychotropic generators . . . where they live and work." Khatiushin, "Esli poimem—spasemsia," 31–32.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a stable nation pursuing its destiny within the confines of its national borders and in the context of a world of sovereign nation-states,[80] then Khatiushin can be associated with Old Believers, Flagellants, Castrates, and other Russian crisis cult sects, and his work can be read as an apocalyptic symptom of the economic, social, and political disasters that have befallen Russia since the late 1980s. On the other hand, if Russia's political leaders revive old dreams of a "Greater Russia" that would incorporate and "serve" other nations, it will be possible to understand Khatiushin's vision—like Dostoevsky's or Lunacharsky's—as a hyperbolic metaphorical expression of traditional Russian political culture's imperial and millennial mission in the world.

In either eventuality, however, Khatiushin's millennial visions must be seen as symptoms and not causes. If Russia's imperial ambition revives, there will be no need to seek its source in the works of Russian poets or occultists. Russian imperialism has a cultural continuity that Russian sectarian cults and movements lack, and it still provides an important element in Russian identity.[81] Indeed, imperialism is the only sort of millenarianism that can be considered to be a Russian cultural tradition. If Russians are a people of the End, it is their tradition of empire-building that has so structured their consciousness.

[80] For a discussion of the prospects for this, see Geoffrey Hosking, "Can Russia Become a Nation-State?" *Nations and Nationalism* 4, no. 4 (1998): 449–62.

[81] Solzhenitsyn has attracted few followers to his conception of Russian nationalism. The literature on Russian identity is still dominated by the imperial attitude that it is the duty of Russians to lead other peoples and to share with them the benefits of their civilization. A representative sample of the literature includes Iu. S. Kukushkin, ed., *Russkii narod: Istoricheskaia sud'ba v XX veke* (Moscow, 1993); Evgenii Troitskii, ed., *Russkaia natsiia: Istoricheskoe proshloe i problemy vozrozhdeniia* (Moscow, 1995); Troitskii, *O russkoi idee: Ocherk teorii vozrozhdeniia russkoi natsii* (Moscow, 1994); K. Kas'ianova, *O russkom natsional'nom kharaktere* (Moscow, 1994).

David G. Rowley is an assistant professor of history at the University of Wisconsin, Platteville. He earned his PhD from the University of Michigan, where he worked with the late Arthur P. Mendel, William G. Rosenberg, and Stephen J. Tonsor. His dissertation was published under the title *Millenarian Bolshevism: 1900–1920* (1987). Rowley has published articles on Russian Marxism and Russian nationalism in *Studies in East European Thought*, *Journal of Contemporary History*, *Nations and Nationalism* (forthcoming), and previously in the *American Historical Review*. He is currently writing a book on the tension between the national and imperial outlooks in the development of Russian political identity from 1613 until the present.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AHR Forum
The Secret

RICHARD K. EMMERSON

> We dance around in a ring and suppose,
> But the Secret sits in the middle and knows.[1]

STANLEY FISH OPENS HIS ESSAY, "Normal Circumstances, Literal Language, Direct Speech Acts, the Ordinary, the Everyday, the Obvious, What Goes without Saying, and Other Special Cases," by relating a story reported in the *Baltimore Sun* about Pat Kelly, an Orioles outfielder who hit two home runs on May 1, 1977. The sports reporter expressed frustration with Kelly because he insisted on understanding his baseball achievement as the result of providential intervention in the national pastime rather than as a mark of athletic prowess. Fish summarizes the report as follows: "Two years previously [Kelly] had experienced a religious conversion. As he reports it, 'I had been like a normal ballplayer. I was an extreme party-er, hanging around in bars and chasing all the women. But then this change came over me, and I have dedicated myself to Him.' The effects of this change are described by the *Sun* reporter, Michael Janofsky, whose comments betray some understandable exasperation: 'It is not even possible to discuss [with Kelly] the events of yesterday's game—or any game—on strictly a baseball level. He does not view his home runs as merely a part of athletic competition. They are part of his religious existence.' "[2] Fish uses this anecdote to exemplify our reliance on the notions of the ordinary or the obvious in everyday talk. These notions, determined by membership in ideologically driven interpretive communities, vary tremendously in what they take for granted. Thus what Kelly took for granted after his conversion—divine intervention in his batting—was simply inconceivable to the baseball reporter, who was frustrated that Kelly insisted on interpreting home runs as "part of his religious existence." Reading through the four essays that comprise this *Forum* brought to mind this anecdote and made me wonder if it is as difficult for scholars schooled in the discourse of sociological and political analysis to understand the worldview of millenarianism as it is for a sports reporter accustomed to talking to players "on

[1] Robert Frost, "The Secret Sits," Edward Connery Lathem, ed., *The Poetry of Robert Frost* (New York, 1969), 362.

[2] Stanley Fish, "Normal Circumstances, Literal Language, Direct Speech Acts, the Ordinary, the Everyday, the Obvious, What Goes without Saying, and Other Special Cases," in Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 268–92, quotation p. 270.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

strictly a baseball level" to understand Kelly's supernatural take on Louisville sluggers hitting baseballs.

Fish makes an important point worth keeping in mind when studying only partly recorded religious phenomena: if historians are going to understand movements driven by religious ideologies, we must try somehow to enter, at least in part, into the interpretive community of believers. This is crucial when studying millenarian movements, which institutional religion and scholarly training distrust or even caricature. If it is difficult to comprehend what drives contemporary apocalyptic movements, often dismissed as a form of brainwashing, it is even more difficult to comprehend such movements in the past or in other cultures. As a result, there has been a tendency to study them not in their own right but as symptoms of political ills or mass psychosis, evidence of social deviancy or irrationality, predecessors of modern revolutionary or totalitarian movements, or "distant mirrors" reflecting a dim image of present religious fantasies. Certainly, the current curiosity concerning the year 1000—evident in best-selling books and news magazines as well as many sites on the World Wide Web—is due to contemporary fascination with the year 2000 rather than to sudden historical interest in medieval apocalypticism![3]

Such curiosity is harmless, and, as a scholar who has devoted his career to studying medieval apocalypticism, I welcome its fifteen minutes of fame. Serious problems arise, however, when past apocalyptic movements are studied by unsympathetic scholars or, worse, by those who have axes to grind, for example, who read past millenarian movements in terms of twentieth-century atrocities. Such problems are manifest in Norman Cohn's classic study, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, a fascinating yet flawed work.[4] It has influenced more than one generation of scholars, many of whom were introduced to millenarian studies through Cohn's

[3] See, for example, James Reston, Jr., *The Last Apocalypse: Europe at the Year 1000* (New York, 1998); the special section of the August 16, 1999, issue of *U.S. News and World Report* (vol. 127, no. 7) titled "The Year 1000: The Way We Were" (32–94); and the web site of the Center for Millennial Studies (http://www.mille.org), which debates the so-called "Terrors of the Year 1000." The center's guiding light, Richard Landes, has been largely responsible for the historical re-analysis of apocalyptic behavior near the turn of the last millennium. The classroom text, *The Year 2000: Essays on the End*, Charles B. Strozier and Michael Flynn, eds. (New York, 1997), begins with a helpful essay by Landes, "The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Millennial Fever and the Origins of the Modern West," 13–29. For the opposing side of this debate, see Sylvain Gouguenheim, *Les fausses terreurs de l'an mil: Attente de la fin des temps ou approfondissement de la foi?* (Paris, 1999). Landes sets forth his argument more systematically in "The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and Modern," forthcoming in *Speculum* (January 2000). Even a book that sets out to debunk the present fascination with Y2K, Stephen Jay Gould's *Questioning the Millennium: A Rationalist's Guide to a Precisely Arbitrary Countdown* (New York, 1997), seems compelled to discuss the year 1000 (83–87).

[4] Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Messianism in Medieval and Reformation Europe and Its Bearing on Modern Totalitarian Movements*, 2d edn. (New York, 1961). Later editions changed the subtitle to *Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1970), suggesting a more "objective" perspective, but these editions remain unreliable as general surveys of medieval millenarianism. For more balanced discussions, see Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford, 1969); Roberto Rusconi, *L'attesa della fine: Crisi della società, profezia ed Apocalisse in Italia al tempo del grande scisma d'Occidente (1378–1417)* (Rome, 1979); and several studies by Robert E. Lerner: "Refreshment of the Saints: The Time after Antichrist as a Station for Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought," *Traditio* 32 (1976): 97–144; *The Powers of Prophecy: The Cedar of Lebanon Vision from the Mongol Onslaught to the Dawn of the Enlightenment* (Berkeley, Calif., 1983); "Joachim of Fiore's Breakthrough to Chiliasm," *Cristianesimo nella storia* 6 (1985): 489–512; and "The Medieval Return to the Thousand-Year Sabbath," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, eds. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992), 51–88.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

groundbreaking book, although medievalists have generally recognized its limitations. Unfortunately, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* is still cited by many nonmedievalists—as is evident in the essays in this issue[5]—for background on medieval millenarianism or biblical and early Christian apocalypticism, areas much better served by extensive in-depth studies in recent years.[6] Yet, as is clear in the subtitle of its second edition, *Revolutionary Messianism in Medieval and Reformation Europe and Its Bearing on Modern Totalitarian Movements*, Cohn viewed medieval religious phenomena through lenses colored by twentieth-century horrors. His conclusion to the Harper Torchbook edition, which attempts to show how Lenin and Hitler looked back to medieval millenarianism, makes his prejudices clear in its first two sentences: "It is not the purpose of this study to offer a general survey of fanaticism, even for the limited period and the limited geographical area it covers. In medieval Europe intolerance was the norm in matters of religious beliefs."[7] One unfortunate result of this approach is the tendency to judge religious phenomena from without, leading to unsympathetic and sometimes unreliable accounts of millenarian movements in particular.

The four essays brought together by this *Forum* exemplify both the potential for and the difficulties faced by scholars struggling to comprehend millenarianism. The potential is evident in the wide range of peoples and periods encompassed by these studies, which testify to the widespread nature of millennial thought and action. Perhaps the major difficulty epitomized by the essays is the lack of an accepted terminology applied to the study of millenarianism and related religious ideologies and social movements. As will be shown below, a lack of clarity in the use of such terms as "millenarianism" and "apocalypticism" complicates the task of comparing millenarian beliefs and ventures spanning geography and chronology, making it difficult to determine if historians are examining similar phenomena or conflating or even confusing related phenomena that for analytical purposes would be better kept distinct. This essay will thus conclude by arguing for the necessity of terminological clarity and suggesting some distinctions that may help achieve such clarity.

The four essays also reflect the preferences of contemporary historical analysis, depending on whether or not the movements under scrutiny are considered ultimately beneficial or potentially threatening; for millenarianism, like other forms of apocalypticism, has positive as well as negative consequences.[8] Thus, on the one hand, Alida C. Metcalf's "Millenarian Slaves? The Santidade de Jaguaripe and

[5] David G. Rowley's analysis of millenarianism is misled by reliance on Cohn; it is simply not the case, for example, that after Augustine "literal belief in an imminent apocalypse appeared only in movements that deviated sharply from mainstream culture"; Rowley, "'Redeemer Empire': Russian Millenarianism," *AHR* 104 (December 1999): 1582–1602, 1586. For studies of apocalypticism in mainstream medieval and Renaissance culture, see my *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature* (Seattle, 1981); and "Apocalyptic Themes and Imagery in Medieval and Renaissance Literature," *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, Vol. 2, *Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture*, Bernard McGinn, ed. (New York, 1998), 402–41.

[6] See the excellent bibliographies concluding the essays in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, Vol. 1, *The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity*, John J. Collins, ed. (New York, 1998).

[7] Cohn, *Pursuit of the Millennium* (1961), 307.

[8] For a thoughtful and nuanced appraisal of the beneficial as well as destructive consequences of apocalypticism, see Bernard McGinn, "Apocalyptic Spirituality: Approaching the Third Millennium," in Strozier and Flynn, *The Year 2000*, 73–80.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Slave Resistance in the Americas" is quite sympathetic to its subject. To modern scholars—if not to the Portuguese slaveowners of the late sixteenth-century Recôncavo—slavery is repugnant, so slave resistance, even if driven by "religious frenzy" is a good. On the other hand, David G. Rowley's "'Redeemer Empire': Russian Millenarianism" adopts a somewhat negative and urgent tone when discussing Valerii Khatiushin. It is downright scary to read Khatiushin's prophecies of renewed Russian imperialism, that after a five-year bloodbath Russia in the year 2000 "would be resurrected as the leader of the world." Thus contemporary millenarianism in Russia, with its anti-Semitic conspiracy theories, is considered bad, something against which we must take a stand even while trying to understand it. Susan Juster's "Demagogues or Mystagogues? Gender and the Language of Prophecy in the Age of Democratic Revolutions," in contrast, expresses some surprise that "revolutionary millennialism looks remarkably *un*revolutionary," perhaps because scholarship has so often allied millenarianism with the dispossessed and crisis cults, or at least with "charismatic prophets" rather than "ministers and theologians." The American experience instead suggests the rational public sphere we expect of the young republic's "enlightened citizenship," but its gendered discourse is also disappointing, if not unexpected.

David Ownby successfully traces the variety and range of past millenarian thought, perhaps because his essay, "Chinese Millenarian Traditions: The Formative Age," allows the early Chinese religious groups to speak for themselves. To understand the interpretive communities of believers we must take what they say seriously. This is crucial, because so much of what we *think* we know about millenarian groups is what others—usually their opponents—*say about* them. Such is the case whether we examine Metcalf's reports of a Jesuit inquisitor about slave resistance in Brazil, Nicolas Berdyaev's ruminations in Rowley's essay about Russians as "a people of the End," or Amos Taylor's conspiracy theory in Juster's article about Ann Lee's "infatuating power; some deep, very deep design at bottom." It is thus refreshing to read the texts of apocalyptic Daoism and Buddhism, and it is one of the strengths of Ownby's essay that he examines this rich discourse both in detail and in context. Although Ownby does not appear to know Stephen D. O'Leary's insightful study, *Arguing the Apocalypse: A Theory of Millennial Rhetoric*, his essay exemplifies the fruits of the approach O'Leary recommends. Noting the repeated failure of scholars to understand millenarianism by means of anthropological, economic, political, and sociological approaches, O'Leary argues for a rhetorical analysis of apocalyptic discourse that approaches it "as argument that is intended to persuade, focusing attention on specific interpretive practices."[9] Ownby has done exactly that and, as a result, convincingly shows that in early medieval China millenarian "discourse is best understood as a fundamentalist or populist reaction *against* and *from within* the mainstream."

Rather than searching for an external cause for millenarianism, O'Leary urges an analysis recognizing the internal logic and rationality of this widely attested discourse. He acknowledges that his approach "might seem misplaced to those disposed to view apocalypticism as an outbreak of irrationality or mass hysteria,"[10]

[9] Stephen D. O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse: A Theory of Millennial Rhetoric* (New York, 1994), 15.
[10] O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse*, 15.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a disposition widespread in scholarship. This disposition is based in part on the difficulties we face in entering the interpretive communities of believers, but if we could for analytical purposes accept what they take for granted—what is "normal circumstances" for believers—we might recognize and examine open-mindedly the logic of their arguments. As Hillel Schwartz noted more than twenty years ago, "one can no longer type apocalyptic feelings as pre-modern or dysfunctional . . . [O]ne must accept the implication that millenarian behavior and belief are, given the millenarian tradition, normal."[11] I thus strongly agree with Rowley that "the millenarian idea of an end of human history and the beginning of an earthly paradise does not entail unrealistic thinking or pathological behavior."

The other factor complicating scholarly analysis of millenarianism is the commonplace assumption that the motivations of such groups can be explained in terms of economic, political, or social crises and as responses by marginalized or disaffected groups to some sort of disaster or deprivation. Thus, despite showing how apocalyptic discourse "touched emperor and cultural elite, as well as ordinary believers" in early medieval China, Ownby must acknowledge an argument that the apocalyptic tone of the Shangqing and Lingbao texts may have been "the expression of a form of relative deprivation." He rightly suggests other interpretations, but his reference attests to the hegemonic nature of the standard explanatory paradigm. Curiously, Rowley reads this paradigm into Ownby's essay, despite its rather different conclusion that what is important in China "is the shared character of millenarian discourse during the early medieval period, the fact that the 'mainstream' was open and fluid enough to permit the circulation of a variety of apocalyptic currents between both elites and masses."

The standard explanatory paradigm is most compellingly set forth by Michael Barkun, whose *Disaster and the Millennium* has had as much influence on comparative studies of millenarianism as has Cohn's *Pursuit of the Millennium* on studies of medieval movements. Nevertheless, Barkun's opening assumptions should be questioned: "From the perspective of the scholar who attempts to stand outside events, disaster has another significance: it is the very cause of the millenarian commitment itself. Men cleave to hopes of imminent worldly salvation only when the hammerblows of disaster destroy the world they have known and render them susceptible to ideas which they would earlier have cast aside."[12] In my view, we will never understand if we attempt "to stand outside" these groups, if we assume that there is one "cause of the millenarian commitment," and if we focus on particular manifestations of this "cause" rather than on the discourses of millenarianism. For example, some "causes," such as continued enslavement, are not "hammerblows of disaster" but unfortunately normal circumstances for slaves. They joined a millenarian movement because its discourse made sense to them, as Metcalf persuasively shows in her study of the Santidade de Jaguaripe; they became members of an interpretive community in which millenarian expectations were "obvious." Furthermore, although the Indian and African slaves who joined the Santidade were responding to intolerable conditions, recognizing those conditions

[11] Hillel Schwartz, "The End of the Beginning: Millenarian Studies, 1969–1975," *Religious Studies Review* 2 (1976): 6.

[12] Michael Barkun, *Disaster and the Millennium* (New Haven, Conn., 1974), 1.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as one contributing cause of their resistance does not explain why they responded by forming millenarian groups in the 1580s and not before or after or why other slaves responded to similar conditions in dissimilar ways.

Simply put, disaster, political crisis, relative deprivation, and other external causes do not explain the internal persuasive power of millenarianism, much less why many oppressed people and others living in crisis do not join millenarian groups. These theories are unhelpful particularly in understanding the long history of American millenarianism, since they neither explain, as Juster notes, why "rather than spiking at specific moments in response to public crises, millennial expectations proved remarkably enduring throughout the ebb and flow of colonial politics" nor why apocalyptic expectations have been shared by many educated and generally well-off middle-class Americans throughout our history. These range from members of long-established institutionalized religions, such as Seventh-day Adventists,[13] to the Nike-shod dead who lost their lives in March 1997 awaiting the comet Hale-Bop in the Heaven's Gate sect. Highly influenced by the popular media, this group linked UFO sightings with New Age spirituality and communicated through Internet web sites, hardly the bastion of the dispossessed.[14] Despite Metcalf's convincing argument that the Santidade de Jaguaripe "was a millenarian movement of slaves" and her less convincing attempt to link slave resistance in the American South to millenarian beliefs, in the long history of inhumanity only sparse evidence connects slave resistance to millenarianism, as Metcalf acknowledges.

More important, there is no particular reason why there should be a connection. It makes just as much sense for authorities to adopt an apocalyptic stance to support the status quo, interpreting resistance by the oppressed as a sign of the end, the world upside-down of the Last Days. The late fourteenth-century English poet John Gower, for example, adopted the guise of his two prophetic namesakes—John the Baptist, the voice crying in the wilderness, and John the Revelator, author of the biblical Apocalypse—to condemn Wat Tyler and others involved in the Rising of 1381 as the apocalyptic armies of Gog and Magog.[15] As Bernard McGinn notes, "Most medieval apocalyptic beliefs were employed as ecclesio-political rhetoric in the service of dominant institutions and officeholders (popes and other ecclesiastical leaders; emperors, kings, and their propagandists)."[16] A related conclusion is drawn by Ownby, who, though noting the potential danger of apocalyptic rhetoric

[13] Although Seventh-day Adventists grew from the Millerite movement and were disappointed that Christ did not return in 1843–1844, they were not particularly dispossessed nor responding to a disaster in the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, they built a multimillion-dollar hierarchical organization operating hospitals and universities, while maintaining apocalyptic expectations. On their origins, see Bryan W. Ball, *The English Connection: The Puritan Roots of Seventh-day Adventist Belief* (Cambridge, 1981); and *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century*, Ronald L. Numbers and Jonathan M. Butler, eds. (Bloomington, Ind., 1987).

[14] On Heaven's Gate and its relationship to the discourse of the popular media, see Stephen D. O'Leary, "Apocalypticism in American Popular Culture: From the Dawn of the Nuclear Age to the End of the American Century," *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, Vol. 3, *Apocalypticism in the Modern Period and the Contemporary Age*, Stephen J. Stein, ed. (New York, 1998), 392–426.

[15] See Gower's *Vox Clamantis*, 1.10.765–68, Eric W. Stockton, trans., *The Major Latin Works of John Gower* (Seattle, 1962), 67. For this and other mainstream cultural uses of apocalyptic imagery, see Richard K. Emmerson, "The Apocalypse in Medieval Culture," in Emmerson and McGinn, *Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, 293–332.

[16] Bernard McGinn, "Apocalypticism and Church Reform," *Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, 2: 78.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to church organization in early medieval China, points out its usefulness "in drawing people toward the church."

One of the accomplishments of this *Forum* is to make clear the complexity of millenarian movements, their vast range and persistence over time, and the need to take diverse and open-minded approaches in analyzing them.[17] The essays, however, also pinpoint a problem that has consistently plagued comparative millenarian studies, a certain fuzziness about terminology. Although every scholarly study must be based on detailed analysis of an individual movement in a particular place and time, for comparative purposes we also need some general agreement regarding what "millenarianism" and related terms mean over time and across geography. This need can be exemplified as a question: Do the many differences in era, geography, religion, and other contextual factors account for the paradox that whereas Juster links American millenarianism to "the vision of republican liberty," Rowley links Russian millenarianism to czarist imperialism, or is this paradox due to the authors' differing definitions of the term "millenarianism"?

It is difficult to answer this question because Juster never quite defines what she means by "millennial thinking." Although the movements led by Jemima Wilkinson and Ann Lee display features of millenarian groups, such as otherworldliness and refusal to give allegiance to the state, other examples Juster cites of millennial thinking—"intemperate calls for the overthrow of the British monarchy," and prophetic claims appropriating apocalyptic symbols, radical political agendas, David Austin's combination of charismatic prophet and republican publicist, and Samuel Hopkins's "vision of the millennium," in which "learning and print combine to create a universally enlightened society"—may appropriate the language of prophecy, but they are not particularly millenarian. All prophetic claims are not necessarily millenarian, nor do "eschatological narratives" necessarily involve "millenarian fever." Similarly, it is important not to conflate mysticism and millenarianism; although both forms of religious belief are sometimes exotic and difficult to understand, they should be kept distinct even when they overlap. Juster's excellent analysis of the language of female prophets, the gendered nature of literacy, and the crucial role of print culture in American prophetic and political discourses is occasionally undermined by a lack of terminological clarity.

In contrast, Rowley directly confronts the problems of definition, discussing, for example, Metcalf's and Ownby's terminology. He insightfully asks, "Do religious and secular expressions of the millenarian vision really express the same idea?" a question Juster should address in her attempt to place both republican male political traditions and "mystical" female prophetic traditions under the category of millenarianism. However, although Rowley acknowledges "an ambiguity in the scholarly use of the term 'millenarian,'" the thrust of his argument is not to show how such ambiguity may result from the misapplication of the term millenarian in secular contexts but to redeem the term from its "associations with religious and fanatical extremism of crisis cults" so that it can apply in a positive sense to secular "millenarian" movements. Thus, although he rightly questions Barkun's interpretation of the Russian Revolution "as a massive crisis cult," he takes for granted the

[17] For scholarship on millenarianism and related areas, see Ted Daniels, *Millennialism: An International Bibliography* (New York, 1992).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

flawed methodology on which such an interpretation rests. He accepts the well-worn notion that religious millenarianism is "a movement of socially marginal and disaffected groups—usually the most downtrodden and miserable—who reveal their millenarianism in what the mainstream considers to be bizarre and antisocial behavior," in order to distinguish such from liberalism and socialism, which "are movements of intellectual and political elites whose millenarianism is revealed through the publication of their ideas."

This binary not only prejudges the case but also sets up a false dichotomy. Given the Russian imperialist millenarian tradition he convincingly discusses, can Rowley be certain that Valerii Khatiushin's prophecies are "counter-cultural"? Although they seem deviant to those who do not share his vision of Russian destiny or his religious perspective, to believers they are commonsensical, as they may well be to some non-Russian Christians; for example, just as Khatiushin understood "Mikhail the Marked" in demonic terms, American fundamentalists interpreted Gorbachev's birthmark as the mark of the beast (Revelation 13: 13).[18] Furthermore, although mainstream exegetes would disagree with Khatiushin's identification of the apocalyptic "wormwood" (Rev. 8: 10–11) with the Chernobyl meltdown, such interpretations are surely no more "counter-cultural" than were the atrocities of the Russian Revolution perpetuated by the Bolsheviks, who "unlike the leaders of a crisis cult" in Rowley's view "were neither mad (in the sense of being out of touch with reality) nor deviant (in the sense of rejecting mainstream traditions and customs)." Thus, although Rowley helpfully challenges undefined uses of "millenarianism" and its unproblematic application to Marxism,"[19] and although he convincingly establishes a Russian tradition of imperialist millenarianism, his collapsing of religious millenarianism into "crisis cult millenarianism" creates new terminological confusions.

In my view, to use the term "millennium" to identify the goals of a predominantly secular social or political movement is to define the concept so broadly that it risks losing cogency. Although the religious-secular distinction is not always sharp and, as Rowley notes, it is not always clear how strongly religious views are held or if they are held at all, to remove the term "millenarianism" from its association with apocalyptic expectations and religious prophecy is, at best, metaphorical and, at worse, misleading. The religious motivation need not be Christian—as is evident in Jewish messianism and Islamic apocalypticism,[20] as well as the Chinese millenarianism Ownby studies—but to retain its usefulness as an analytical tool, millenarianism should imply religious, rather than strictly secular, motivations and goals. It is for this reason that the religious instruction of the Brazilian slaves in Christian apocalyptic belief is crucial to Metcalf's argument. I therefore agree with Rowley

[18] See Art Levine, "The Devil in Gorbachev: Would Congress Balk at Deals with the Antichrist?" *Washington Post* (June 5, 1988): C1, C4.

[19] For an example of such easy, but unhelpful, comparisons, see Ernest L. Tuveson, "The Millenarian Structure of *The Communist Manifesto*," in *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature: Patterns, Antecedents, and Repercussions*, C. A. Patrides and Joseph Wittreich, eds. (Manchester, 1984), 323–41. For a critique, see my "Apocalypse Now and Then," *Modern Language Quarterly* 46 (1985): 435.

[20] See Gershom Scholem, *The Messianic Idea in Judaism and Other Essays* (New York, 1971); and Abbas Amanat, "The Resurgence of Apocalyptic in Modern Islam," *Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, 3: 230–64.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that "those scholars who use the term 'millenarian' in a modern secular context employ it in a suggestive and not an analytical sense," but my concern is that this non-analytical sense may lead to genuine confusion. This may not be a serious problem for general surveys taking advantage of the current fascination with "the End,"[21] but to know what is compared in rigorous comparative research, we need general agreement on the meaning of our shared terms. I thus conclude this response by briefly suggesting some tentative definitions and what I hope will be useful distinctions.

To begin with the term that covers the largest conceptual category, "eschatology" is that branch of theology that studies the last things, whether personal or universal. In Christian theology, these beliefs would include the state of the soul after death, the notion of Purgatory, and the events expected to take place during the Last Days, such as the cosmic signs of doomsday or the persecution of Antichrist. The belief in apocalyptic terrors, the Second Coming of Christ, the violent destruction of the world, and the establishment of a millennial kingdom are all issues studied by Christian eschatology, but it is not limited to these beliefs nor does the adjective "eschatological" necessarily imply any one of these beliefs. Apocalypticism is a category of eschatology, for example, but not all eschatology is apocalyptic. That a belief is eschatological, furthermore, does not mean that it is millenarian. The Jesuit teaching regarding the Day of Judgment that Metcalf discusses, for example, is widely accepted in Christian eschatology, but it is not millenarian. Similarly, that American slaves believed in the eschatological concepts of heaven and the Last Judgment does not necessarily imply "a millenarian outlook."

The term "apocalypse" is multivalent. It may refer to a specific biblical text, the Book of Revelation or Apocalypse of John; to a genre of eschatological texts with particular generic markers prominent in Judaism and early Christianity;[22] or to an event associated with the Book of Revelation, the end of the world or doomsday. Because this event is conceived as sudden and catastrophic, "apocalypse" in popular metaphoric use may refer to any destructive or disruptive phenomenon, for example, the Vietnam War as depicted in Francis Ford Coppola's film *Apocalypse Now* (1979) or the Russian Revolution. A more telling metaphoric use, given the apocalyptic beliefs of the Branch Davidians, is to describe the 1993 conflagration of their compound in Waco as an "apocalypse."[23]

"Apocalypticism" is the belief system, often informed by the Book of Revelation and other apocalypses, that interprets the trajectory of world history from its origins to the present as well as contemporary events and other "signs" as indicators of the imminent end of the world. The adjective "apocalyptic" is particularly tricky, as it may refer to attitudes characteristic of apocalypticism (the world is so evil it will soon be destroyed) or to features of literary apocalypses, such as figures like the seven-headed dragon that populate the Book of Revelation. The transformation of

[21] A good example is Eugen Weber, *Apocalypses: Prophecies, Cults, and Millennial Beliefs through the Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999).

[22] On apocalypse as a genre, see John J. Collins, *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, *Semeia* 14 (Missoula, Mont., 1979).

[23] James D. Talbot and Eugene V. Gallagher, *Why Waco? Cults and the Battle for Religious Freedom in America* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), is helpful but published too early to take into consideration the effects of Waco and recent revelations of a government cover-up in its investigation.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the figure of the woman clothed by the sun "into an allegory of American exceptionalism in the revolutionary era" is therefore "apocalyptic" in that this symbol is central to the Apocalypse of John (Rev. 12). One crucial feature of apocalyptic is the expectation that only a faithful remnant will survive the catastrophes of the Last Days, whether they be the 144,000 of Revelation or the "'seed people,' a Daoist elect saved through the good works of the Celestial Masters church."[24]

Strictly speaking, the millennium is the thousand-year period of peace and justice prophesied in Revelation (Chap. 20) during which the dragon is imprisoned in the abyss and Christ rules on earth before the end of time. The expectation that such a period of literally 1,000 years lies in the near future is sometimes called "chiliasm," a term based on the Greek word for "thousand." More generally, the term "millennium" is used to represent any idealized period of time in the future when present troubles are replaced by a society of justice, peace, and plenty, although when its eschatological sense is lost, the term also loses precision.[25] The Santidade conviction that "food crops would grow for them and they would not want for food or drink" is millennial both in the general and the strict senses of the term because this desire for earthly plenty is intertwined in the believers' discourse with strongly eschatological expectations. In popular use, the term simply refers to any period of a thousand years, although sometimes "millennium" is used as a positive variant on the negative "apocalypse" or more generally as a synonym for the events of the Last Days, as in Juster's comment, "Somehow, sometime, the millennium will come: and when it does, Americans as a nation and a people feel relatively confident that they will be among the Elect at the end of time."

For the purposes of this *Forum*, the term "millenarianism" and its synonym "millennialism" are most in need of definition. Robert Lerner defines the term as signifying "any hope for impending, supernaturally inspired, marvelous betterment on earth before the End,"[26] which distinguishes the hope for a millennial order from secular—rather than supernaturally inspired—utopian and progressive movements. It also distinguishes millenarianism from religious and social reform movements not informed by eschatological expectation, that is, not primarily driven by expectations of the impending End. The Santidade expectation that "God was coming now to free them from their captivity and to make them lords of the white people" typifies millenarian expectations in its emphasis both on divine intervention and revolutionary change in earthly society. Lerner's definition also distinguishes the millennial kingdom from supernatural events to take place *after* the End, such as orthodox Christian expectations of heaven or the New Jerusalem on earth. To believe that one will be saved at the Last Judgment and taken to heaven is not millenarian.

Millenarianism is a specific form of apocalypticism, because strictly speaking it is

[24] David Ownby, "Chinese Millenarian Traditions: The Formative Age," *AHR* 104 (December 1999): 1518.

[25] For such approaches, see Sylvia L. Thrupp, ed., *Millennial Dreams in Action: Studies in Revolutionary Religious Movements* (New York, 1970). The uneven nature of some essays in this influential collection is in part due to its open-ended definition of "millennium," which in Thrupp's figurative use "may be an age to last indefinitely, with no doom ahead" (p. 12).

[26] Lerner, "Medieval Return to the Thousand-Year Sabbath," 51.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

related to the apocalyptic millennium and, more generally, it is associated with the Last Days and often with the violent and sudden overthrow of the powers and authorities that control the present era. The millennial kingdom may be instituted by a figurative "doomsday" for the status quo, which is why revolutionary movements have been metaphorically described as millennial, even if they are not religiously inspired. In contrast, not all forms of apocalypticism are millenarian, since many apocalypticists think they live in the Last Days and that Christ's Second Advent, rather than a millennial kingdom, is imminent. Those Americans who interpreted the "Dark Day" of 1780 as a sign of the Second Advent were not necessarily millenarian in their thinking. They may not have thought a millennial kingdom was at hand but instead that the world was coming to an end, an expectation they share—if television evangelists are any indication—with millions of worried Americans in 1999 who are neither millenarian nor revolutionary. Finally, it should be noted that secularized forms of apocalypticism are also not necessarily millenarian. For example, the 1983 television film *The Day After* is apocalyptic in its portrayal of the catastrophic effects of nuclear war on Lawrence, Kansas, as well as in its scene depicting a small band of the remnant reading from the Book of Revelation; it hardly predicts a millennial kingdom to follow nuclear disaster, however.

Responses to this much-hyped show suggest that, once we enter into a particular interpretive community, apocalyptic thought becomes acceptable and even logical, the "everyday" supported by mainstream political and scientific theory as well as established religion. For example, the *Washington Post* described the ABC film as an "unrelentingly bleak . . . picture of a post-apocalyptic world," and in a follow-up article noted that a local bishop identified nuclear weapons as "the ultimate anti-Christ."[27] As Earl Rovit asked more than thirty years ago concerning the expectation of the apocalypse, "What other myth do we possess that is as responsive to the major cataclysms of twentieth-century life and death?"[28]

It is thus worth examining our own myths, the dispositions we inherited from our scholarly training, even what we take for granted in our own views of the cosmos and our place in it. The following description of our "leading cosmological model," the Big Bang, may remind us of how very different "normal circumstances" are in our worldview compared to that of the "remnant" who populate millenarian groups:

> It, too, is a beauty. Tenaciously bourgeois, the universe generated by the big bang is a masterpiece of marketing. With its fiery explosions, wormholes, white dwarfs, red giants and black holes, the big-bang universe satisfies our Lucasfilm sensibilities. It also features an abrupt beginning to appease our Judeo-Christian creation myths, and is constantly expanding, like our economy. It is the biggest-budget universe ever, with mind-boggling numbers to dazzle us . . . We are not at the physical center of the big-bang universe, and there is no God, yet it is an anthropocentric model. The huge numbers—the comparative strengths of the four forces, the surplus of matter over antimatter and so forth—are delicately balanced to result in the evolution of intelligent life (i.e., cosmologists). Once

[27] Tom Shales, "The Day After," *Washington Post* (November 18, 1983): C8; and "The Night of 'The Day After,'" *Washington Post* (November 21, 1983): B1.

[28] Earl Rovit, "On the Contemporary Apocalyptic Imagination," *American Scholar* 37 (1968): 463.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

again, a human-constructed universe ends up with humans, at least mathematically, at its center.[29]

Such an ironic description of the cosmological model that now "goes without saying" may be as unsympathetic to contemporary science as is some scholarship studying millenarian movements. Nevertheless, it reminds us that we should question that which we take for granted when we analyze what others take for granted but which seems incomprehensible to us. Ultimately, developing precise comparative terminology, open-mindedly analyzing the rhetoric of millenarian groups, and letting their discourses speak for themselves rather than imposing theories on them may not be enough to understand them, but it seems the least we should do. We are more likely to be successful if we recognize that our membership in a modern, rationalist interpretive community driven by economic motivations and scientific conceptions of evidence will affect our analyses of movements that see themselves as the remnant forces of the divine in a grand supernaturally ordained scheme. These movements believe they have—to recall Frost's poetic lines opening this essay—the Secret that "knows." Perhaps the best we can do is only "suppose," but if we try to understand, the "dance" will have been worth it.

[29] Dick Teresi, review of *The Five Ages of the Universe: Inside the Physics of Eternity*, by Fred Adams and Greg Laughlin, in *New York Times Book Review* (August 8, 1999): 6.

Richard K. Emmerson is the executive director of the Medieval Academy of America and the editor of *Speculum*. He has chaired the Department of English at Western Washington University, taught at Georgetown University and Walla Walla College, and served as deputy director of the Division of Fellowships and Seminars, National Endowment for the Humanities. His publications include *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature* (1981), *Approaches to Teaching Medieval English Drama* (1990), *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (with Bernard McGinn, 1992), *The Apocalyptic Imagination in Medieval Literature* (with Ronald Herzman, 1992), and *Antichrist and Doomsday: The Middle French Jour du Jugement* (with David Hult, 1998).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Millennium Review Essay

Time, Culture, and Christian Eschatology: The Year 2000 in the West and the World

PAUL A. COHEN

"IF YOU LOOK AT THE WAY we measure time," a woman employed at a rock and roll bar in Alpine, Texas, recently observed, "that's all to do with our culture and civilization. Just because the way we measure time hits certain points doesn't mean everything is going to go to hell in a handbasket, there's just no logic in it at all. I think it's kind of arrogant, because we made the calendar."[1] This insight points to a major problem with the year 2000, namely that its potential significance as *end time* is grounded in a particular method of reckoning the passage of time that does not have equal import for all peoples. It is not that Westerners alone use the Gregorian calendar; it is used today by peoples all over the world. Nor is it that those outside the West who use it do so grudgingly, as a result of its having been foisted on them at some earlier date. The arrogance the woman alluded to concerns the widely held assumption that the Gregorian calendar has essentially the same meanings for people who are not part of the Christian West—and I would include here Jews in New York City and Muslims in London and Paris—as it has for many Western Christians. Her questioning of this assumption is astute and raises important issues that I want to return to later in this essay.

Another problem with the year 2000 is that, ostensibly, it doubles as the turn of a century *and* the turn of a millennium, and it isn't clear, as the fateful moment approaches, which transition is going to impress itself in a more lasting way on people's minds. Most writers who have touched on the matter appear to believe that "there is more concern about a new millennium than about a new century."[2] While this may be true for the near term, it is entirely possible that once the hoopla surrounding the millennial shift is over, people sooner or later will forget that they are living in the third millennium but will remain permanently aware of being alive in the twenty-first century.

The truth is, there has been so much market and media-driven hype concerning

In reworking this review essay, I have benefited greatly from the advice of Elizabeth Sinn, Hue-Tam Ho Tai, and several members of the *AHR*'s Board of Editors. I also want to thank Jeffrey Wasserstrom and Wilfrid Rollman for bringing relevant materials to my notice.

[1] Quoted in Michael Erard, "Millennium, Texas," in Charles B. Strozier and Michael Flynn, eds., *The Year 2000: Essays on the End* (New York, 1997), 280.

[2] Asa Briggs and Daniel Snowman, "Introduction," in Briggs and Snowman, eds., *Fins de Siècle: How Centuries End, 1400–2000* (New Haven, Conn., 1996), 1. See also Eugen Weber, *Apocalypses: Prophesies, Cults, and Millennial Beliefs through the Ages* (Cambridge, 1999), 26, 237.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the advent of the new millennium that it is often difficult to tell how deeply people feel about it. What are we to make, for example, of the spectacularly successful *Left Behind* series of apocalyptic fiction, co-authored by Tim LaHaye and Jerry B. Jenkins? The series, named after its first volume, *Left Behind: A Novel of the Earth's Last Days* (1995), had already sold close to 3 million copies as of the fall of 1998. It has generated a companion children's series (*Left Behind: The Kids*, already in six books as of the spring of 1999), a music CD, and hats and T-shirts inscribed with the slogan "Don't Be Left Behind."[3] Obviously, for many in the West, there is a fascination, even preoccupation, with the year 2000, creating a ready audience for its mass marketing. But this is a far cry from believing in and actively preparing for the end of the world. Indeed, it may well be that, for most, it is the apocalypse qua entertainment that is of primary importance.

There is, finally, the much-noted paradox that, despite the media frenzy, the wide-ranging commercial efforts to cash in on the event, elaborate governmental and institutional preparations (among the more ambitious, those of the Chinese and British governments and the Vatican),[4] and the much-advertised Y2K computer problem, all of which are tied to the premise that the end will come upon our advancing to the year 2000, the fact is, for the true end of the twentieth century and of the second millennium, we will have to wait another 366 days. (2000 is a leap year.)[5]

These problems are not going to hinder people, especially in the West but also in large urban centers elsewhere, from making what they will of the year 2000. Many will find in this year a pretext for celebrating something exceptionally rare: it is not granted to every generation, after all, to be alive and numerate at the point at which one millennium gives way to another; very few people since the beginning of the human race have consciously borne witness to the turn of a millennium. Others, mostly it would appear from fringe groups, live in dread of some great cataclysm that they believe will accompany the death of the old millennium and the birth of the new.[6] Still others, including historians and other academics, religious leaders, and, certainly, the men and women of the media, will see in the year 2000 an opportunity for taking stock, for drawing up balance sheets, presumably focusing more on the twentieth century, which can at least be encompassed intellectually,

[3] A fifth volume of the adult series appeared in the spring of 1999, and several more are in the works. The *Left Behind* series is by no means an isolated example. Publishers and booksellers have been having a field day with apocalyptic fiction. See Laurie Goodstein, "Fast-Selling Thrillers Depict Prophetic View of Final Days," *New York Times* (October 4, 1998): 1, 30 NE.

[4] Beijing's plans for the China Century Monument are described later in this essay. The construction of the Millennium Dome in southeast London, under the aegis of the government-owned New Millennium Experience Company, is noted in *International Herald Tribune* (February 25, 1998): 5. The Vatican's plans for the year-long celebration of the millennial Jubilee—and the logistical nightmare Rome is anticipating—are detailed in Jeff Israely, "Rome Awaits 2000 Warily," *Boston Globe* (June 26, 1999): A11; see also *New York Times* (October 3, 1999): 1, 4 NE.

[5] The question of when centuries terminate was also hotly debated at the end of the nineteenth century in Britain. See Asa Briggs, "The 1890s: Past, Present and Future in Headlines," in Briggs and Snowman, *Fins de Siècle*, 192–93.

[6] For a guide to some of the more bizarre of America's "millennial Chicken Littles," see Alex Heard and Peter Klebnikov, "Apocalypse Now. No, Really. Now!" *New York Times Magazine* (December 27, 1998): 40–43.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than on the second millennium, which many people will find it hard, if not impossible, to wrap their minds around.[7]

An example of the stock-taking response is *Fin de Siècle: The Meaning of the Twentieth Century*, edited by Alex Danchev (1995). The contributors to this book, which grew out of a series of seminars held at Keele University in England from 1992 to 1994, are mainly British specialists from the fields of international relations, history, and politics. Each was asked to touch broadly on three themes: the salient characteristics of the twentieth century; what, if anything, is ending as the century draws to a close; and whether Winston Churchill was right in 1922 to call the twentieth century a disappointing one.[8] Although there are occasional efforts in the book to view the century in global terms, it is mainly the West's century—or, if we include Ian Nash's chapter on Japan, the "developed world's"—that is brought under scrutiny. This is suggested in Danchev's introduction, which, following the lead of Susan Sontag, defines the twentieth century as the "Sarajevo century" and dates it as beginning in 1914 and ending in 1991. Even in the one chapter that focuses on the non-Western world (apart from that on Japan), Maha Azzam's useful account of the political movement known as Islamism, the emphasis is very much on the part of the Muslim world—the Middle East—with which the West has been centrally concerned, despite the fact that, as Azzam clearly notes, the majority of Muslims in the world today are not Arab and do not live in the Middle East.[9]

I do not know whether Churchill, who died in 1965, ever moderated his earlier negative judgment on the twentieth century or would have, had he lived for another thirty years.[10] But others, most dramatically Francis Fukuyama, have concluded that by late century the world is clearly moving in a more hopeful direction. Fukuyama's bold announcement in 1989 that the "end of history," by which he meant "the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government,"[11] might be just around the corner is treated with thoughtful skepticism by Chris Brown in the opening and in some ways least Western-centered chapter of *Fin de Siècle*. While agreeing that very important changes took place in the world in the late 1980s and that, in response to these changes, Fukuyama was perhaps asking the right sort of question, Brown finds Fukuyama's answer "not defensible" and concludes that "talk of the end of History confuses and obscures more than it illuminates." "Since," he writes, "there are a great many different histories available—associated with different peoples, cultures and societies—to employ any one history in this way is necessarily to make a claim about its priority over the

[7] The AHA's newsletter, for example, characterizes the Annual Meeting for the year 2000 as "the perfect opportunity to reflect on the state of the discipline and the profession at the beginning of the 21st century." "Call for Papers: AHA Annual Meeting for the Year 2000," *Perspectives* (September 1998): 17.

[8] For Churchill's appraisal, see the epigraph in Alex Danchev, ed., *Fin de Siècle: The Meaning of the Twentieth Century* (London, 1995), v.

[9] Maha Azzam, "Islamism," in Danchev, *Fin de Siècle*, 161.

[10] It appears doubtful. In 1945, World War II drawing to a close, Churchill wrote to his wife: "The misery of the whole world appalls me, and I fear increasingly that new struggles may arise out of those we are successfully ending." Quoted from Mary Soames, ed., *Winston and Clementine: The Personal Letters of the Churchills* (Boston, 1999), in *New York Times* (March 30, 1999): B8.

[11] Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The National Interest* 16 (Summer 1989): 3–18, quote p. 4; see also Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York, 1992).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

others . . . [I]nstead of the 'end of History' with a capital 'H,' all that the events of the last few years add up to is the end of one particular history, with a small 'h.'"[12]

In the next several chapters of *Fin de Siècle*, an effort is made to assess the meaning of the twentieth century for each of the leading geo-political units of the developed world: America, Russia, Japan, and Europe. The most successful of these essays is the one on Europe, co-authored by William Wallace and Piers Ludlow. They skillfully trace the stages in the shift from a Europe brimming with self-confidence at the beginning of the century—"Europeans ran the world, secure in the conviction of their own moral, intellectual and racial superiority"—to one that, after two devastating world wars and the postwar decades of American and Soviet domination, has in the 1990s become "just one reasonably prosperous region in a much more genuinely global system."[13]

The next group of chapters are arranged thematically and attempt to identify the kind of century the twentieth century has been. Strikingly, among the themes covered—the nuclear revolution, economism, nationalism, Islamism, and community—the Holocaust and other instances of ethnic and ideological genocide in this century are almost completely overlooked.[14] The two most compelling chapters in this section are Richard Wyn Jones's on the implications of nuclear technology and Andrew Linklater's on different forms of political community. Both address unblinkingly the dangerous uncertainties of the next century. Jones uses the critical theory of the Frankfurt school to examine the revolutionary impact of nuclear weapons on the conduct of war and on human psychology. He concludes pessimistically that we have avoided nuclear war as a result more of luck than of good judgment and urges concerned citizens in the future not to let governments continue to get away with mythic justifications of the national security state. Linklater's essay does not make easy reading, but it is highly suggestive in what it has to say about the future organization of political communities in general and the role of the nation-state in particular. The nation-state of the twenty-first century, he argues, needs to be less insistent on its own sovereign rights and more accommodating of "the sub-national and transnational loyalties on which future sites of organizational power may come to rest." An obvious point to make, perhaps, but nonetheless vitally important.[15]

[12] Chris Brown, "The End of History?" in Danchev, *Fin de Siècle*, 2, 9, 16. Fukuyama's ideas are also treated with skepticism by other contributors to the book. See Alex Danchev, "Introduction: The Sarajevo Century," in Danchev, *Fin de Siècle*, xi–xii; Edward Acton, "Russia," in Danchev, *Fin de Siècle*, 43–57.

[13] William Wallace and Piers Ludlow, "Europe," in Danchev, *Fin de Siècle*, 71–89, quotes pp. 72–73, 87.

[14] Auschwitz and the extermination of European Jewry are recognized by two of the book's contributors as a (or "the") "defining event" of the century but are only dealt with in passing. See Richard Wyn Jones, "The Nuclear Revolution," in Danchev, *Fin de Siècle*, 95–97; and Charles Townshend, "The Fin de Siècle," in Danchev, *Fin de Siècle*, 211. In keeping with the heavily Western orientation of *Fin de Siècle*, the Cambodian genocide under Pol Pot and the more recent mass killings in Rwanda are passed over in silence. There are two brief references to the beginnings of the Armenian genocide in the 1890s, none to its expansion in the first fifteen years of the twentieth century (Townshend, "Fin de Siècle," 211, 214). For a succinct account of the mass killings that have marred the history of the twentieth century, see Michael Marrus, *The Holocaust in History* (New York, 1987), 20–25.

[15] Jones, "Nuclear Revolution," 90–109; Andrew Linklater, "Community," in Danchev, *Fin de Siècle*, 177–97, quote p. 195.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Charles Townshend, in the concluding chapter of the book, focuses on fin de siècle as such. He reminds us that the century as a secular unit is a peculiarly "modern vessel of awareness," acquiring its special relationship to time only in the early 1600s. The phrase fin de siècle is even newer, having first been used toward the end of the nineteenth century. Townshend notes the dual quality of fin de siècle, combining hopefulness and anxiety, a "concurrent sense of progress and decadence." Although he quite properly defines fin de siècle as "an attitude of mind, not a chronological moment," he dwells on the mood of writers at specific moments—the end of the nineteenth century and to a lesser extent the end of the twentieth. Like Jones and Linklater, moreover, when he peers into the century that lies ahead, he does not find the prospects very cheering.[16]

The fact that millennia, centuries, and fins de siècle are all arbitrary ways of designating temporal boundaries does not mean that they cannot have an impact on human consciousness. To have such an impact, however, people presumably must at least be aware of their existence. It was not possible for Chinese living in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of the Kangxi Emperor (1698) to experience a fin-de-siècle mood, and it would clearly be out of bounds for Western historians three hundred years later to imagine them having experienced it. We may well ask, by the same logic, whether it is any more valid for historians of Britain to revisit the fins de siècle of that country's past, beginning with the last decade of the fourteenth century, hundreds of years before the British people even knew what a *siècle* was.[17] Such is the curious task Asa Briggs and Daniel Snowman set for themselves in their edited volume, *Fins de Siècle: How Centuries End, 1400–2000* (1996).[18]

Briggs and Snowman argue that the admittedly artificial notion of a fin de siècle eventually "fed back into the consciousness of those adopting it," so that from our perspective today, "it is impossible not to note how frequently a 'sense of ending' seems to have pervaded each of the periods"—the 1390s, 1490s, 1590s, and so on—dealt with in the body of the book. This may indeed be the case. But one wonders, inevitably, whether it is the job of the historian to surrender to such subjective intrusion or to challenge it. The problem with *Fins de Siècle*, in short, is not, as in the Danchev volume, geo-cultural parochialism—the book does not claim to deal with anything other than the history of Britain. It is its unabashed presentism: the contrived imposition of late twentieth-century consciousness about century endings on earlier eras that did not yet count time in centuries. This is the sort of presentism commonly encountered in media efforts at historical reconstruction, where the need to spark audience interest all too often triumphs over the commitment to a more faithful understanding of the past. It is perhaps significant,

[16] Townshend, "Fin de Siècle," 198–216, quotes pp. 199, 200, 202.

[17] As late as the beginning of the twentieth century, Asa Briggs notes, centuries played no apparent part in the time reckoning of Queen Victoria: "in her diaries and in her letters she made no references to the end of one century and the beginning of a new." Briggs, "The 1890s: Past, Present and Future in Headlines," in Briggs and Snowman, *Fins de Siècle*, 167.

[18] They are not the first to make the attempt. Hillel Schwartz, in *Century's End: A Cultural History of the Fin de Siècle from the 990s through the 1990s* (New York, 1990), argues that all of the century ends from the tenth to the twentieth have been characterized by extremes of desperation and exultation, anxiety and relief, death and rebirth.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in this light, that the Briggs and Snowman volume first took shape as a BBC radio project.[19]

If one closes one's eyes to the flawed intellectual design of *Fins de Siècle*, it is really quite a splendid book. It is filled with carefully chosen illustrations, many of them in full color. More often than not, the pictures, in addition to being intrinsically interesting, represent a substantive enrichment of the printed text. The individual chapters, moreover, are well written, informative, and wrestle with the artificial conceptual design of the book in enough different ways to caution the reader implicitly against its validity. The least successful chapter in this regard is perhaps Paul Strohm's on the 1390s. Strohm maintains that "even if few [Englishmen] knew of the century's passing, most of them *acted* as if they did." Yet, for all his efforts to persuade us of this, it is hard to believe that, among people anxiously searching "for signs that the end might be near" (a more or less constant contemporary preoccupation), anything could have rivaled in impact the plague that *in mid-century* "eliminated between one-third and one-half of the populace in one year."[20]

Malcolm Vale, in his chapter on the 1490s, avoids Strohm's problem by not attempting to locate end-of-the-century consciousness in the minds of contemporaries at all. From our late twentieth-century perspective, he observes, "it is easy to see the 1490s as a time in which Christian believers felt that they were living on the eve of some great seismic eruption," but people at the time, the evidence clearly suggests, simply did not view it that way. Indeed, the picture of England in the 1490s that Vale draws is "one of relative prosperity, cultural richness . . . and religious orthodoxy."[21] Objectively considered, perhaps the British fin de siècle in which there was the keenest contemporary awareness of great change afoot was the end of the eighteenth century. Even in this instance, however, the sense of change appears to have been consciously linked much more to the passing of one epoch and the beginning of another (unconnected to any numerical reckoning) than to the turn of a new century.[22] Finally—and ironically—Asa Briggs, in his concluding chapters on the 1890s and 1990s, the two fins de siècle in which the concept of one century ending and another beginning was most deeply etched in contemporary consciousness, seems to resist overstating the unique importance of century endings. Briggs's contributions are among the finest in the book. Also, due perhaps to the growing ambiguity of the boundaries between Britain and the rest of the world, they are the ones least exclusively focused on England.[23]

There are many kinds of temporal endings: the end of a day or a week or a month or a year, the end of a century, the end of a millennium. Since all of these time units, until now at least, have been followed by their succeeding units, when we think of the end of one time unit, we are conscious of the imminent beginning of its

[19] Briggs and Snowman, "Introduction," 1–5, quotes p. 3.

[20] Paul Strohm, "The 1390s: The Empty Time," in Briggs and Snowman, *Fins de Siècle*, 7–37, quotes pp. 8, 12, 17.

[21] Malcolm Vale, "The 1490s: Continuities and Contrasts," in Briggs and Snowman, *Fins de Siècle*, 39–63, quotes pp. 60, 62.

[22] Roy Porter, "The 1790s: 'Visions of Unsullied Bliss,'" in Briggs and Snowman, *Fins de Siècle*, 125–55.

[23] Briggs, "The 1890s," 157–95; and Asa Briggs, "The 1990s: The Final Chapter," in Briggs and Snowman, *Fins de Siècle*, 197–233.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

successor. Continuity is a staple of our lives, recurrence and renewal a formidable counter to the sense of finality. Most people, I suspect, are content with this formulation of time consciousness and, without contesting their own mortality, resist associating all endings with individual and collective death. The year 2000 becomes just another turn of the calendar. For those of us who teach undergraduates, it has not taken a major effort to get used to having students in the class of '02, and when we get a new driver's license or passport and the expiration date reads 08–23–03, we give the matter barely a thought.

There are those among us, however, who think otherwise. Historian and psychoanalyst Charles B. Strozier, in his introduction to *The Year 2000: Essays on the End* (1997), co-edited with Michael Flynn, writes: "Consciousness of human endings haunts the psyches of quite ordinary people. The psychological consequences are enormous. If once it took an act of imagination to think about the end time, now it takes an act of imagination, or a numbing, *not* to think about it. In such a world we all become end timers . . . 2000 reverberates with our deepest psychological dread. It becomes a metaphor for collective death." Strozier makes a special point of the "historically unique" character of the apocalyptic preoccupations of the late twentieth century, in that, for the first time, they occur in the context of "real, scientific possibilities of ultimate destruction."[24]

The contributors to *The Year 2000* are, with several exceptions, American academics, and they write about a range of literal and metaphoric meanings linked to 2000, mostly in the American and to a much lesser extent the European contexts. Out of twenty-six chapters, only one, Robert Jay Lifton's essay on the Japanese religious group Aum Shinrikyō, deals significantly with Year 2000 themes outside the West. There are a number of chapters on apocalyptic thought and behavior in the past: Richard A. Landes's on millennial fever at the end of the *first* millennium (Landes takes sharp issue with those who dismiss the year 1000 as a "year like any other"), Norman Cohn's on medieval millenarianism, Catherine Keller's postmodernist rendering of Columbus's encounter with the "New World" (seen by her as an "unambiguously phallic act" inaugurating the modern era but understood by Columbus himself in characteristically apocalyptic terms), and Strozier's account of the apocalyptic rhetoric surrounding the Civil War and, most strikingly, the assassination (on Good Friday) of Abraham Lincoln.[25]

Other contributions to *The Year 2000* focus on apocalypse-oriented groups and individuals in the present: the Branch Davidians at Waco and the bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building (Strozier again), Aum Shinrikyō, the radical environmentalist group Earth First! (Lois Ann Lorentzen), the growing evangelical Christian men's movement known as Promise Keepers (Lee Quinby), paramilitary groups (J. William Gibson), Christian Identity and other white supremacist organizations (Michael Barkun), and cults centered on some form of end-time

[24] Charles B. Strozier, "Introduction," in Strozier and Flynn, *The Year 2000*, 5–6.

[25] The cited contributions to Strozier and Flynn, *The Year 2000*, are Richard A. Landes, "The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Millennial Fever and the Origins of the Modern West," 13–29, quote p. 16; Norman Cohn, "Medieval Millenarianism: Its Bearing on the Comparative Study of Millenarian Movements," 30–41; Catherine Keller, "The Breast, the Apocalypse, and the Colonial Journey," 42–58, quote p. 45; Charles B. Strozier, "God, Lincoln, and the Civil War," 59–72.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prophesy (Margaret Thaler Singer).[26] One of the most characteristic features of current apocalyptic groups, as of millenarian movements past, is the extremeness and radical intolerance of their visions, the sharpness with which they draw the line between "us" and "them": the good and the pure who will inherit the utopian world of the future, and "the enemy"—the ultimate source of corruption, defilement, and evil—who are marked for total annihilation. Among the paramount enemies targeted by extremist groups in North America today are the federal government, homosexuals, Jews, and blacks; many of the groups dealt with in *The Year 2000* are also profoundly misogynist in their fantasized images of the perfect society.

In addition to specifically apocalytic themes, the book also contains essays that explore such death-related concerns in American life as nuclearism, the resistance to accepting limits (exemplified by the unrelenting quest for total wellness in the health care field), apprehensions of "the end" in the art world, and our resilience in the face of our own destructive impulses as seen in the "witnessing imagination" in theater.[27] The trouble is, none of these themes is related in a convincing manner to the millennial turn. Although the playwright Karen Malpede, in her sensitively wrought account of the "theater of witness" that has emerged in response to the violence of the twentieth century, attempts to draw links with the year 2000, this theater, by her own evidence, began to appear at mid-century in response to the Holocaust and shows no sign of abating in force as we move toward the new millennium.[28]

As I read *The Year 2000*, I felt myself to be very much in the role of a spectator. I did not identify with any of the extremist groups discussed or know of persons who were members of such groups. The historical accounts of past examples of apocalyptism were fascinating and the discussion of death-related concerns in contemporary America illuminating (albeit not unfamiliar), but I had little sense, on the whole, that what was being talked about had to do with me and my life. The approach to endist concerns adopted by Eugen Weber in *Apocalypses: Prophesies, Cults, and Millennial Beliefs through the Ages* (1999) had a quite different effect. It certainly did not make me into a millenarian. But it left me with an uncomfortable sense that, at least for people living in the West, the phenomenon of endism could not be entirely dismissed as somebody else's problem.

Although Weber, in the first few chapters, takes note of apocalyptic thought in Asia, Africa, and South America and acknowledges the great variety of calendrical systems used in different cultures around the world, the almost exclusive focus of

[26] The cited contributions to Strozier and Flynn, *The Year 2000*, are Charles B. Strozier, "Apocalyptic Violence and the Politics of Waco," 97–111; Robert Jay Lifton, "Reflections on Aum Shinrikyo," 112–20; Lois Ann Lorentzen, "Phallic Millennialism and Radical Environmentalism: The Apocalyptic Vision of Earth First!" 144–53; Lee Quinby, "Coercive Purity: The Dangerous Promise of Apocalyptic Masculinity," 154–65; J. William Gibson, "Is the Apocalypse Coming? Paramilitary Culture after the Cold War," 180–89; Michael Barkun, "Racist Apocalypse: Millennialism on the Far Right," 190–205; Margaret Thaler Singer, "On the Image of 2000 in Contemporary Cults," 133–43.

[27] See the following essays in Strozier and Flynn, *The Year 2000*: Richard Falk, "The Paucity of the Millennial Moment: The Case of Nuclearism," 169–79; Jean Bethke Elshtain, "The Flight from Finitude," 230–36; Peter von Ziegesar, "After Armageddon: Apocalyptic Art since the Seventies: Tactics of Survival in a Postnuclear Planet," 284–98; Karen Malpede, "Theater at 2000: A Witnessing Project," 299–308.

[28] The first example of theater of witness Malpede discusses is Nellie Sachs's verse drama *Eli*, written in 1943 in the middle of the Holocaust. "Theater at 2000," 302.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the book is on the evolution of millenarian ideas in Western Christian societies. *Apocalypses* is densely, sometimes numbingly, detailed, and I searched in vain through the endless parade of examples of Christian endist preoccupations for "the big point." Also, although "deliberate *onesidedness*" has been hailed by some as "a methodological virtue,"[29] the author, in the singlemindedness of his presentation, carried this virtue to excess. In his account of endist concerns through the medieval period, it was entirely appropriate to focus exclusively on such concerns, "dreadful apprehensions of the approaching end" having been "an integral part of medieval minds."[30] But in the last chapters of the book, where he deals with the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, when endism was *not* a ubiquitous feature of Western consciousness, the continued concentration on millenarian and apocalyptic concerns, to the exclusion of all else, made me uneasy. There are billions of insects in the world, but most of us, while quite aware of this, do not think of ourselves as inhabiting a world of insects; we think of ourselves as living in a world that contains many things, *including* insects. By confining his account of the intellectual climate of the last three centuries entirely to millenarian and apocalyptic ruminations, Weber conveys an exaggerated sense of the import of such ruminations.

Having registered this complaint, I must acknowledge that, building on this strategy, Weber, especially in his concluding chapter, raises some telling, even disturbing, points. One question he asks is whether, in light of the ample evidence of continued concern with endism in Western society, this concern is truly a fringe phenomenon or only apparently so—an *illusion* of fringeness fostered by the skeptical, rationalistic biases of modern intellectual life. "Discomforted, disconcerted by the lurid violence of its religious message," he observes, "nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars swept the Apocalypse out of Christianity, and out of Judaism too, ignoring historical experience for the sake of intellectual comfort . . . To the extent that traditional eschatology no longer fits world views we now consider rational, it has been marginalized or swept under the carpet."[31]

Pushing this insight a step further, Weber challenges historians to take the "irrational" as seriously as the "rational" in their work, keeping in mind that what appears irrational to nonbelievers may seem entirely rational to believers and that even beliefs eventually judged false can provide a solid basis for action. He wonders as well whether the track record of "rational" beliefs for accurate prognostication is much better than that of "irrational" ones: "The history of apocalyptics and millenarianisms is littered with prophecies made and missed; but"—and here he notes Seymour Martin Lipset's oft-cited calculation that two-thirds or more of the predictions made by American social scientists between 1945 and 1980 proved mistaken—"so is the history of all inexact sciences." "If scores of eschatologists have proven mistaken," he concludes, "the answer is not that one of them will prove right one day, but that too many of them have proved too influential—destructive,

[29] Eviatar Zerubavel, *Hidden Rhythms: Schedules and Calendars in Social Life* (Chicago, 1981), xvi.
[30] Weber, *Apocalypses*, 50.
[31] Weber, *Apocalypses*, 232, 234.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

constructive, inspiring, consoling—and that it is foolish for historians to dismiss or, worse, to ignore them."[32]

LET ME NOW attempt to situate the issues discussed in a wider context. One of the things that has struck me most forcibly in pondering "end time" concerns is how deeply one's response to them is shaped by personal considerations. Although I think I am as preoccupied as most people with the possibilities of global devastation that now beset humankind, as a Jew (albeit a not very observant one), I feel very much outside the Christian understandings of "the millennium" (based on Revelation Chapter 20) that, explicitly or implicitly, figure in many of the contributions in *The Year 2000* and in *Apocalypses*. This sense of outsideness is doubtless reinforced by the circumstance that most of my Christian colleagues in the heavily secular academic setting I inhabit seem equally impervious to Christian millenarian concerns.

As a Jew, I am accustomed to the idea that, in addition to living at the end of the twentieth century, I also live, according to the Hebrew calendar, in the middle third of the fifty-eighth century. The resulting sense of the relative nature of different methods of reckoning the passage of time is, moreover, greatly augmented in my case by the fact that, as a long-time historian of China most of whose research has been in the late Qing period, before official China's adoption of the Gregorian calendar, I am constantly faced with the necessity of converting Chinese lunar dates into the solar dating system used in the West. Thus, although I of course think in terms of centuries all the time and am completely comfortable doing so, my feeling for the arbitrariness—the constructedness—of this (or any other) form of time measurement is perhaps stronger than that of many Americans.

As a student of a society not part of the Christian West, I also cannot help wondering how a Chinese might respond to the books here scrutinized. Like other peoples throughout the world—Vietnamese, Javans, Melanesians, Jews in the time of the Maccabean Revolt, to name only a few—the Chinese are familiar with "millenarianism," broadly defined according to Norman Cohn as any religious movement inspired by a vision of salvation that is collective, terrestrial, imminent, total, and brought about by supernatural agencies.[33] Chinese millenarianism has been no stranger, moreover, to apocalyptic, "end-of-the-world" doctrines,[34] and, indeed, during certain periods, such ideas appear to have been adhered to by a

[32] Weber, *Apocalypses*, 239.

[33] Cohn, "Medieval Millenarianism," 30; also Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, rev. and expanded edn. (New York, 1970), 15–16.

[34] The pioneer American student of Chinese millenarianism is Susan Naquin. See especially her *Millenarian Rebellion in China: The Eight Trigrams Uprising of 1813* (New Haven, Conn., 1976). During the late imperial era of Chinese history (Ming and Qing), millenarianism typically manifested itself in uprisings of the White Lotus sects, mainly of Buddhist inspiration but also containing elements of Manichean and Daoist influence. See Noguchi Tetsurō, "A Genealogy of Millenarian Movements in China," in Ishii Yoneo, ed., *Millenarianism in Asian History* (Tokyo, 1993), 25–53. On the earlier history of Chinese millenarianism, see David Ownby, "Chinese Millenarian Traditions: The Formative Age," *AHR* 104 (December 1999): 1513–30.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sizable segment of the population.[35] But the millenarian uprisings that have occurred in Chinese history have, it hardly needs stating, not been tied to the Western calendar or, for that matter, to "millennia" of any sort.[36] So, although Chinese might recognize some of the religious phenomena described in books like *The Year 2000* and *Apocalypses*,[37] they would be unlikely to associate them, literally or symbolically, with the time reckoning embodied in the Gregorian calendar.

The reason for this needs some elaboration. After all, in China today, as in much of the rest of the world, time, in the public arena, is generally measured by standard Western dating.[38] The Gregorian calendar was adopted officially with the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912 (though, ironically, the event that ushered the republic into being is still typically referred to in Chinese by its cyclical lunar year date as the *Xinhai* [1911] Revolution). The embrace of Western chronology was viewed at the time as a mark of progressiveness. It was a way of differentiating the new era from what had gone before and also a symbolic declaration of China's having become a member of the world community.[39] Modern-spirited intellectuals, though well aware of the Gregorian calendar's Christian origins, argued that they were immaterial since all countries used the calendar and, in doing so, disregarded or were completely unconscious of its Christian links.[40] The Western calendar was a marker for the modern world; for

[35] Certainly, this was true of the early medieval period (*ca.* 200–600 CE), which Ownby characterizes as "an apocalyptic age par excellence." "Chinese Millenarian Traditions," 1515.

[36] This was true even of the Christian-influenced Taiping movement, which adopted a calendar that was different from both the traditional Chinese calendar and the Western. Most important for our purposes, Year One for the Taipings was not the year of Jesus' birth (as in the Gregorian calendar) but the first year of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom (1851). On the Taiping calendar, see Franz Michael with Chung-li Chang, comps., *The Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents*, Vol. 2: *Documents and Comments* (Seattle, 1971), 321–23. Buddhist-inspired millenarian uprisings in Chinese history have generally been tied to the transition from one *kalpa* (a subdivision of time in the Indian tradition) to another. Naquin, *Millenarian Rebellion in China*, 10–14. Although, historically, ample confusion has existed in the Christian West itself with respect to millennial counting, there has been general agreement that the word millennium refers to "a thousand-year period of blessedness," either following the Second Coming of Christ (pre-millennialism) or preceding it (postmillennialism). F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3d edn. (Oxford, 1997), 1086; see also Weber, *Apocalypses*, 147, 172.

[37] Another recent publication that addresses these phenomena is David S. Katz and Richard H. Popkin, *Messianic Revolution: Radical Religious Politics to the End of the Second Millennium* (New York, 1999). In an effort to account for the events at Waco and Oklahoma City, Katz and Popkin trace the roots of Messianic revolution from Joachim of Fiore of the twelfth century to Hal Lindsey in the twentieth. Despite their differences, both men, they note, were driven to ransack the Bible in search of divine clues to the course of history and the time of its prophetic end.

[38] A partial exception is the Republic of China on Taiwan, which uses the solar calendar but begins counting years with the republic's first year (*Zhonghua minguo yinian* or *yuannian*) (1912).

[39] For stimulating commentary on the relationship between calendrical change and community identity, see Eviatar Zerubavel, "Easter and Passover: On Calendars and Group Identity," *American Sociological Review* 47 (April 1982): 284–89; see also *Hidden Rhythms*, 70–100.

[40] See, for example, Qian Xuantong, "Lun Zhongguo dang yong shijie gongli jinian" [China should use the Gregorian calendar to record the years], *Xin qingnian* [New youth] 6, no. 6 (November 1, 1919): 625–30. By analogy, since the Gregorian calendrical reform, which was sponsored by and named after a pope, took place in 1582, at the height of the Reformation, Protestants initially rejected it as a peculiarly Catholic institution. During the next two centuries, however, in response to the strong trend toward international standardization of temporal reference, Protestant countries adopted the Gregorian calendar one by one, clearly no longer perceiving it as Catholic. On this, as well as the broader trend toward desacralization of the Gregorian calendar and its transformation into a universal instrument of time measurement, see Zerubavel, *Hidden Rhythms*, 98–100.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chinese committed to joining this world, therefore, its appropriation was a matter of no small import.

But to this day, almost a hundred years after the adoption of the Gregorian calendar, in important sectors of Chinese life the lunar calendar still predominates, not only in the diurnal and seasonal cycles of the lives of poorly educated rural folk but as well among highly educated city-dwellers.[41] Almanacs with the lunar calendar continue to be consulted widely for a variety of purposes even in the most "advanced" parts of the Chinese world.[42] Countless Chinese, in all Chinese cultural locales, still follow the lunar dating in the celebration of their birthdays and the New Year and other holidays. Indeed, in 1999, in ultramodern Hong Kong, *after* its incorporation as a Special Administrative Region into the People's Republic of China, the birthday of the Buddha (the eighth day of the fourth month of the lunar year) was, for the first time, made a public holiday.[43]

In short, many—perhaps most—Chinese, even at the end of the twentieth century, live in "dual time" (to borrow Leo Ou-fan Lee's apt phrase).[44] Although my focus here is on China, moreover, it seems clear that this insight is equally applicable to many other parts of the world beyond the West,[45] that, indeed, it is the Christian West that, insofar as it operates according to and is generally conscious of only one calendar, one measure of time,[46] is in the minority in today's world. In predominantly Muslim societies and in Vietnam, to cite two examples, the Gregorian calendar is widely used in urban and public settings. But Vietnamese also observe major holidays such as the Buddha's birthday and the New Year according to the lunar calendar, and Muslims, in important areas of their lives, follow a linear lunar year beginning with the Hegira in 622, so that, for example, the holy month

[41] There are various Chinese ways of recording the passage of time in accordance with the solar-adjusted lunar year. Although, prior to the republic, reign years were commonly used to record year dates, a sexagenary cycle of sixty paired characters was already widely used in the late Shang dynasty (1200–1045 BCE) and was gradually extended in subsequent centuries to count months and hours as well as years. The sexagenary (*ganzhi*) system is still in general use, along with numerical counting (the third day of the fourth month, for example) and the popular twelve-animal cycle for naming years. For an excellent recent summary of Chinese calendars and time-recording systems, see Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual* (Cambridge, 1998), 170–98.

[42] For an informative, up-to-date introduction, see Richard J. Smith, *Chinese Almanacs* (Hong Kong, 1992).

[43] *South China Morning Post* (May 22, 1999): 5.

[44] Leo Ou-fan Lee, "Modernity and Secular Time in Chinese History," unpublished paper (cited with author's permission).

[45] Actually, it is not uncommon for people to be aware of more than two calendars, even though they may abide by only two in their own lives. Some Muslim states, in addition to the lunar Hegira calendar (see below in the text) and the Gregorian calendar, also use a solar Hegira calendar. In Israel, three calendars are widely recognized: the solar Gregorian, the lunisolar Hebrew, and the lunar Muslim. In Egypt, along with the Gregorian and the lunar Hegira calendars, the Coptic calendar (based on the ancient Egyptian solar calendar) is in use among the roughly 10 percent of the population who are Coptic Christians. V. V. Tsybulsky, *Calendars of Middle East Countries: Conversion Tables and Explanatory Notes* (Moscow, 1979), 7–8, 232, 237, 249. (The information in Tsybulsky's book, although extremely useful, is occasionally in need of updating.)

[46] A partial exception to this statement is the Easter holiday, which, in order to segregate it temporally from Passover Eve, which always falls on the full moon (Nisan 14), is observed on the Sunday *following* the full moon, thus tying it irrevocably to the lunar calendar (and ironically to the Jewish one as well) and making it into "a 'movable' festival vis-à-vis the Gregorian calendar year." Zerubavel, "Easter and Passover," 288.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Ramadan (the ninth lunar month) occurs at an earlier time in each successive year of the Gregorian calendar.

In certain parts of their lives, mostly the public and official ones, Chinese follow the Gregorian calendar; in other parts, above all, the personal, the social, and the religious, many of them still respond to the rhythms of the old lunar calendar (or, to be exact, the lunisolar calendar). Printed calendars and almanacs in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and to a growing extent on the Chinese mainland (despite the occasional expressions of displeasure from the state) incorporate both dating systems, distinguishing them by color, font, character size, and often the use of arabic numerals for Western dates and Chinese characters for traditional lunar dating.[47] For numerous Chinese, moving back and forth between the lunar and solar time worlds is a routine activity, involving little effort and generating no special tension or discomfort.

If we think of calendars as repositories of "social memory,"[48] what are the implications of these circumstances for Chinese responses to the millennial turn? Clearly, it is not a matter of the year 2000 having no significance whatever for Chinese. But the Western calendar is not the only time measure that possesses meaning in Chinese life; moreover, such meaning as it has is quite different, on the whole, from its meaning in the minds of many Westerners. There will be gala celebrations of the advent of the new millennium in Shanghai, Beijing, and other large Chinese cities. Sophisticated, plugged-in urbanites, determined to feel themselves part of the global scene, may be heard prattling knowingly about phenomena like the Falun Gong as signs of the millennial turn.[49] Educated Chinese who use computers have had, like everyone else, to address the Y2K problem. Publishers all over the country have been quick to capitalize on the cachet of "the year 2000" in new book titles. And in the western section of the Chinese capital, over a thousand workers, spurred on by NATO's May 7 bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, have labored day and night to complete the China Century Monument (Zhonghua Shiji Jinianguan), a center for cultural, artistic, and

[47] The new state calendar issued by the fledgling Republic of China in 1912 adopted the Gregorian system and "vigorously denounced the 'superstitious' elements of its predecessor, including the stipulation of lucky and unlucky days." While a succession of Chinese governments in the twentieth century, viewing themselves as apostles of modernity and destroyers of superstition, have fulminated against traditional almanacs and calendars, it has for the most part been a losing battle. Even in the People's Republic, in the 1980s and 1990s, as state pressure on society has moderated, the private printing of such materials has rapidly expanded and a flourishing commerce in imported calendars and almanacs has grown up, especially in the southern areas of the country. Smith, *Chinese Almanacs*, 18, 57–62. Lee, "Modernity and Secular Time in Chinese History," has an illuminating discussion of calendars, especially during the first half of the twentieth century, as embodiments of dual-time consciousness.

[48] Everett C. Hughes, *Men and Their Work* (Glencoe, Ill., 1958), 18. See also Eviatar Zerubavel, *Social Mindscapes: An Invitation to Cognitive Sociology* (Cambridge, 1997), 97–98. On the embodiment of Jewish social memory of such events as the Exodus and the destruction of the Temple in particular days—Passover and the Ninth of Av—that exist only within the Jewish calendar, and the view of some that such collective memories might be lost forever if this calendar were to be abandoned or reduced to insignificance by growing Jewish use of the Gregorian calendar, see Zerubavel, *Hidden Rhythms*, 74.

[49] Some Western press reports have asserted that the now outlawed Falun Gong spiritual movement, which attracted world notice in late April 1999 when thousands of its adherents demonstrated in the Chinese capital, espouses end-of-the-world notions. The representatives of the movement itself strongly deny this, claiming that such charges are part of a government campaign to discredit Li Hongzhi, the movement's founder. "Clarification of the Facts" (a statement distributed by the New York office of the Falun Dafa [Gong]) (n.d. [Summer 1999]). See also the interview with Li Hongzhi in *New York Times Magazine* (August 8, 1999): 20.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

scientific exhibitions "from home and abroad," described by a spokesperson as representing "not only an eternal memory of the turn of the millennium, but . . . most importantly, an inspiration to patriotism."[50]

At the end of the twentieth century, as at the start, in short, the Western calendar serves as a vehicle, partly practical, partly symbolic, for China's participation in a modern world order. But for the vast majority of Chinese, the Christian eschatological associations embedded in the Gregorian calendar, as understood in the West, are simply not present.[51] For the temporal expression of such deeply personal events as birth and death, of important religious occasions such as the birthdays of the Buddha and of village patron deities, and of cyclical holidays like the New Year, many Chinese still look to the lunar calendar.

In one sense, it is entirely appropriate that each of the four books discussed in this essay is overwhelmingly concerned with the West. Christian millenarianism and understanding time as a continuous flow of centuries and millennia beginning (purportedly) with the birth of Christ are, after all, quintessential attitudes of Western civilization.[52] What is inappropriate is the sense, conveyed explicitly or implicitly, that these attitudes have more universal currency, that they are global rather than primarily Western Christian. The allusion to Western arrogance made by the woman from Alpine, Texas, quoted at the beginning of this essay, contains an important measure of truth. It is not only Westerners who in today's world are troubled by the new possibilities of human and planetary destruction. (Although, at least in the Chinese case, I sense that the concern is not nearly as prevalent as it is in the West.) But these concerns, to the extent that they exist, are unlikely to be framed in parochially Western terms or to be linked to the particular mode of reckoning time that Westerners often think of as being carved in stone. As Westerners prepare to mark the turn of the new century and of the new millennium, therefore, it would be well for us to recognize that these events will not carry the same force in other parts of the world or, indeed, even in all parts of the West itself.

[50] Two things are noteworthy about the monument: first, the allusion in its name to the turn of the century, a well-established concept in Chinese (*shiji*), rather than of the millennium, which until recently many Chinese would have been hard put to come up with a term for, and, second, the spokesperson's explicit emphasis on the monument's patriotic meaning. See Han Yongqing, "Patriotism Speeds Monument Project," *China Daily Business Weekly* (May 16–22, 1999): 1.

[51] The most important exception to this generalization, I suspect, is the evangelical Christian community in China today.

[52] It is now widely accepted that Jesus was in fact born several years prior to the beginning of the "Christian era," and therefore his "real" two-thousandth birthday, exact date unknown, has already come and gone.

Paul A. Cohen is Edith Stix Wasserman Professor of Asian Studies and History at Wellesley College and an associate of the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, Harvard University. His books include *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past* (1984) and *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth* (1997), the latter the winner of the 1997 New England Historical Association Book Award and the AHA's 1997 John K. Fairbank Prize in East Asian History. Cohen's work has been translated into both Chinese and Japanese. He is currently doing research on the theme of national humilation in twentieth-century China.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

RUTH ROACH PIERSON and NUPUR CHAUDHURI, editors. *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*. Assisted by BETH MCAULEY. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 314. Cloth $29.95, paper $14.95.

This is a lively and interesting book that will attract readers from a variety of fields concerned with the history of gender. The able introduction by Ruth Roach Pierson runs through the major developments in the histories of women, imperialism (interpreted by editors Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri in its widest sense), and nationalism and situates the subsequent essays effectively for novice readers. For scholars familiar with studies in feminist and postcolonial historiography, the introduction reminds one why such work is still so necessary. The range of case studies offered requires most to read outside their areas of specialization: few scholars are expert in the histories of colonization, anti-imperialism, and nationalism specific to Iran, Japan, India, Canada, Ireland, and France—to name just a few of the territories covered by contributors. Those concerned with the ways that gender intersects with discourses of race, ethnicity, nation, and class will find much to interest them in the different examples discussed. An enquiring engagement with feminist historiography permeates the book, which originated in a conference of the International Federation for Research in Women's History. I was surprised to find several writers still positioning themselves against an earlier moment in imperial and women's historiography in which women travellers and pioneers were deemed to be outside the evils of racism and imperialism, but perhaps what passes for orthodoxy in cultural studies is still a very vibrant opposition viewpoint in some fields of history. All the contributors to this volume are specifically concerned with how discourses of nation are gendered and with how gender identities are racialized. The value of the book lies in the contrasts among different case studies, whose cumulative evidence of the endlessly variable interplay of gender and imperialism effectively steers the reader away from constructing any unifying narrative of gender, imperial, or postcolonial experience and identity.

Some chapters do tend toward the descriptive rather than the analytical, although the primary material is nonetheless of great interest. In some cases, the historiographical implications could have been subjected to further and more detailed discussion. But I also recognize that, when dealing with women's history in cases currently little-known, large amounts of space need to be given simply to recounting and making visible previously obscured traces of women's experience. I look forward to reading the larger projects of Patricia Grimshaw (on the differentiated oppression and representation of Maori and Aboriginal women) and Marilyn Lake (on the anti-sex discourse of feminists in the Australian frontier facing sexual aggression by white settler men) when they are able to flesh out the potentially intriguing questions raised by their contributions here.

All the contributors are animated by concerns to trace women's agency in history and to study the significance of images of women for discourses of national and ethnic identity. In her marvellous piece on Iran, Joanna de Groot demonstrates how, from the mid-nineteenth century to the present day, discourse of all political persuasions has used gender as a terrain on which to establish competing claims to national and/or religious authority. In many instances, she argues, the differences between political positions are less significant for women than the "power of discourse which . . . simultaneously entwined gender at the core of political language *and* marginalized the expression of women's autonomous interests" (p. 144). The ways in which the condition of women functions as a marker of national development or decay are revealed in this volume to be a feature of many competing discourses of national identity and emergent statehood. Breda Gray and Louise Ryan, writing on the ways in which a reactionary definition of the Irish/Catholic family was developed in the 1920s and 1930s to promote the homogenous image of a united Irish nation, provide a cautionary tale of both the need to reclaim women's history and the limits sometimes faced in trying to act on that knowledge. Arguing that the iconic status of the Irish/Catholic family has been used in the late twentieth century to promote anti-abortion and anti-divorce legislation (categorizing pro-choice women's groups as anti-Irish), they note that even though feminists are aware of the previous exclusion of wom-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

en's voices, the insights of feminist historiography have not been sufficiently powerful to help prevent the continued marginalization of women in the current peace process. The reconstruction of post-Liberation France is evaluated as a specifically racializing and gendered event by Karen Adler, whose nuanced piece on the experience of Jewish French women attends not only to the anomalous place of returning Jewish deportees in the universalizing of all French people as heroic resisters but also teases out the different attitudes within the Jewish community toward "French" and foreign Jews. The natalist policies that dominated discussions of women's role after the Liberation had no room for the Jewish mothers who had "passively" given up their children into Christian homes, prompting debates over whether such children—now potentially valuable to the state, having been assimilated into "proper" French citizens—should be reunited with the birth families that had "abandoned" them.

One of the strengths of the book is that its authors are able to assess female agency in terms of its historical moment, analyzing both women's complicity in imperial oppression (Rosalyn Terborg-Penn on white American suffragists' opposition to emancipation for Caribbean women) and the sometimes bewildering public participation of women in the ethnocentric violence of postcolonial politics (Tanika Sakar on the increasing public involvement of women in the anti-Muslim campaigns of the Hindu Right). The book also examines gender in its full sense, tackling the construction of imperial masculinities as well as femininities, such as Karen Dubinsky's account of the gendered commodification of the natural world through Niagara Falls tourism and its complex racialized social relations (including contact not just with natives but also with African and Irish Americans). So, although I was at times frustrated by a book that sometimes promised more than it could deliver, I am persuaded of the value and usefulness of a volume dedicated to exploring the connections between the mutually constituting discourses of race, nation, class, and gender, which also foregrounds the situatedness of its own historiography.

Reina Lewis
University of East London

Roger Horowitz and Arwen Mohun, editors. *His and Hers: Gender, Consumption, and Technology*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1998. Pp. vi, 240. Cloth $49.50, paper $18.50.

During the last decade, many historians of technology have questioned both management-driven and neo-Marxist approaches to consumption. Rejecting the notion that corporations easily manipulate consumers, the eight contributors to this volume show that manufacturers of glassware, chocolates, phonographs, radios, and appliances made false starts and had to struggle to interpret consumer desires. Their well-written essays, which focus on North America between 1840 and 1960, demonstrate the value of analyzing consumption as both a material and a cultural process. They found active consumers who collectively engaged in complex negotiations with producers, facilitated by mediators such as home economists working for utilities and buyers for department stores.

An excellent introduction by Steven Lubar attacks the schematic opposition between male production and female consumption, discussing examples of women as producers, men as consumers, and shared leisure activities, in which the dichotomy breaks down. Lubar concludes that the form, meaning, and use of technologies are all negotiated and that a complex chain of meanings, including gender attributions, is embedded in any product as it passes through design, manufacture, marketing, purchase, and use.

Molly Berger tests and complicates this hypothesis as applied to the antebellum luxury hotel, which was divided between utilitarian production (lower class) and luxurious consumption (often female, upper class). Promoters assigned a technological, male identity to these buildings with their steam heat, gaslight, refrigeration, enormous kitchens, and laundries. Yet even the ostensibly male-controlled public rooms were feminized in decor. For both sexes, this early palace of consumption was a hybrid of "male" technology and "female" decoration, undermining separate spheres. For women, the luxury hotel was at once a gateway to and a shelter from society.

Gail Cooper challenges the customary focus on the automotive industry as the paradigm for mass production. Chocolate candy manufacturers expanded from seven small firms in 1880 to more than 100 by 1920. Growth led not to consolidation but to product differentiation. Women largely replaced men on production lines. Men joined women as consumers, stimulated by distribution of chocolate rations during World War I. As occasional holiday consumption shifted toward a regular habit by the 1920s, an active and largely female consumer's movement demanded shorter hours for workers and, in the later 1920s, focused on better sanitation. The result was greater mechanization to achieve cleanliness, deskilling female hand-dippers: clearly not a simple variant of the automotive story.

James C. Williams illuminates the shift (between 1910 and 1922) from male salesmen to home economists and other female mediating figures, as utilities sought to market electrical appliances to housewives. In order to create demand during the off-peak daytime hours, they had difficulty using an all-male sales force whose members did not understand what cooking and cleaning involved. Louis Carlat takes up a similar subject, the re-gendering of radio, which was a largely male hobby in 1922 but a centerpiece of the living room by the early 1930s. Changes is cabinet design and shifts in programing and marketing "feminized" the technology.

These lessons had been forgotten by the 1950s, when Canadian manufacturers relied on men to design and sell counter-high "streamlined" stoves. Joy Parr found

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that a cadre of Canadian consumers and home economists strove to convince them that women needed a high oven, but their prototypes did not seem "functional" and only became popular after the passing of the "laboratory look." The critique of the back-breaking low oven was correct, but it long failed to shift consumer taste away from reigning American styles. In contrast, Regina Lee Blaszczyk tells a story of successful interpretation of consumers. The Fostoria Glass Company used the "Cinderella" romance to retain market share in formal table and stemware. Fostoria maintained a large product line through labor-intensive manufacturing and, relying on female expert interpreters such as department store buyers, sold to new brides who wanted to enact the older gender roles of housekeeper, handmaiden, and hostess. They marketed tableware as being spiritually important to building middle-class family values. Lisabeth Cohen's concluding essay on the emergence of shopping malls in New Jersey rounds off the theme of the feminization of consumption, but Cohen deals less directly with technology than the other authors. Her forthcoming book on mass consumption could respond more directly to Lubar's essay.

Although this volume, edited by Roger Horowitz and Arwen Mohun, originated in a conference, it coheres better than most such works and is essential reading for historians who seek to link technology, consumption, and gender.

DAVID E. NYE
Odense University, Denmark

FRITZ RINGER. *Max Weber's Methodology: The Unification of the Cultural and Social Sciences*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 188. $35.00.

At a time when the sheer quantity of Weber scholarship threatens to overwhelm all but the core specialists and cognoscenti, Fritz Ringer has written a work that fully deserves to stand out from the crowd. Ringer's most striking achievement is to do two things well that are often successfully done separately, but rarely together. He offers both a rich account of the intellectual and institutional context in which Weber's methodology was developed and a critical analytical discussion of the philosophical implications of its central principles. One would expect a skilled history of ideas from the author of *The Decline of the German Mandarins* (1969), but the analytical discussion is no less impressive and informative. Given Ringer's view that Weber was both the product of the context in which he worked and transcended that context through the imaginative and innovative synthesis of its intellectual components, he was honor bound to offer both the historical and analytical parts of the story.

According to Ringer, Weber inherited the problems and partial solution to questions of social scientific methodology that he then systematically tackled. Not despite but precisely because he was a practicing social scientist working across the fields of economics, comparative history, and sociology rather than a philosopher—and thus constantly engaged with the practical consequences of adopting this or that philosophical principle—his efforts, though not always clear, were richer and more fruitful than those of many of his rivals, either before or since. Among the dilemmas Weber sought to address, the following are central: how do you give full weight to the differences between the natural and social sciences without slipping into the kind of subjectivism to which his neo-Kantian contemporaries were prone? How can the social sciences offer generalized explanations of social phenomena while allowing for the uniqueness of historical events? How can you construct an account of human action that offers an adequate subjective and rational reconstruction of agents' motivations? Ringer shows how Weber's dissatisfaction with the solutions available to him drove his methodological interests. One interesting aspect of Ringer's analysis here is that he identifies Weber's fellow sociologist Georg Simmel as a stronger influence on the direction of his thinking than philosophers such as Heinrich Rickert or Wilhelm Dilthey.

Although Ringer discusses such familiar Weberian concepts—or adaptations—as the ideal type, value freedom, and the typology of rational action, possibly the most interesting aspect of the book is its emphasis on Weber's attempt to develop a coherent account of "singular causal analysis." This, too, was part of his effort to square philosophical circles in a way that could furnish social science with a workable methodology. Here Ringer argues that the solution Weber offers is an advance on the kind of Humean accounts of causality that have given rise to theories of "covering laws." Weber was enough of a social scientist to want something more than narrative history, but enough of a historian to recognize that covering law-type explanations simply will not do (Archduke Franz Ferdinand only gets assassinated once). His analysis of singular causality is closer to H. L. A. Hart's and A. M. Honore's view that causal claims are grounded in loose (sometimes platitudinous) generalization and broad counterfactuals rather than in law-like generalizations. For Weber, however, this does not exclude the possibility of a rigorous method for constructing hypothetical and counterfactual paths of development against which the actual course of events can be assessed, a notion similar to the familiar ideal type.

Ringer's conclusion from his investigations is that Weber "broke through the barrier between interpretation and causal explanation . . . But it is of utmost importance that *he could not have done this under a literally deductive-nomological model* of causal explanation" (p. 170). The book's subtitle hints at the contemporary relevance of Weber's contribution and suggests, too, that its author is motivated by more than a desire to offer the world a coherent account of Weber's methodology. But Ringer is too conscientious a histo-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rian of ideas to give the game away until the very end: "frankly, I sometimes wonder whether the heat of our purely intra-academic cultural wars may cause us to neglect the norms of reason—and the quest for clarity—that our culture needs more urgently than anything else. Following Weber, I am inclined to conclude with something like a plea of 'intellectual rectitude'" (p. 174).

ALAN SCOTT
University of Innsbruck

JOHN LUKACS. *The Hitler of History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1997. Pp. xiv, 279. $26.00.

Adolf Hitler's name carries a multitude of predicates: Revolutionary, Reactionary, Statesman, Strategist, Racist, Anti-Semite, Pan-German . . . In nine chapters, John Lukacs has covered most of them, though the one attribute of Hitler he clearly favors over the others is that of a revolutionary leader. It is not an easy task at all. How can historians standing on the right like Reiner Zitelmann (even the notorious David Irving) be allowed to speculate about the "Revolutionary Hitler!?" Lukacs, however, does not care. He is enjoying the challenge. His long footnotes with trenchant comments are often more interesting than the text itself—although American readers might find this arrangement inconvenient, as well as his peculiar system of referring to books and authors by capital letters only.

Although Lukacs has treated Hitler in his earlier books (*Historical Consciousness or the Remembered Past* [1968], *The Last European War: September 1939–December 1941* [1976], and *The Duel* [1991]), this time Hitler is the ultimate challenge for him, "the most extraordinary figure in the history of the twentieth century." Yet his book is not just another biography; it is more of a historiographical survey, explicitly inspired by the motto found in Gerhard Schreiber's *Hitler: Interpretationen 1923–1983* (1988): "We are not finished with Hitler yet."

In the first chapter, Lukacs surveys the better-known biographies of Hitler, commencing with Konrad Heiden, published outside Germany in the late 1930s, and culminating in the seminal biographies by Alan Bullock, Werner Maser, Joachim Fest, and John Toland. Without really understanding it, he is hostile to Andreas Hillgruber's "Program" school with its "Stufenplan" concept. Touching upon the controversy between the "Intentionalists" and "Functionalists" (terms invented in 1978 by the late Tim Mason), Lukacs moves quickly through the tedious stages of the *Historikerstreit* epitomized by bitter polemics between two camps, one led by conservative scholars Ernst Nolte and Hillgruber, the other by the radical political scientist Jürgen Habermas. One of the central themes in this bitter debate was Nolte's unfortunate claim that Germany was unfairly singled out as the originator of modern Holocaust, when the older Soviet Gulag system had been even more brutal.

In the chapter "Crystallization: Vienna and/or Munich?" Lukacs has selected four key subjects that Hitler is believed to have altered or falsified in *Mein Kampf* (1925): his relationship with his father, the material circumstances of his life in Vienna, his intellectual formation (especially the origins of Hitler's anti-Semitism, which Lukacs calls "Judeophobia"), and, finally, the year he left Vienna for Munich. Lukacs regards the reason for Hitler's Judeophobia as a still unresolved mystery. After carefully separating hard evidence from gossip, Lukacs, in agreement with Eberhard Jäckel, comes to the sensible conclusion that there is no direct proof that Hitler was obsessed with Judeophobia prior to 1919. On this point, as well as many others, Hitler used a subterfuge in *Mein Kampf*.

Chapter three, dealing with two contradictory Hitlers: "Reactionary and/or Revolutionary," is the key chapter in the book. Leading functionalists (e.g. Hans Mommsen) might consider the idea of Hitler as a revolutionary to be the ultimate heresy. This shows how Eurocentric scholars of German history still are. Asian revolutionaries recognized Hitler as their paragon long ago. When the Indian revolutionary Subhas Chandra Bose met Hitler in May 1942, he addressed Hitler as an "Old Revolutionary." Concerning this, Lukacs makes what he calls a "shocking statement": "He may have been the most popular revolutionary leader in the history of the modern world . . . because Hitler belongs to the democratic, not the aristocratic age of history . . . he was able to energize the majority of a great people, in his lifetime the most educated people of the world, convincing them to follow his leadership to astonishing achievements and extraordinary efforts and making them believe that what they (and he) stood for was an antithesis of evil. He led them to prosperity and pride, inspiring in them a confidence with which they conquered almost all of Europe, achieving a German hegemony soon lost because he overreached himself. His Reich, which was to have lasted a thousand years, ended after twelve; yet he had an enormous impact and left a more indelible mark upon this century than any other dictator, a Lenin or a Stalin or a Mao" (p. 50).

In fact, this is the best summary of Lukacs's book.

MILAN HAUNER
University of Leipzig

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

THOMAS T. ALLSEN. *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles*. (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 137. $49.95.

Much scholarship on Central Asia has focused on the Silk Route as a medium of contact and cultural diffusion between Middle Eastern (later Islamic) societies and China, similar to the Mediterranean Sea's relation to Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trade routes that transverse the area have been known and used since the period of Alexander the Great and indeed have served as conduits to bring things Eastern to people in the Middle East and the West. Yet Central Asia differs vastly from the Mediterranean in that it contains large nomadic and sedentary populations who transformed many of the goods, ideas, and transit populations to fit their own needs. Thus, when they reached China or Iran, goods, ideas, and people had filtered through a Central Asian sieve and reached their destinations significantly altered.

Thomas T. Allsen's book focuses on the adaptation of Iranian gold-embroidered cloth, *nasij*, by the Mongols in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. He demonstrates that the demand for *nasij* resulted in the movement of weavers from Iran into the various centers of Mongol administration from Central Asia to China. Allsen speculates that, eventually, either these weavers settled permanently in China or local weavers learned their particular skills and began producing the same or similar cloth. Probably both occurred. Allsen argues convincingly that the Mongols adapted *nasij* to their own ceremonial practices and to their images of the exercise of royal power among their important military and administrative retainers. He goes to unusual and perhaps unnecessary lengths to establish the use of cloth as a sumptuary item throughout known Iranian, Byzantine, Central Asian, and Chinese history and then provides specific details for the unique Mongol adaptation and use.

Given the difficulties in language training and in the study of at least three distinct cultural areas, it is rare to find a scholar who can use ably the wide variety of available sources. In addition to Chinese, Turkic languages, and Persian, Allsen also makes extensive use of Russian sources and those in other modern European languages. He apologizes for a colleague's help in translating Latin sources. In addition to his ease in Iranian, Chinese, and Mongol histories, he also includes recent theoretical developments from the fields of anthropology, art history, textile studies, archeology, and global history in this analysis of the implications of the production, movement, and use of *nasij*. Methodologically, this book combines the best features of "orientalism" with modern, or so-called "postmodernist" theory.

This book is a major contribution to Mongol history; to the history of textile production, use, and exchange; to the study of the Central Asian steppe; and to the more general problems associated with cultural exchange and interaction. Allsen rejects simplistic models of cultural diffusion and insists on the complexity and constant modification of goods as they are used by different people in distinct political and cultural settings. More specifically, he emphasizes the participation of nomadic peoples in the process of exchange along the Silk Routes and argues that their roles in shaping the history of Eurasia have been minimized by previous historians.

Because its scope is limited to a particular textile, this is probably not the book to introduce a general or student audience to the complexities of cultural interaction among Turko-Mongols, Iranians, and Chinese in Central Asia. Nevertheless, when the scholar comes along who seeks to replicate Ferdinand Braudel's work on the Mediterranean Sea in a Central Asian context, that scholar will most certainly have to rely on Allsen's book, both factually and conceptually, for a comprehensible overview of this important and neglected subject.

LEONARD HELFGOTT
Western Washington University

PAVLA MILLER. *Transformations of Patriarchy in the West, 1500–1900*. (Interdisciplinary Studies in History.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1998. Pp. xviii, 397. $35.00.

A book with this title represents an ambitious project, and Pavla Miller has acquitted herself well in the undertaking. Eschewing a philosophical discussion of changing theories and concepts of patriarchy, Miller has sketched a bold picture of the shift from a premodern patriarchalist social order to a more fraternal, modern social-political organization depending on mass education to preserve social order and facilitate state governance. This book contributes less to the study of patriarchy and more to the role of education in establishing modern Western societies. Relying on English-language secondary works, Miller concentrates her analysis on studies of Britain, France, Germany, Canada, Australia, and the United States, showing diversity and differential developments across geography and chronology. It is unsurprising that gender and class emerge as the fundamental categories of analysis in this account of changing patriarchal forms of governance, but Miller also pays special attention to age and generational differences.

Miller imposes a sensible organizational framework on such a vast topic. The first three chapters briefly outline the development and subsequent decline of a patriarchal social order in the premodern world. These are the finest chapters, impressive in their scope, analysis, and theoretical underpinnings. Miller argues that patriarchalism was the effective means to organize relationships of property, population, and politics; it also enabled rulers to consolidate power. Patriarchy governed relations between gender and class and provided the framework for social discipline, affirming the power of men over women and children. Yet elements of instability were present. The patriarchal household did not always form the best basis for state power. Furthermore, centralizing state bureaucracies began to expand, undermining the dominance of the patriarchal household while also relying on patriarchal households and forms of government. The American, French, and Industrial Revolutions transformed societies, according to Miller, leading to the breakdown of patriarchalist rule and the rise of "fully proletarian families" (pp. xvii, 261). These families were without

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

masters exerting patriarchal authority; therefore, in order to preserve the social order, new forms of governance looked to education to "civilize" the poor and moralize their children.

Roughly two-thirds of the book deals with various methods of education. Miller's analysis, informed by an eclectic mix of Marxist and feminist theory along with some conceptualization based on the writings of Michel Foucault and Norbert Elias, examines the civilizing process that the middle class organized over the poor as part of nation building. In the nineteenth century, Miller argues, nation building via education further transformed patriarchy into public institutions that may indeed have been more fraternal than patriarchal. Education was meant to teach the masterless working people how to internalize bourgeois ideals. The state and bourgeois capitalist authorities attempted to enforce discipline, especially self-discipline and moral character formation, through schooling. Attuned to regional differences, Miller shows that education and nation building developed unevenly. Moreover, schools did not always have the desired effect on working people. Education led to the remaking of unequal gender relations. Giving careful attention to issues of gender and age, Miller shows how the laboring poor used the educational systems somewhat to their own advantage, and she outlines the impact schooling had on their lives. She astutely observes that schooling led to new concepts of childhood among the laboring poor. The last chapter, focusing on demography, illustrates that more varieties of patriarchy developed.

The title of this book is misleading, since the core of this work examines how dominant political and social groups tried to establish their desired forms of social order through education. There are also two important subthemes. Miller shows how violence often accompanies a patriarchy as men try to assert authority over wives and children. This violence persisted at least through 1900, especially among the laboring poor. Moreover, violence was not confined within families; the government's use of violence, such as teachers' infliction of fear and physical pain on noncompliant children, often accompanied the construction of a nation. Her other theme modifies the idea of social control through education. Miller is intent on demonstrating the refusal of working-class men and women to become victims; she insists that the agency of those being educated had a profound effect on the process of social change. In the final chapter, Miller comes close to making the point that women's control of fertility spelled a significant decrease of patriarchal power. She concludes, however, that the fertility decline of the end of the nineteenth century signified new power and dependency relations within the family, alongside changing perceptions of childhood and motherhood among all classes.

Using schooling and education as a means to assimilate or to introduce a marginal group to the dominant codes of morality and social behavior is a hallmark of modern Western social and political behavior. Volumes have been written on this subject, and Miller has employed them well, carefully integrating other studies to show general patterns and regional differences. Furthermore, she demonstrates that the agency of women and workers rendered efforts at social discipline less than smooth. Although allowing for the strength of bourgeois discourses and educational reform programs, Miller argues that the agency of the laboring people made a crucial difference. This book enables the non-specialist to grapple with the complex picture of education and social control.

RACHEL G. FUCHS
Arizona State University

GESA MACKENTHUN. *Metaphors of Dispossession: American Beginnings and the Translation of Empire, 1492–1637.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 370. $32.95.

Gesa Mackenthun has written a sophisticated and engaging book, as impressive in the richness of its materials as in the range and vigor of its argumentation. Although many of the sources examined will be only too familiar to scholars of the early modern period, it is seldom that themes as disparate as the legend of Prince Madoc, the myth of Quetzalcoatl's return, the coronation of Powhatan, the Roanoke massacre, the conversion and marriage of Pocahontas, and the various accounts of the Pequot War have been presented and discussed with such thoroughness and rigor, and made to fit so neatly within a generally coherent hypothesis.

A premise that helps to give the book its unifying thread is the often-overlooked continuity between Spanish and English accounts of their encounters with America. "[T]he crucial role of Spain," argues Mackenthun, "as both precursor and rival of English action, has been neglected by the history of ideas." Such "historiographical blindness . . . has become intolerable in a period marked by both decolonization and a heightened awareness of neo-colonial dependencies." Hence the author's aim to "attempt to present part of the 'hidden heritage' of early American history that is both transcultural and translational" (p. 9).

This is a brave undertaking, demanding the mastery of a wide range of sources in languages and disciplines not commonly found together. The thoroughness with which Mackenthun accomplishes this task is quite admirable, and in the process she also succeeds in opening a number of new vistas. It is fascinating, for instance, that whereas France and Holland had been easily swayed by anti-Spanish propaganda as early as the 1580s, the attitude of the English propagandists remained measured and ambivalent, often omitting references to Spanish cruelty and evoking the deeds of Hérnan Cortés and Francisco Pizarro with unconcealed admiration. In the late sixteenth century, Mackenthun argues, Spain was not so much a rival as a "precursor and model of English colonial action and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ideology" (p. 66). It was not until after 1600 that a more independent English colonial discourse began to emerge. The texts of Walter Ralegh and Thomas Harriot, therefore, seem to Mackenthun to support Michel Foucault's thesis of an epistemic transformation around 1600: they point to the emergence of a "lack of moral conscience" that "would increase in the English colonial discourse at the beginning of the seventeenth century" (p. 192).

Although Mackenthun is careful to nuance such apparently rash acceptance of theory, it is unlikely that this and similar arguments will be widely accepted. Often they seem to derive from a theoretical framework that does not always appear consistent. Mackenthun's central preoccupation is what might be called the dangers of textolatry. Texts, she frequently reminds us, are selective and incomplete. All representation is distorted. Scholars who work with texts, therefore, must never lose sight of the "pre-textual reality," systematically occluded by a "dualist logic . . . that denies the existence of non-European forms of history and narrative" (p. 4). The challenge, she argues, is to overcome the conflict between the text taken at face value and the text as cultural construct. The danger "consists less in combining a positivist with a textualist approach than in the absence of a metatheoretical guideline for how the two might be combined" (pp. 10–11). Many readers will interpret this as an implicit offer to provide such a metatheoretical guideline, but Mackenthun is reluctant to address the problem. Having accepted that "distortion is the common fate of all representation," she seems happy to conclude that "any simple notion of truth loses its analytical importance" (p. 12).

This premise can be useful and even persuasive in the context of the importance of the "pre-text," or as a useful defense of the value of historical speculation. In her excellent discussion of the myth of Quetzalcoatl's return, for instance, Mackenthun concludes that although "the reality of 1520 cannot be grasped today in any satisfactory way" (p. 129), we can still attempt to speculate about the pre-Cortesian myth, taking comfort in the fact that the dominant historiography is "hardly less speculative" (p. 130). But the reader will inevitably wonder how the parameters are being drawn and how far speculation may go. After all, when the development of a myth can be traced reasonably accurately, as in the case of Madoc, Mackenthun is happy to adopt a comfortably positivist perspective, dismissing the story of Madoc's voyage as an "amateurish attempt at historical mythmaking" (p. 34). Did she wonder whether she was giving "simple notions of truth" too much "analytical importance"?

Fernando Cervantes
University of Bristol

Robin Blackburn. *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern 1492–1800*. New York: Verso, 1997. Pp. v, 602.

Robin Blackburn, editor of the *New Left Review* and admired for his *Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848* (1988), brilliantly synthesizes a massive secondary literature on England, Europe, the Atlantic economy, and the Atlantic Americas into an arresting account of the complex alchemy of creating golden modernity from monarchical lead. He weaves culture, identities, politics and war, and subtle economic insight into a richly textured process running from the fifteenth century to the Age of Revolutions. As new worlds in America stimulated Old World slavery, plantations and commercial credit turned American slaveries into something novel, and modern consumerist, capitalist culture and its pervasive materiality—commodities themselves, as well as currency values—became the distinctive elements in eighteenth-century accumulation in England that left Britain and its empire dominant by 1800 in the Atlantic, perhaps in the world.

Blackburn anchors his story in Marxian analysis, but the book's genius lies in its freedom from the structural abstractions that for too long characterized both Marxian and non-Marxian attempts to explain this "great transformation." All here is dialectical process, contradictions, and subtleties. Specialists will find that the historicized contexts thus created allow Blackburn to clarify most of the academic conundrums created by overdrawing typological contrasts, including many beyond the book's ultimate elaboration on Eric Williams's linking of English *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944).

To extract single thematic threads from a fabric that derives such strength from complexity obviously betrays the book's accomplishment. Still, an overview of its narrative architecture may suggest its utility to teachers and researchers. Blackburn starts by contrasting the controlled, ranked identities of late medieval Europe, expanded by absolutist monarchs to "baroque" exaggeration in religion, race, and nationality, against the dynamism of credit and commerce that grew out of the kings' failure—particularly in England—to contain the increased scale of Atlantic trade. Slaves in the Old World, scattered throughout Africa and Islamic lands, as well as Europe, tended to reinforce existing communities of family, royal houses, or lineage. But the massiveness of the forced resettlement of Africans among Europeans in America left them exposed to rationalizing impulses of industrial (albeit rural) discipline before 1700 or so. Plantations, monopoly companies, and colonies provided controlled laboratories for early investment and management, and the resulting inhumanities and fears provoked increasingly racialized justifications for abuses all too evident in an age not yet inured to the "discipline" of wages.

In the first half of the book, Blackburn distinguishes the courses taken by the Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch to show how each was positioned to take its own lead at the time it did. The second half shows how the late English entrants in the race, free to pursue accumulative rationality to its pitiless extreme in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

West Indies, prevailed. The French, coming still later onto the scene, calculated exploitation in Saint-Domingue even more finely, but the continental monarchy diverted the gains to renovating baroque absolutism rather than leaving them to transform production. The concluding chapter is a lengthy, tour-de-force dissection of "extended primitive accumulation" as historical process in England, distinguishing and accenting the many direct and indirect contributions of Atlantic trade. New World slavery served crucially as "the first least-camouflaged expression of . . . capitalist logic" (p. 554).

A half century of scholarship on this Atlantic drama has stimulated some of the most innovative recent work in the historical discipline. Blackburn's consistently historical logic comprehends it all, contextualizing actors in the circumstances that motivated them, rejecting simplistic correlations of abstract, isolated "factors" to show the opportunities and costs created by having to select from among them all, with consequences of every choice spreading beyond the control of those forced to choose. No one will soon exceed the integrity, erudition, and elegance of expression of Blackburn's synthesis, and a generation of scholars working in European, African, American, and world history will have to take it into account.

The book's broad scope and historicized method establish a model that globalized regional and national histories, Atlantic history, and world history can all follow beneficially. Blackburn is able to show everyone's distinctive hands on the making of New World slavery, including—though more reactively—the slaves'. Although benefits from the labor discipline of modern slavery went disproportionately, if not totally, into the hands of the European few, by 1800, as this book ends, American-born slaves were replacing Africans and, as Blackburn showed on a previous occasion, with American masters also succeeding metropolitan politicians, were inadvertently conspiring to "overthrow . . . colonial slavery."

JOSEPH C. MILLER
University of Virginia

KEVIN PHILLIPS. *The Cousins' Wars: Religion, Politics, and the Triumph of Anglo-America*. New York: BasicBooks. 1999. Pp. xxviii, 707. $32.50.

It would be easy to caricature the argument of this book as anglocentric, old-fashioned, and triumphalist. But although anglocentered, Kevin Phillips's account is neither old-fashioned nor triumphalist. Phillips presents a meditation on the emergence of Great Britain and the United States, treating them as one historical unit. He makes three major points. First, civil warfare was essential to the creation of both the English and the American national polities. Second, there is more than casual continuity from the English Civil War through the American Revolution to the American Civil War. Each, he suggests, gave rise to the next, and each in some form represented a continuation of the problems and the alignments of its predecessor(s). Third, this long cycle of wars generated a historical phenomenon that is greater than either Britain or the United States taken on their own separate counts.

In reductionist form, this might seem to be a continuation of the argument advanced by David Hackett Fischer in *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (1989), and Phillips does lean heavily on Fischer. He leans on other scholars, too, and any specialist will recognize whole passages that are merely derivative (although that is the necessary price of synthesis). Rather like Fischer's formulaic recital of folkway categories, Phillips's repeated invocation of Puritan/Roundhead/Yankee and Anglican/Cavalier/Southerner continuities seems, by the end of his book, to have something of a mantra quality.

But Phillips saves himself from both formula and mantra. One reason is his mastery of a huge body of scholarship on all three of the conflicts that form his subject. Admittedly, he turns much of that scholarship to his own purposes, as when he transforms the Marxist or *marxisant* work of Christopher Hill on England, Alfred Young on revolutionary America, and Eric Foner on Civil War America into support for his fundamentally ethnocultural argument. But Phillips does not force them in order to fit them into his own schema. Instead, he manifests a very large and well-informed historical imagination at work.

He saves himself from formula as well by his willingness to take on so boldly conceived a subject as "the triumph of Anglo-America." Throughout the book, Phillips skips across time in order to foreshadow or complete his argument. This book does not attempt to be a general history of its subject, in the manner of Robert R. Palmer's *The Age of the Democratic Revolution* (2 vols., 1959–1964). Phillips never simply presumes knowledge, but a familiarity with the conventional narrative surrounding all three events does help the reader to understand what he has to say. Given its size and structure, this book is unlikely to find its way onto course lists. Since Phillips is a public intellectual rather than an academic, that problem seems unlikely to worry him. If anything, he deserves credit for bringing an academically sophisticated argument into a format intended for general readers.

Phillips's large conception is bold, and so are many of the specific points he makes. As one instance, he suggests that the "British" (meaning both the populace at large and the people in charge of making policy) did not really want to win the War of American Independence. Drawing not only on scholarship about opinion within the British "political nation" but also on the open sympathies toward the Americans and their cause of field commanders Thomas Gage, Sir William Howe, Lord Richard Howe, and John Burgoyne, he locates British defeat in an almost deliberate failure of will. The defeat was fortunate, he thinks, because it shocked Britain into the administrative, financial, and military reforms that it would need during its great struggle against revolutionary France.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The element of Phillips's argument that could easily be caricatured is, of course, his central problem, "the triumph of Anglo-America." In a time of reaction against multiculturalism, he might easily be read as saying that American history is indeed a tale that is best told in terms of white English speakers. Perhaps, fundamentally, that is his point. But he fully appreciates the damage that his central subjects wrought as they displaced the Celtic Irish and Native Americans who stood in their way and enslaved Africans to do their work. He also understands that the great cycle of Anglo-American hegemony may be waning now, and that his own book may be an artifact of that waning. Agree with Phillips or not (and there are many points to challenge), this book is both well-grounded and provocative.

EDWARD COUNTRYMAN
Southern Methodist University

PHILIP D. CURTIN. *Disease and Empire: The Health of European Troops in the Conquest of Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 256. Cloth $64.95, paper $19.95.

Philip D. Curtin has helped train a whole generation of African historians, but his work has always been at the intersection of many fields. His *Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780–1850* (1964) combined the approaches of intellectual and literary history with the history of science to examine the roots of European imperialism in Africa; the *Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (1969) utilized quantitative history, African history, and African demographic history to establish a "census" of the slave trade and helped to create the new field of Atlantic Studies.

Curtin's most recent book is no exception to this rule. He begins with a simple question: did the decline of disease mortality among soldiers in the nineteenth century make Europeans "more willing than ever before to undertake such imperial adventures as the conquest of Africa?" (p. ix) To answer it, Curtin examines the history of medicine, European imperialism, African and military history. In the end, his negative conclusion suggests the need to rewrite one of the common textbook explanations for the European conquest of Africa.

This book grows directly out of Curtin's previous, ground-breaking *Death by Migration: Europe's Encounter with the Tropical World in the Nineteenth Century* (1989), which examined the military records of European troops stationed overseas. Curtin's finding of a decline in death rates during the course of the nineteenth century was hardly novel, but his was the first systematic, longitudinal study to confirm these trends and show some of the subtleties involved. This new book builds on his earlier work by examining the medical history of fifteen military campaigns in Africa that brought almost all of the continent under European rule by 1900. The success of the book derives from Curtin's ability to choose and analyze in depth, representative episodes that cover the scope of this tumultuous century of Europe's relationship with Africa.

The most important overall finding is that even though there was a decline in disease and death rates of troops stationed in African barracks in the nineteenth century, during military campaigns, "disease death rates . . . show no clear trend over time" (p. 223). Thus, as late as the 1895 French campaign in Madagascar, 6,000 of the 14,000 troops died largely from malaria in a ten-month campaign. Meanwhile, the military expedition that set the record for the fewest troops dead from disease (seventy-one out of a contingent of 2,587) was the British occupation of Kumasi, which occurred in 1874, hence before the "scramble for Africa."

By questioning the disease-decline explanation for the European conquest of Africa, Curtin reinforces the importance of another broad explanation: European technological advances. By this he does not just mean weapons but also transportation and organization, which made the military successes possible at relatively low cost. The germ theory became useful only in the 1890s when it was too late to be put into practice. The result, as Curtin summarizes so succinctly, was that "the triumph of tropical medicine made Africa cheaper to administer, not cheaper to conquer" (p. 230).

Given this finding that the conquest of disease did not facilitate the conquest of Africa, Curtin spends quite a bit of time explaining why the continuing death from disease did not hinder the Europeans. He presents convincing evidence that the British and French public was not very well informed about what actually happened in Africa. This went for good news—it was ignorant of the slow, overall decline in barracks disease rates—as well as bad. In addition, the accounts tended to look at total number of deaths during a campaign rather than disease rates. Thus, the British expedition to the River War in the Sudan in 1898 had a disease casualty rate three times higher than in the Anglo-Boer War, but because only 217 men died of disease in the Sudan, it was easily ignored. In contrast, the 14,000 British troops who died in South Africa from disease caused a scandal.

Naturally, the outcome of the conflicts also affected attitudes toward disease. Thus, the triumphant victory in the Sudan contrasted very sharply with the unexpected difficulties in the Boer conflict. This also explains the French lack of outrage at the Madagascar disaster. The expedition, which initially lost 6,000 men to disease, quickly occupied the entire island after enough troops reached the African capital and easily defeated the queen's forces. There were only twenty military casualties in the climactic battle. These spectacular military successes fed nationalism and colonial rivalry, thus mitigating most negative reports, medical or otherwise, about the military campaigns.

Curtin's sources are encyclopedic, including reports in military archives and published medical and popular

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

literature of the day, not to mention his lifetime of scholarship in African history. The results of this extensive research are presented chronologically, with military campaigns grouped by time and region. Typical chapters consider the historical setting, military campaigns, medical history, and the public reaction to the role of disease in the outcome. The result is a series of microhistories of the major episodes in the European conquest of Africa from multiple perspectives. The book also contains valuable summaries and additions to the history of epidemiology and public health in tropical settings.

The one theoretical shortcoming of the book is its lack of attention to diplomatic and political decision making. This is old-fashioned history, but if Cartin really wanted to assess whether decision makers, as opposed to the "public" or military doctors, were concerned about the health of their troops, he would have to consult the diplomatic archives. Curtin's real goal, however, is to present a century-long medical history of European armies in the African setting; and he succeeds admirably.

WILLIAM H. SCHNEIDER
Indiana University, Indianapolis

GIOVANNI FEDERICO. *An Economic History of the Silk Industry, 1830–1930.* (Cambridge Studies in Modern Economic History, number 5.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 259. $59.95.

Billed as "the first . . . example of commodity analysis in historical perspective" (p. 2), Giovanni Federico's history of silk production and trade is based on a comprehensive synthesis of the literature in the European languages and on econometric analysis. He focuses primarily on the principal producer countries of Italy, China, and Japan and on the principal consumer regions of Western Europe and the United States. He aims to answer two fundamental questions: why did silk production and trade increase greatly in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and what determined changes in the producing countries' competitiveness as measured by market shares?

Federico argues that the growth of silk exports from the late nineteenth century was a consequence of both surging demand in the core economies of the West and increased output by the producing countries, due largely to technical progress. Economic growth in the West brought about the "democratization" of silkwares, which became a mass-consumption commodity. The demand for improved quality stimulated the shift from hand-reeled silk to steam-reeled silk under the factory system. The supply of raw silk in the West, however, was threatened midcentury by the outbreak of pebrine, which decimated silkworm crops in the Mediterranean basin, and by the disruption of Chinese sources because of the Taiping Rebellion. Japan entered the global market for raw silk at a fortuitous moment, becoming the world's leading exporter by the 1910s.

What accounted for the superior performance of Japan? In Federico's view, market institutions mattered because they determined the level of transaction costs, but they were not decisive factors. By the late nineteenth century, Italy had made the transition from "traditional" markets with a chain of intermediation to "modern" markets where the role of middlemen was minimal and subordinate. In Asia, markets remained traditional even as silk reeling was modernized. Although transaction costs in Italy were therefore the lowest, the differences were too small to matter. The Japanese trading companies did manage to displace Western exporters, unlike the Chinese, but Federico argues that they did not contribute to Japan's competitive edge. Prices in Yokohama varied as much as in Western markets, and the trading companies' demand for improved quality from their reelers notwithstanding, Italian and Shanghai silks were superior to Japanese silk.

Federico also rejects the traditional explanation emphasizing the role of state intervention in promoting Japanese technological progress. Nor was the Japanese experience in his view a precursor of Japan Inc.—that is, coordination among the government, large firms, and trading companies did not contribute to Japan's success in silk competition. The government filature at Tomioka failed either to be profitable or to promote the diffusion of steam-reeling technology. Technical progress did become an important factor in the 1920s, but this resulted not from a coordinated effort from above but from the modernization of equipment and promotion of improved silkworm breeds by large reeling companies in response to market competition. According to Federico, the key to Japan's success was its favorable factor endowment, or the availability of rural labor; the demise of the Italian silk industry, by contrast, was inevitable because industrialization and the alternative of factory employment made the opportunity cost of sericultural work increasingly prohibitive.

This conclusion is too simplistic. As Federico himself points out, labor costs in China were probably lower than Japan's, and yet China's market share declined continuously after the 1870s. Moreover, silk markets might not be as competitive and efficient as he asserts. Both China and Japan were constrained by extraterritoriality and loss of tariff autonomy. Shanghai filature owners often used Westerners as front men because foreign firms enjoyed tax exemptions and extraterritorial protection. Extraterritorial status also enabled Western exporters to shift market risks to Chinese manufacturers by rejecting silk lots under pretext of poor quality if overseas prices turned unfavorable. Federico rejects interlinkage in agrarian markets as evidence of oligopoly or exploitation, but anthropologists and development economists have established that such transactions were both a source

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and a sign of the market power of the dominant party, usually the landlord-merchant-usurer.

Nor is Federico's argument always consistent. Silk is first described as a homogeneous commodity that did not consequently necessitate a sales department for a steam-reeling firm (p. 27), but later it is considered a non-homogeneous product that must therefore be inspected by the buyer lot by lot (pp. 53, 151). Chinese geographical names are inconsistently given in two romanization systems, and a number of Chinese and Japanese names are misspelled.

Despite these reservations, Federico's analysis offers many new insights often at variance with existing interpretations. Those interested in trade and development issues can consult his book with profit.

ROBERT Y. ENG
University of Redlands

SUSAN STRASSER, CHARLES MCGOVERN, and MATTHIAS JUDT, editors. *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century*. (Publications of the German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 477. Cloth $59.95, paper $21.95.

This large volume of essays edited by Susan Strasser, Charles McGovern, and Matthias Judt is a sampler from the latest research of some of the most prominent and imaginative historians of twentieth-century European/American consumer culture. It is an unusually fine collection, originating in a 1995 conference sponsored by the German Historical Institute. Although hardly encyclopedic, the collection offers a balanced and comprehensive view of the entire century. Only the essay by Victoria de Grazia is really comparative, but the reader who takes the trouble to read outside his or her national specialty will find ideas and material that prompt comparative thinking. Most of the essays are broadly political or social and shy away from the methods of cultural studies, consumer economics, or business history.

The book is divided into three parts. The first, concerning the politics of consumption, is the most cohesive: here we find essays exploring the shifting meanings and linkages between citizen and consumer. Katharine Kish Sklar's study of the National Consumers' League offers a sympathetic account of consumers as a political force that could use discretionary purchasing power to compel employers to raise labor standards. Essays by Roland Marchand and McGovern show how advertisers and public relations professionals turned the political ideas of democracy and freedom that challenged capitalism into expressions of access to mass consumption and product choice. Liz Cohen's analysis of the consumer politics of the New Deal details how the Depression crisis gave rise to the citizen consumer when consumer interests were included in Washington policy making and grass-roots consumer rights movements emerged. Cohen also describes the trend away from the collective possibilities of the citizen consumer to the view of consumers as dutiful spenders, conduits in a Keynesian program of demand-side economic recovery. George Lipsitz's wide-ranging essay on postwar consumer politics complements this analysis. He suggests that government policy (e.g. highway construction and the G.I. Bill) furthered the fragmentation and depoliticization of the consumer by encouraging private spending on houses and cars. Rounding out this section, Daniel Horowitz offers a fascinating analysis of George Katona and Ernest Dichter, two of the major figures who popularized postwar American understanding of consumption as democracy and freedom. The two European treatments of consumption politics show that the American way was hardly the only way. De Grazia's skillful analysis of European retailers' resistance to mass marketing in the interwar years and continued adherence to bourgeois standards of service and "quality" challenges the American model. André Steiner offers an interesting study of the contradictions of state investment strategies and consumers' needs in East Germany.

The second section of the book, "Everyday Life," includes a very wide and thus less cohesive array of essays. They include a study of how constrained working-class incomes affected family spending choices in the interwar U.S.(Susan Porter Benson), an analysis of German homemaker organizations in the 1920s and 1930s (Nancy Reagin), a wide-ranging study of how the ascetic values of the East German leadership clashed with an emerging consumer culture (Ina Merkel), a sympathetic descriptive treatment of how West Germans responded to self-service shopping and variety in the 1950s (Michael Wildt), and a study of postwar shopping malls in the Boston area and attempts to revive the urban core (Judt). Although few of these essays focus on specific consumer goods and their social/cultural impact, Kurt Möser explores the German embrace of the automobile between the wars, and Stephen Kline analyzes the commercialization of childhood via the rise of a media and advertising-driven toy industry. Strasser's analysis of how the garbage disposal revolutionized attitudes toward recycling waste is particularly fresh and insightful. Christian Pfister also makes a persuasive argument that reduced energy costs dramatically increased Swiss consumption levels in the 1950s, to the detriment of the environment. Although this volume does not stress advertising and packaging history, Fath Davis Ruffins provides a fascinating account of how the changing political and economic roles of minorities shaped the representation of race and ethnicity in American product advertising.

The book's third section, by far the shortest, is concerned with "theory." Although the essays are individually valuable, this section seems almost tacked on. The essays concern less the methodological questions with regard to the political and social history of consumption that comprise most of the book than cultural analysis and judgment of desire in the age of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

consumption. Ulrich Wyrwa's study of the intellectual history of the concept of consumption is both useful and balanced. The other two essays are spirited arguments for a fresh approach to consumer society. James Livingston's critique of the common jeremiad against consumer culture will frustrate many social and political historians with its embrace of a "new subjectivity" that abandons the old nostalgia for the artisan and independent entrepreneur. For Livingston, critiques of consumer society ignore its potential for providing new and diverse opportunities of self-expression outside the producerist ethic. Jackson Lears, by contrast, makes a plea for "ambiguity," recognizing that unfettered accumulation of consumer goods poses environmental and psychological costs but also noting that the ascetic tradition of consumer critics in the past has obscured the fact that abundance can have nonmaterial meanings.

This volume does not provide a coherent periodization or thematic structure for comprehending the twentieth century as a century of mass consumption. The absence of essays on France and England might surprise readers aware of the interesting developments in the field in these countries. The book would have been more lively and concrete with essays that focused more on sites of consumption (shopping centers and amusement parks) or on specific consumer goods (fads, fashions, TV and radio especially). This is a vast field and one still very much in its infancy, however, and this volume will introduce historians to important trends and suggest opportunities for fresh research.

GARY CROSS
Pennsylvania State University

TYRUS MILLER. *Late Modernism: Politics, Fiction, and the Arts Between the World Wars*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 263. Cloth $45.00, paper $19.95.

In the conventional narrative of Western literary history, postmodernism emerges out of modernism and replaces the formal unity and self-reflexivity of the modernist text with the dissonance and epistemological uncertainty of postmodern visions. But what if, as Tyrus Miller proposes, we analyze modernist fiction "from the perspective of its end" sometime around the interwar period? We avoid the now overly schematized division between modern and postmodern derived from a mainstream critical focus on high modernism and the early avant-garde, one that uses the criteria developed by modernists themselves to define the thematic and historical unity of the genre: Ezra Pound's imperative to "make it new," for example, and a concentration on the aesthetics of formal mastery (p. 5). That traditional focus ignores French writing of the 1930s as well as a number of English and American writers who defy classification in such terms.

In analyses of English-language authors (the English Wyndham Lewis, the American expatriate Djuna Barnes, and the Irish Samuel Beckett), Miller discerns another sort of narrative that draws on modernism but reflects its demise in a world in which the aftermath of war, popular media, new forms of technology, economic depression, and consumerism challenge modernists' faith in the ability of art to transfigure, transcend, and redeem the social world. Miller dubs this genre "late modernism" and claims not only that it challenged the emphasis on form and aesthetic redemption that characterizes the work of James Joyce, T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, and Virginia Woolf but that it provides a framework for a revaluation of literary historical categories *per se*. Late modernist fiction, he claims, was not comprised of anomalies but provided the ground on which modernism worked itself out as postmodernism; such texts preserved modernist forms in "protopostmodernist ones" (p. 13). Miller does not claim the writers he analyzes constitute a self-consciously unified group but that they shared a common historical experience as well as a certain sociopolitical marginality. Lewis's fascist politics rendered him peripheral, Barnes's gender and sexuality kept her off center stage, and Beckett's Irish nationality and hence minority status rendered him different.

Late modernism is thus historically inflected, and the historical context of the interwar years accounts for its emergence. Miller identifies several interwar themes and developments that are reiterated in the works he analyzes. Among others, he notes the increasing connectedness of art and the social world evidenced by new forms of culture, including cinema, modern typography, jazz, and the replacement of reality by the spectacle or simulacrum, as in photography. He refers to the latter phenomenon as "generalized mimeticism" (p. 43). Thus Lewis, Barnes, and Beckett drew on a modernist tradition (one of Miller's points being that modernism already has its "canon" by the interwar period) in which formal mastery transfigures the world in the work of art, in which art is manifest not in what literature says but what it does, and thus in the eloquence of literary form. But these three writers, intentionally or not, militated against unified formal principles: their characters inhabit unstable worlds permeated by counterfeit and imposture; they are continually fighting against their own self-dissolution. Miller claims that his authors were "divested, by political and economic forces, of [modernism's] cultural 'cosmos.'" Instead, "in the empty spaces left by high modernism's dissolution, [they] reassembled fragments into disfigured likenesses of modernist masterpieces" (p. 14). They satirized the aesthetics of redemption, developed a critique of form and authenticity, and replaced self-reflexive consciousness with contingency and alterity (p. 195). Their works, while different, all play with modern typography and advertising, confront their own status as consumer goods, and parody the artist's heroic role.

Miller establishes homologies between history and the texts that reiterate historical experience in literary form. The book conforms to fairly traditional intellectual historical method while (successfully) challenging

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the categories of literary history we now take for granted. The work not only helps us rethink the monolithic categories we still employ to describe nuanced and complex shifting cultural moments but also suggests that we revisit other national literatures to investigate the neglect—only recently being remedied in studies of Georges Bataille and the French interwar period, among others—of works that conformed neither to ideological poles nor to established aesthetic categories during this time period. "History" as Miller employs it, works primarily through the literature he considers; he does not really offer an analysis of the relationship between literature and history. He overplays postwar change and underplays continuity. But he offers subtle and suggestive readings of texts and uses attention to historico-political context to make an important argument about literary history.

Carolyn J. Dean
Brown University

Peter Conrad. *Modern Times, Modern Places*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1999. Pp. 752. $40.00.

This is a wonderful book, as slippery and subversive as its subject, that of meaning in cultural endeavor of the twentieth century. The book is so good, such a felicitous fusion of style and substance, that it is hard to imagine a historian writing it. Indeed, it comes as no surprise that Peter Conrad is not a professor of history but of English literature. In keeping, however, with the fate of category and definition in our century, Conrad's background and interests are far more eclectic than his official position suggests. He did his growing up, as he puts it, in Australia, and before this book his writing was concerned more with continental opera than with the English literary canon. His ambitious new work reflects that broader vision. Although the focus is on the West and on high culture, he takes on the century as a whole, looking at how the experience of life has changed. The result is both operatic and modern, as representative of the current state of historiographical art—its self-conscious vitality in the midst of methodological, even ontological crisis—as any recent book from within our discipline has been.

It is not just the consistently exciting formulations, the unexpected connections, and the delightful asides that make this book so engaging. It is the brilliant overlap of medium and message. Conrad's analysis of art becomes art in its own right, as intrepidly impermanent as the implication of any abstract painting. Here is a volume of reflections that slip and slide, that cohere more through their impressionistic energy than any organizing schema, that flit about like brazenly rebellious subatomic particles. Modernity, says Conrad, has been about acceleration and dispersal, and yet, at a certain point in the modern experience, time and place seemed no longer to matter. Like its subject, twentieth-century culture, the book leads nowhere, yet everywhere. Each of its thirty chapters—whether on Vienna, Moscow, Paris, Berlin, New York, or on film, or on gods and gadgets—says roughly the same thing, yet always with a different modulation and a respect for detail that suggest distinction.

Friedrich Nietzsche's notion of "the great disengagement" is the most prominent motif. In turn, how the physicists atomized matter at the last fin de siècle, rendering solids into nothingness, is Conrad's guiding metaphor. The modern world has, in centrifugal fury, spun itself to pieces. Nullity is, in Conrad's view, the great modern terminus. He pursues these themes of decentering and destabilization through many realms of expression, music, film, literature, and design, showing how our journey to the edge has been motivated as much by a desire to escape authority as by the thrill of renewal. In the process, of course, the frontier has lost its once famous thesis.

Technology looms large. Reminding us that Glenn Gould thought he could record a piano concerto without ever meeting another musician, that Andy Warhol dated appliances, and that Tamagotchis are something more than toys, Conrad discusses how machines have become more human and human beings more machine-like. He is at his wittiest and best on the subject of film, which he regards rightly as the preeminent art form of the modern age. The chapter on Charlie Chaplin is full of marvels, as is the discussion of the razor, the eyeball, and the Andalusian dog. In the end, Conrad is inclined to agree with the artist and cinéaste Peter Greenaway, who has said of film: "There is nothing there. It's totally non-existent."

Conrad's range of reference is invariably stunning, his material, even on the lions of modernism, always fresh. Whether consciously or not, Albert Einstein, Pablo Picasso, Sigmund Freud, Igor Stravinsky, and Chaplin all head in the same direction, and the nuclear bomb—with its terrible beauty, its blend of technological brilliance and aesthetic provocation, of Eros and Thanatos—is perhaps the ultimate symbol of our striving and regret.

Conrad's breezy, anecdotal style will offend some. His eurocentrism will irritate others. His barbed comments on recent political issues will raise eyebrows. But for what he is doing, reflecting on the breakup of the imperial, utopian dream, his approach—which resembles witty high-table conversation at some fictional Oxbridge college—is most appropriate. This is not a book for ingenues, nor for the T-rexes among us who still believe in historical truth. It is a splendidly invigorating and yet at the same time casual book, as much a historical document as a riveting statement about our recent past.

Modris Eksteins
University of Toronto, Scarborough

Jonathan E. Helmreich. *United States Relations with Belgium and the Congo, 1940–1960*. Newark: University of Delaware Press. Associated University Presses, London. 1998. Pp. 289. $43.50.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Although my own interest in this particular study stems more from concern for politics in the Congo than from any sustained involvement in bilateral diplomacy between the United States and Belgium, I nevertheless discovered here much useful background information. Jonathan E. Helmreich's work is a study of the high-level bilateral diplomatic negotiations between the two states during the twenty years between 1940 and 1960. Unfortunately, however, this diplomatic focus does not provide readers with a broadly based study of political, cultural, and economic interactions between the United States and Belgium. At its best, this is a competent diplomatic history; at worst, it is a frustrating exercise that confronts readers with some of the limitations of classic diplomatic history.

There are valid reasons for the selection of this case study. First, Helmreich provides much useful information on how the Congo, although a Belgian colony, not only entered the calculations of the two diplomatic partners but also participated directly in negotiations. This was most apparent where access to the Congo's uranium was concerned. Indeed, the personnel of Union Minière, the colony's major uranium producer, had a substantial influence on the course of these negotiations. To be sure, the fact that the Congo was the world's largest single supplier of uranium at a time when the globe was about to enter the nuclear era certainly enhanced Belgium's importance in the larger scheme of things. Second, the case commands attention because the traditional diplomatic dyad was complicated by the presence of the Congo in the calculations of both the United States and Belgium. From the American perspective, uranium was suddenly a strategic mineral. The Belgians needed to maintain good relations with the U.S. both during and after World War II, while they simultaneously tried to insulate their colony from what they saw as pernicious American influence. In 1942, for example, when the Belgian government-in-exile granted permission for the Americans to land troops at Matadi, colonial officials were shocked and dismayed that the troops in question turned out to be black. Under no circumstances did they wish to provide their colonial subjects with relatively wealthy African-American role models. Even worse, the Belgians were afraid that, after the end of the war, the United States would use its power and influence to push for some form of international control over colonial possessions, including the Congo (pp. 38–39).

As in many diplomatic histories, the emphasis throughout is on the high politics of diplomatic negotiations between foreign ministry mandarins. We thus find the customary emphasis on the personalities, preferences, and foibles of the high-ranking architects of diplomacy, in the Belgian case foreign ministers Paul-Henri Spaak and Paul van Zeeland. In this regard, the work seems unbalanced at times, for Helmreich spends more time examining the Belgian personalities than their American counterparts. Perhaps the American side is better known, at least in the United States, but the lack of balance in other domains seems equally striking. There is, for example, some mention of the so-called "royal question" in the early 1950s (pp. 63–66), but scant attention is paid to important domestic sources of foreign policy behavior in the U.S. McCarthyism and the subsequent political and diplomatic fear of "losing" another country to Communism had a significant impact in the Congo story. Nonetheless, when Helmreich comes to examine American diplomacy on the Congo during the 1950s, and especially the divisions within the Department of State (pp. 173–207), he is quite enlightening.

At times, however, the focus on diplomatic detail obscures the larger international political context in which the specific bilateral interactions occurred. Most frustrating in this regard is Helmreich's treatment of the politics of Congolese independence in 1960. The author ignores the impact on American political and diplomatic thinking of the successful Cuban revolution and Fidel Castro's rise to power. Yet we know from the diplomatic cables of 1959 and 1960 that Cuba was much on the minds of policy makers in both the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Similarly, the treatment of bilateral diplomacy presented might well have been enhanced by some greater attention to the larger context: the Algerian revolution, the Mau Mau insurgency in Kenya, and the independence of Ghana in 1957 all had an appreciable impact on the international dynamics of decolonization.

In sum, Helmreich provides us with occasionally illuminating detail, but readers should be advised that they will need to bring to this work of diplomatic history their own analytic frameworks.

MICHAEL G. SCHATZBERG
University of Wisconsin, Madison

ARTHUR MARWICK. *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c. 1958–c. 1974*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. xix, 903. $39.95.

The table of contents of this book by Arthur Marwick is attractive. It includes themes that are at the center of the historical debate today, such as nostalgia, culture and subculture, indeterminacy, and it alludes to sources such as works of art, novels, and films that can be innovative for the historian's procedures. These promises are not kept. The book proceeds in a descriptive way, occasionally polemical, but a polemic that does not say very much: for example, a crucial subchapter on sources and methods, after proclaiming that the author's "methods are those of the professional historian" (p. 20), goes on to polemicize about "metaphysical history," a term that is taken to include both Marxism and postmodernism. It turns out that the most meaningful statements in this subchapter are justifications for the length of the quotations and summaries of primary sources. Regarding the latter, it

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is rather astonishing that the printed sources are considered "too extensive to be listed here" (p. 862) and are left for the reader to reconstruct through the footnotes, a procedure that does not respect the tradition of the profession.

The book is not without merits; a major one, which I appreciate, is the effort to proceed in parallel ways for the four countries, trying at the same time to keep their national specificities and to show the convergences. This, however, does not result in a truly comparative approach. I accept the periodization, which introduces a period called "the high sixties," 1964–1969, between "the first stirrings of a cultural revolution," 1958–1963, and the last period, 1969–1974, and I agree with some of the author's choices concerning which sources are significant for the historical processes under study. But the treatment of these sources is descriptive and lacks convincing interpretation. For example, the section on Italian novels for the period 1958–1963 rightly presents novels by Lucio Mastronardi and Luciano Bianciardi. But apart from the fact that Vigevano, a crucial term for the former, who wrote *Il maestro di Vigevano* (1962) and *Il calzolaio di Vigevano* (1959), is consistently spelled Vigerano—another breaking of the only unchallenged rule of the historians' guild, philological precision—the latter's novel *La vita agra* (1962) is described, astonishingly, as an "extremely funny," "highly coloured account of bohemian life," "hilarious," and "vulgar" (pp. 171–73). These comments punctuate the summary of a novel that represents with dramatic intensity the enormous changes in Italian life through the eyes of a translator, himself an example of the great migration from the south and center to the north, a politicized although disenchanted protagonist. Finally, the reductive rendering of such works is coupled with a rather boring summary of their plots.

In the end, one wonders how is it possible that a history that is impassioning, at least for many, can become boring after the treatment to which it is submitted in this book. Perhaps it is because that cultural revolution did not reach far and deeply enough, especially in the historical profession.

Luisa Passerini
European University Institute, Florence, Italy

Michael E. Hobart and Zachary S. Schiffman. *Information Ages: Literacy, Numeracy, and the Computer Revolution*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 301. $29.95.

Fifty years ago, most Americans would have recognized the acronym "CIO" as standing for "Congress of Industrial Organizations." Today, many would say that it refers to "Chief Information Officer." That we live in an era in which the job title "information officer" has become pervasive reflects the seeming centrality of "information" to our times. Pundits repeatedly remind us that this is *the* "information age."

Michael E. Hobart and Zachary S. Schiffman's wide-ranging, scholarly, and complex study challenges that popular formulation. Instead, they contend that this is actually the third information age. The first came with the rise of literacy. Only with written language could information itself emerge, they argue, since "information consists of mental objects separated from the flux of experience," and "only writing extracts the sounds of speech from their oral flow by giving them visual representation" (p. 4). Writing, as it emerged in Mesopotamia five thousand years ago, thus constituted "the first information technology and birth of information itself" (p. 34). The development of the Greek alphabet (as opposed to pictorial symbols) took literacy a crucial step further and made possible more abstract systems of classification and natural philosophy.

The rise of printing, which in just fifty years churned out more books than a millennium of scribes, overwhelmed this classical system of classifying knowledge. Almost overnight, sixteenth-century scholars found themselves confronting a problem very familiar to contemporary historians: information overload. This Renaissance version of "infoglut" led to the search for "new, more abstract means of managing information," which Hobart and Schiffman call "the analytical vision of knowledge" embodied in numeracy and mathematics (p. 5). Thus, the second of their information ages was the result of the printing revolution but was not, as one might expect, actually embodied in printing technology. They credit René Descartes—truly the CIO of the seventeenth century—with the revolutionary vision of seeking a new, unifying coherence in a mathematical mapping and ordering of the world. This project of further reducing and abstracting knowledge through mathematics continued in the subsequent centuries, aided particularly by the development of calculus.

Increasing abstraction also meant a growing distance between information and the "real world." Then, early twentieth-century discoveries in physics and math (e.g. quantum mechanics) undercut the eighteenth-century confidence in finding universal truths. But the third great information revolution—the emergence of the computer—has helped to rescue the twentieth century from the bewilderment that this loss of closure and certainty might have produced. With computers, we have vastly expanded our "technical means of information management," given up the dream of inclusive and universal models of the world, and turned information into a separate world of its own (p. 200). In this new world, in which "abstract symbols can be assigned arbitrarily to any objects and procedures," computers fabricate "a realm of pure technique apart from any foundation in knowledge" (pp. 201–202). This new information regime relies on a paradoxical combination of "power" (the determinancy of computer symbols and programs) and "play" (the computer's unpredictable and process-oriented ways of knowing). Of course, the computer revolution has not displaced either literacy or numeracy; these earlier information

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ages coexist in the present and attempt to ask different sets of questions: What are phenomena? How do they function? How do they come about? "Different information idioms respond to different informational needs," Hobart and Schiffman write (p. 265).

Not surprisingly for a book whose key insight concerns the relationship between information and abstraction, the argument here is often abstract—at times perhaps too abstract and too detached from social and economic contexts. Although the authors describe their work as an "essay," it is not the sort of essay one casually skims through. Rather it is, as they acknowledge, an "essay" in the sense of a trial or an attempt. Given the frankly speculative quality of some of their arguments, specialists in some of the areas that Hobart and Schiffman survey will no doubt disagree with particular interpretations. Still, even the most finicky will have to admire the stunning range of coverage—from Mesopotamia and the Greeks to Descartes and Denis Diderot to Alan Turing and John von Neuman—as well as the enormous erudition and originality of this work. Its most important contribution surely lies in its difficult and sometimes elusive attempt to give a history to phenomena that many believe are either timeless (information) or entirely new (the information age). Our era may have given us the "Chief Information Officer," but it certainly did not invent information itself.

ROY ROSENZWEIG
George Mason University

ASIA

CHRISTOPH HARBSMEIER. *Science and Civilisation in China*. Volume 7, Part 1: *Language and Logic*. Edited by KENNETH ROBINSON. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xxiv, 479. $115.00.

In the grand undertaking to insert China's history of science into a narrative hitherto mostly focused on the West, the "Science and Civilisation in China" series begun by the late Joseph Needham in 1954, the present volume can claim a special place: it deals not with one of the sciences in China but with the prerequisite for science discourse, which is logical argumentation. Christoph Harbsmeier asks whether literary Chinese as a language provided the operative tools to articulate science, and whether China developed a logical method. The traditional summary denial of both questions has received a more systematic exposition with Chad Hansen's *Language and Logic in Ancient China* (1983).

Harbsmeier benefits from his broad familiarity with the relevant literature (including Japanese and Russian contributions); years of research on Chinese grammar, rhetoric, and logic informed by an "anthropological" approach that studies them as cultural practices; and a knowledge of the original sources and the scholarship concerning the European history of language and logic that allows him to make learned comparisons far beyond the easy references to a helplessly essentialized "West" often found in Chinese studies.

The anthropological approach notwithstanding, Harbsmeier comes out against a theory of an n-number of logics, each functional in its given environment. Different cultures, languages, and times can and will express logical connections differently, and might develop and explore them to different degrees, but the rules of logic, like those of mathematics, are not reduced to the cultural context of their origin. In an analysis that interweaves overviews of the historical development and synthetic presentations of contemporary scholarship with original research, Harbsmeier extracts from the rich written record of the formative phase of literary Chinese (between the fifth and second centuries B.C.E.) the logical features implied in the language such as negations, quantifiers, and logical connectives, as well as those elements that would allow for unambiguous and complex argumentation. While these differ from those in Greek, they provide sufficient instruments. Linguistic practice, however, followed a cultural preference for implicit rather than explicit logical connections and developed refined rhetorical features such as parallelism and rhyme rather than complex sentence structures.

The language does provide logical concepts such as necessity, contradiction, property, or subsumption, but even where they were developed most systematically, namely in the later Mohist tradition, they did not harden to form a terminology of logic. To the evidence concerning the presence of a concept of the sentence one might add the "translation" of archaic phrases into the contemporary Chinese koine as done by Zhao Qi (second century) for Mengzi or Wang Bi (226–249) for Laozi. Here, the sentence truncations could not be clearer. The practice of logical argument again was present, but those relying on this way to prove their point rather than on other forms, such as appeals to the authority of the classics, never dominated the rules of discourse, even though they prompted their (often "Confucian") opponents such as Xunzi to copy some of their method.

The section on logical theory nicely points out the reasons for this lower cultural status of an argumentation based on formal logic. Its practitioners (Deng Xi, Hui Shi, Gongsun Long, or the Mohists) inhabited two spaces in the order of things of the Warring States period: they either were hired by the courts as intellectual acrobats to provide with their funnily irrefutable sophisms ("a white horse is not a horse") entertainment such as acrobats and dwarves did, or they used their skills where the difference between substance and form is most easily exploited, namely law, offering their services for money regardless of the justice of the case. In the first instance, their performance would be remembered in countless anecdotes (of which the volume provides an ample supply) without gaining much weight in circles where the normative concepts guiding state and individual were

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

developed; in the second instance, they would be branded as rats boring holes into the dikes of virtue, vermin to be eliminated at whatever cost. In neither instance did logical argumentation gain enough prestige to attract the leading lights of the time. Logic never managed legitimately to separate from content, and the Warring States' "sophists" had few successors in imperial China.

The second moment for logic came in the seventh and eighth centuries with the famous Xuan Zang's translation of the Buddhist *Nyayapravesa*. It remained bound to its function, which was to overcome those who doubted Buddhist teachings. Comparing the Sanskrit terminology and diction with Xuan Zang's Chinese translation, the author argues that the latter with its newly made terminology and explicitness of argumentative connections surpasses the original in clarity. Xuan Zang's interest prompted some students, such as Kui Ji, to study Buddhist logic and comment on the *Nyayapravesa*. Again, the language is there to articulate the extremely complex Sanskrit argumentation, the concepts are there or they can be made, the training and attention is there without which the exercise would have been futile, and for a moment, even the prestige was secured by Xuan Zang. But again formal logic never separated from its religious content, and it did not spread. In time, the *Nyayapravesa* was handed around as a curio, an obviously brilliant but perfectly ununderstable work. The story of Chinese logic thus follows the logic of so many other fields in this series.

This book had a sad fate. It is a fragment of a larger work that did not come about. Work on it was seemingly broken off before many of its synthesizing and narrative parts were fully integrated into a cohesive argument, and a decision was made to publish it as is rather than never. Harbsmeier warns the reader that work basically ended in 1985 and that nothing was added or changed after 1988. Rich new textual finds as well as a wealth of new studies touching on its subject have appeared in the meantime. It retains its value through the wealth of the literature presented and especially through the hitherto unpublished segments informed by the author's own original research.

RUDOLF G. WAGNER
University of Heidelberg

LIONEL M. JENSEN. *Manufacturing Confucianism: Chinese Traditions and Universal Civilization*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 444. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

This book aims to challenge current views of Confucianism, calling into question its conceptual coherence as it is used in the West. Lionel M. Jensen is troubled by the various contemporary uses made of "Confucius" and "Confucianism" by academicians and politicians: those who explain the success of East Asian economic expansion in the 1980s and 1990s, and others who seek to interpret "Confucianism" and "neo-Confucianism" in terms of spiritual and philosophical significance compatible with those of the West. He criticizes their interpretive ads as products of the "desire of the interpreter" (p. 17). For Jensen, they are all fabrications in the history of what he calls "the manufacturing of Confucianism."

Part one of the book focuses on the seventeenth century, when the Jesuits, especially Matteo Ricci, attempted to turn Kongzi into Confucius and his teachings into Confucianism, a monotheistic religion and a metonym of "real" Chineseness. The meaning of these discursive symbols, however, are not what the ancient Chinese knew as Kongzi and his teachings. By situating the experience of the Jesuits in a translingual, transcultural, and global context, Jensen does an excellent job in highlighting the hybrid nature of the Jesuits in China. He argues convincingly that the first generation of Jesuits in China were trying to become Chinese. It is the concept of "Jesuit Chineseness" that distinguishes Jensen's analysis from previous studies of the Jesuits (p. 80). But Jensen is mistaken to claim that "Confucius" was not a phonetic transcription of a Chinese term *Kong fuzi* (Master Kong). In fact, a late Ming play did use *Kong fuzi* to refer to Kongzi (*Xin bian Kong fuzi zhouyou lieguo dacheng qilin ji*).

In the second part, Jensen argues that this Jesuit-Sino product became the major inspiration for attempts to create a new Chinese nation through "reinventing Kongzi as a historicized religious figure" in the twentieth century (p. 5). The argument is built on an extensive analysis of two texts: *Yuan ru* by Zhang Binglin (1868–1936) and *Shuo ru* by Hu Shi (1891–1962). Jensen argues that "the critical scholarship of the early-twentieth-century 'Chinese, in effect, reproduced the seventeenth-century Jesuit equation of *Confucianos* and Chineseness" (p. 177). This argument is problematic and reductionist, for Jensen has skipped the revival of classicism in the early Qing and devoted less than a page to eighteenth-century scholarship on the "Confucian" classics. Jensen makes the dubious claim that "the contentions of *guwen* and *jinwen* scholars alike defined Chineseness through Kongzi" (p. 177). Contrary to Jensen's claim, Zhang Binglin, the towering *guwen* scholar, defined Chineseness in terms of the "Han race" (*Hanzu*), history, and language. Neither Zhang nor Hu Shi sought to equate *ru* with Chineseness.

Another problem in the second part is Jensen's silence about the views of the nineteenth-century Protestant missionaries who produced a vast Chinese literature criticizing Confucianism. James Legge, the renowned missionary-scholar, criticized Confucius as "unreligious," for he had identified "God with a principle of reason and the course of nature" (Legge, *The Four Books* [1966], p. 100). Legge's rejection of Confucianism as a religion was shared by Max Weber whose interpretation of Confucianism influenced scholarship on the role of culture in the modernization of China. Weber argued precisely that Confucianism was not a revealed religion but a rationalist ethics,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Weber's view bears greater resemblance to Legge's than that of the Jesuits (Weber, *The Religion of China* [1951]).

Finally, Jensen's epistemological position is ambivalent. Although he rejects the possibility of attaining "objective truth" (p. 280), he calls for a "more faithful representation of Chinese experience" (p. 141). He repeatedly seeks to escape the hermenutic circle to a solid ground where he can separate "historical truth" from "distortions" by other interpreters. Even as he makes a gesture of apology that his book is not an attack on Confucianism but "merely an interepretation, and so no argument is made for the exclusiveness of my claims" (p. 28), he confesses that "[w]e are divided—emotionally aligned with Ricci and accommodationism, but intellecutally bound to the canons of our Enlightenment heritage" (p. 146). Jensen's remark is reminiscent of the view of the late Joseph Levenson. For Levenson as for Jensen, the tradition—be it *Rujia* or Confucianism—is intellectually dead.

What is commendable about Jensen's work, nonetheless, is his attempt to place the production of the discourse on Confucianism by the Jesuits and modern Chinese intellectuals in a global context. Despite his failure to discuss the roles of eighteenth-century classical scholars, nineteenth-century missionaries, and Max Weber, Jensen has made a contribution to our understanding of the hybridity of discourse in a transnational and translingual context. Since the sixteenth century, the discourse on Kongzi in Chinese and Confucius in European languages has been produced in such a context, which neither the Chinese nor the Europeans could set aside in their quest for the authentic Kongzi or Confucius.

KAI-WING CHOW
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

ROBERT B. MARKS. *Tigers, Rice, Silk, and Silt: Environment and Economy in Late Imperial South China*. (Studies in Environment and History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xix, 383. $64.95.

The message looms large in this book by Robert B. Marks that in order to understand China, it is necessary to understand ecological changes. It is never clear why that should be so. The book deals with population increase, land shortage, reclamation, the evolution of the market, and the mediation of price changes on the flow of goods in post-sixteenth-century China. Thinking about ecology adds climate, deforestation, and tigers to the list. To jazz the combination up somewhat, Marks describes the seventeenth-century crisis. Four hundred pages into the story, are we any wiser?

To begin with, beware of China historians who put their faith in statistics, especially when the argument hinges on the credibility of household registration reports of this or that year. The point is not that household registration reports were inaccurate but that in no period of Chinese history was household registration complete. So when the thirteenth-century population of Hainan Island superseded that of Guangzhou, there is no reason to think that migration had anything to do with it, let alone the influx of northerners (whatever that might mean) fleeing from nomadic invaders (p. 65). The great puzzle in Guangdong population density statistics are the very high twentieth-century figures reported for the mountain areas to the northeast, an area known for being the homeland of the Hakkas. Marks does not seem to have noticed that, let alone explained it.

A good ecological study requires a grasp of geography, for which poor historical statistics are no substitute. The more helpful tool for statistical analysis is price, of which data the Chinese imperial archives hold a great deal, especially for the eighteenth century. Chapter six, which relates market integration to price changes, makes use of this data. Ground work for this subject on Guangdong has been conducted by Chen Chunsheng, with whom Marks copublished an earlier article. Not surprisingly, therefore, Chen is the source for the tables. No objection need be advanced where Chen is the source, but the reader should be on guard where Marks provides his own estimates. Table 8.5, for instance, quite apart from a dubious estimate on transport costs, gives the totally erroneous impression that Guangxi rice would have been imported more profitably into Guangzhou than from within Guangdong (p. 265). What it does not make clear is that all grain produced in the Pearl River delta has been effectively removed from the table for comparison, this area being part of Guangzhou prefecture. The conclusion is reached, therefore, by comparing costs in those parts of Guangdong where prices were high at source with costs in Guangxi, leaving out precisely the part of Guangdong that would have compared much more favorably with Guangxi.

The story line is straightforward. South China historians for years claimed an early origin for settlement and agricultural development but recently have come round to the view that land reclamation at the Pearl River delta could not have come much earlier than the fifteenth century. It is becoming clearer now that between the Song and the Ming (the eleventh century and the sixteenth), the major north-south trade route from the south China coast to the north had shifted. The earlier route went from the western portions of present-day Guangdong up through Guangxi into Hunan. The later route went from Guangzhou up the North River to Jiangxi. As the route shifted, trade between Guangdong and Guangxi on the West River increased. One finds none of this account in Marks's book. But the rapid growth of Guangzhou as a commercial city from the sixteenth century probably had much to do with these developments. It is hard to believe, as Marks implies, that it was the introduction of tobacco and sweet potatoes into northern Guangdong that brought about the deforestation of this area (p. 311). There is no indication that more or less silt was being brought down the North River through the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ages; all the evidence points to more intense efforts at reclamation at the mouth of the Pearl. Nor is there indication in Guangdong of a fuel crisis, unless one shares Marks's view that burning dung necessarily means that other fuels were in short supply, a view that he himself finds hard to square with the practice of burning down the hillside every year in preparation for cultivation (pp. 320–21). As for the attractive story of the disappearance of the tiger from south China, the case has not been made in this book as to when that happened. The history of the forests and their disappearance in China cries out for research. This book does not reflect it.

There are, of course, good reasons for working on the history of ecology in China. The record should be set straight, however. For several decades, Chinese historians working primarily in the People's Republic of China have made great strides into the subject. Western-trained historians who have taken the field under the social science banner have made a noisy entry but, so far, have produced little to justify the commotion.

DAVID FAURE
The Institute for Chinese Studies, Oxford

JAMES A. MILLWARD. *Beyond the Pass: Economy, Ethnicity, and Empire in Qing Central Asia, 1759–1864*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998. Pp. xxii, 353. $55.00.

Recent years have witnessed the lively development of Qing dynasty (1644–1912) historical studies, much of it stimulated by the opening of the Qing archives in Beijing and their rich font of new materials for the study of Qing history. In this book, James A. Millward draws extensively on these archival materials to focus on the dynasty's relations with Xinjiang, a predominantly Muslim region that is geographically part of Inner Asia, defined here as including Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet, and East Turkestan (the present Xinjiang-Uyghur Autonomous Region of China). Millward's detailed discussion of Qing fiscal and ethnic policy in Xinjiang adds to the ongoing reassessment of the distinctive nature of China's last foreign dynasty, its ruling Manchu elite, and the empire they created through conquest of Ming dynasty (1368–1644) lands and Inner Asia. Although not all of the arguments put forward are equally persuasive, the book well rewards the diligent reader.

Millward begins by asking why Qing empire building has remained a neglected subject of historical enquiry. The answer, he proposes, lies in the domination of mid-twentieth-century Chinese historiography by scholars who viewed China beyond the Great Wall as also being beyond the boundaries of "proper" Chinese history. His critique of Owen Lattimore, John King Fairbank, and Joseph Fletcher is somewhat disingenuous, as these pioneers of Chinese history in America had no access to the Qing archives that have clearly stimulated a re-thinking of China's relations with Inner Asia. Nonetheless, Millward's discussion does provide a survey of earlier interpretations of the Qing and leads the reader into his treatment of new interpretations of the Manchu world. Here Millward follows Pamela Kyle Crossley, whose own recent archival work has led her to view the Manchu-ruled Qing as an Inner Asian empire rather than as a Chinese dynasty. Millward provides new support for this interpretation by examining two central aspects of Qing rule in Xinjiang: economic policy, which aimed at financial self-sufficiency for the newly conquered region; and ethnic policy, which sought to neutralize any possible nomad threat to the dynasty on its northwestern borders.

Regarding the first, Millward uses financial records to show that, following the 1759 conquest, East Turkestan required an annual subsidy that grew year by year. To make the region at least self-supporting, the court encouraged Manchu and Han officials to develop creative financing methods, including military-run pawn shops, rental properties, and the more conventional sale of government stores of tea and silk. The story of these enterprises, as told in chapter three, is a fascinating one, and it supports the view that the Qing empire did not follow Chinese precedents but instead forged its own policies in Inner Asia.

Subsequent chapters chart in careful detail the gradual expansion of Chinese traders into Xinjiang on the heels of the conquest and trace initial efforts of the court to limit their potentially negative impact. This provides further support for the emerging view among Qing scholars that the Manchus did not privilege one group of subjects over another. Instead, as Evelyn Rawski and Crossley also have suggested, the Manchus viewed themselves as rulers of all China's diverse peoples and, at least in the eighteenth century, sought to limit Chinese influence throughout its Inner Asian realms.

Evaluation of Manchu intentions and policies raises a question of particular importance in Xinjiang today: can the Qing can be viewed as an imperialist, colonialist power? Here much is at stake, as Muslim Uyghurs and Kazakhs begin to interpret the past in ways that bolster their increasingly restless nationalism. In China's contest to maintain control of both history and its discontented populations, interpreting the Qing empire is a matter of considerable consequence.

On this important issue, Millward's material suggests to him that the circumstances and nature of Qing rule in Xinjiang do not easily fit the definition of colonialism as commonly understood in Western scholarship. A major point of difference is that, from the beginning, the region required annual subsidies. Rather than providing new wealth or a new market for China's products, the region proved costly to administer and costly to hold.

But did this vast new territory really bring no financial benefit to the Manchus? Here Millward concedes that the record is incomplete. At least two

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

valuable Xinjiang commodities remain unaccounted for: jade and gold. Xinjiang remains famous as the source of the finest quality Chinese jade [nephrite], trade in which was initially a court monopoly. The great value of jade shipments to Beijing for decades after 1759 is suggested but not specified (pp. 180–191). Excluding this precious commodity skews the picture of benefits derived from the conquest of Xinjiang. As for gold, mines in Xinjiang's Tarbagatai and Altai Mountains are not mentioned in Millward's analysis.

Other information on financial aspects of Qing rule included in passages throughout the book also suggests considerable profit taking, some of which was clearly outside official channels. Taxes, military requisitions, corvée labor, currency exchange rate manipulation, and numerous cases of smuggling and outright theft by appointed officials and Chinese merchants suggest the dimensions of an increasingly oppressive financial burden on the local population. Although the views of the latter remain poorly documented, the repeated rebellions against the Qing throughout much of the nineteenth century are strong evidence of acute dissatisfaction with Qing rule, to say the least, and it is most unlikely that an eighteenth or nineteenth-century East Turkestani (today's Uyghur) would have any difficulty labeling the Qing as an exploitative colonialist power. Certainly, as Millward's study shows, Qing policies led neither to financial self-sufficiency for its military garrisons nor to equitable ethnic relations. The real winners were Chinese nationalists who found in the Manchu conquest a basis for republican and Communist claims to the whole of Inner Asia.

Overall, this well-written study of Qing Xinjiang contributes to the growing awareness of the impact of China's frontier in Chinese history. The important questions it addresses—on the nature of Qing governance and relations between the Manchu elite and the various peoples of the empire—will continue to underline examination of the process of empire building in early modern Asia.

LINDA BENSON
Oakland University

GREGORY A. RUF. *Cadres and Kin: Making a Socialist Village in West China, 1921–1991.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998. Pp. xvii, 249. $49.50.

This brief but thoughtful book argues that the village that it studies is a twentieth-century creation. As Gregory A. Ruf sees it, the early twentieth-century landscape in this part of Sichuan was one of dispersed homesteads, loosely tied together by kin groupings (themselves mostly post-1850 creations in the area under study), market towns, and a few significant buildings, most of them temples. A succession of modernizing, revenue-hungry states created administrative townships and later villages in the first half of this century, but as late as 1950, people still thought of the area—and themselves—primarily in terms of kin groups (thus place names like Big Hao Hill) and temple associations. It is in the Communist era, for better and worse, that the village has been created.

This began, Ruf tells us, with the deliberate remaking of the landscape in the early 1950s: not just land reform but the wholesale destruction of Earth God shrines, lineage halls, and so on. (In light of the renewed interest in recent years in the relationship between the shifting course of the rural revolution and popular religion, it is interesting that Ruf finds an orchestrated campaign of iconoclasm at work from the earliest days of Communist rule and not just from the turn to greater radicalism in the late 1950s.) As collectivization proceeded, it made the village not just an administrative unit but also an increasingly dominant focus of everyday life. Kin and other affiliations remained important, however: in particular, Ruf shows how one part of the dominant Hao lineage, which was persecuted by a kinsman who served as a (much hated) Nationalist conscription officer, ultimately benefited from this rift. Losing much of their property a few years *before* the Communists arrived, they escaped an elite class label and enjoyed popular sympathy but retained many of the intangible assets of their pre-feud positions and gained key political positions during the 1950s that benefit them to this day. This work thus confirms the insights of other recent village studies, which suggest a very different social history of the revolution from those that dominated discussion during the Cold War.

Ruf goes on to show that the building of village-owned industries during the 1960s and early 1970s—industries that were *not* de-collectivized along with village farms in the 1980s—had a critical influence on the post-Mao village. Profits from these industries provided much of the capital for further collectively owned rural industrialization; thus here (as in many other successful villages), the economic boom that is sometimes credited completely to 1980s "marketization" owes more to earlier planning and forced accumulation than is often acknowledged. Moreover, the existence of a vibrant, collectively owned sector has enabled rural cadres to remain powerful, controlling critical sources of jobs, welfare funds, and other kinds of patronage and able to eschew the numerous nuisance taxes that have undermined the legitimacy of local cadres elsewhere.

Many of the pieces of this picture have been noted by other scholars, but Ruf's work is unusual in combining this picture of the post-1978 village with a longer narrative of twentieth-century state building and village formation. He also emphasizes the ways in which the contemporary village operates as a quasi-corporation, with each family quite literally a shareholder in the village enterprises. This village corporation is then described by its leading managers as an extended family—which, Ruf reminds us, was also a common way in which many prerevolutionary corporate groups not actually based on blood ties sought to portray themselves. Ruf suggests in closing that this self-image is at least generally satisfactory to the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

residents of Qiaolou, telling us that "despite perceived inequalities in corporate Qiaolou and discontent over the privileges enjoyed by an elite few, most villagers directed their frustrations at the economic discrimination and social prejudice they endured as 'peasants' at the hands of their urban counterparts" (pp. 161–62).

In general, Ruf's book is persuasive, but it would be helpful to locate the village more firmly in larger contexts. Although it chronicles the growth of the village as a site of identification over several decades, the book is oddly silent about other loci of identity. Nothing is said about the much-debated issue of peasant "nationalism" or about any supralocal identities. Nor is anything said about the enormous boom in lineage and temple-based activities that has accompanied the growth in rural incomes over the last two decades. Have these largely reinforced the identification with the village that Ruf emphasizes? Do they compete with it? How is the revival of large-scale migration affecting the "corporate" nature of Qiaolou? Addressing these sorts of questions would enrich Ruf's book, but what he has done is already a significant contribution.

KENNETH POMERANZ
University of California, Irvine

JOHN ISRAEL. *Lianda: A Chinese University in War and Revolution*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998. Pp. xv, 459. $60.00.

"Lianda" is an abbreviation of National Southwest Associated University (Xinan Lianhe Daxue), the extraordinary World War II institution that comprised three important Beijing-area schools. Driven from their campuses by the invading Japanese, Beijing, Qinghua, and Nankai universities fled two thousand kilometers to southwest China in a collaborative effort to keep their educational operations alive. As John Israel relates in his detailed and poignant narrative, from 1937 to 1946, the three schools did that and more during their arduous exile.

Growing out of late nineteenth-century cultural reforms, Beijing University had become China's most prestigious liberal arts university, renowned for its humanistic curricula, its internationally educated faculty, and its politically dynamic student body. Qinghua was the educational lotus that grew from the mud of Boxer imperialism; in 1928, it was endowed with Boxer indemnity money to become "China's MIT." Nankai, a private school, catered to the urban business class and had a renowned institute for economic analysis. Israel shows us how these three quite unique schools, over the course of nine years, grew as "Lianda" to a campus of three thousand students and hundreds of faculty in five colleges and twenty-six departments. No university in China, before or since, has had a curriculum as broad or open. Nor did any one campus ever bring together quite such a diversity of talent and points of view.

The amalgamation of three schools rendered some departments, like physics, the biggest and by far the best in China. Students profited from the synergy and found that they were able to get a world-class education that prepared them for graduate training abroad. (1957 Nobel Laureates C. N. Yang and T. D. Lee were Lianda alums. They went on for doctorates at the University of Chicago, thanks to the American connections of faculty like Wu Dayou and Zhou Peiyuan.)

Relying on hundreds of hours of interviews with alums and former faculty, as well as archival materials, Israel deftly chronicles the entire saga of Lianda and describes every aspect of the school: administrative structure, curricula, faculty scholarship and teaching, and student life. The lucid detail with which all of these are reconstructed makes this study one of the most thorough histories of any of China's modern universities. What makes it more than mere reconstruction and chronicle, however, is the author's layered description and analysis of two themes that he develops gradually and then melds at the end of his narrative. The first is Lianda as the embodiment and last bastion of "liberalism" in China before 1949. The second is the evolving conflict between Lianda and the Guomindang (GMD) central government.

Although Israel might have devoted more attention to Lianda's and his own understanding of liberalism, he does evoke a sense of the concept by arguing that Lianda was "a center of liberal education, it was liberal in its pluralism and tolerance of diversity, and it was liberal in the democratic tradition of Great Britain and the United States, where the majority of its senior faculty had been trained" (p. 373). Lianda's faculty advocated a broad-based, non-professional, non-specialized curriculum for its students. They felt such a curriculum was liberal because it accommodated diversity and stressed humanistic learning while resisting uniformity and narrow utilitarian, technocratic goals.

Israel shows how another liberal value, academic freedom, evolved at Lianda from an abstract norm to a palpable political goal. Here, the author's second major theme emerges quite dramatically, and perhaps the best sections of the entire study are devoted to the encroachment of the GMD on Lianda's turf and the sometimes outlandish, sometimes self-endangering responses of the university community. Conflicts between university and government (usually the Ministry of Education) initially centered on the latter's attempts to restructure the curriculum and give technological training greater weight. Conflict was broadened when the government then mandated the creation of courses on "Sun Yat-Senism" and party ideology.

If university-government tensions had remained limited to these kinds of conflicts—that is, university autonomy versus government prerogative—the resulting story might have seemed familiar enough to contemporary readers and not strikingly significant. Israel shows us, however, that Lianda's resistance to GMD academic control was soon enhanced by overt student and faculty criticism of GMD political and military

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

performance. And this in turn was followed by escalating GMD violence, to the point of murder.

Israel is at his keenest when he dissects student political groups and public political demonstrations to show us, in effect, the course of the GMD's disastrous alienation of public support and the unraveling of its political legitimacy. He quite effectively takes national issues, like GMD-Communist relations, and convincingly reveals how they are reflected in the microcosn of Lianda public opinion and political action. Thus, Israel's narrative, which begins with Lianda's heroic will to transcend the horrors of the Japanese invasion, ineluctably concludes with the tragedy of internecine conflict, violence, and demoralization that continued even after the Japanese defeat.

LAURENCE SCHNEIDER
Washington University, St. Louis

MURRAY A. RUBINSTEIN, editor. *Taiwan: A New History*. (Taiwan in the Modern World.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1999. Pp. xiv, 520. Cloth $69.95, paper $27.95.

Murray A. Rubinstein and his contributor colleagues have given us by far the most comprehensive volume of Taiwan history in the English language. Rubinstein draws together essays by major figures in the writing on Taiwan and has himself written a helpful introduction and conclusion, as well as chapters on post-1970 socioeconomic change and political Taiwanization. There is not a seriously weak essay among them, although one by Michael Stainton that could have been titled "Bourdieu among the Aborigines" fails to integrate the slices of theory that sandwich his rich insider history. Eduard Vermeer and Sung-Sheng Yvonne Chang contribute exceptional essays that are outliers to the focus on Taiwan's social history. Vermeer situates the island in Fujian province's Ming dynasty trading sphere, reminding us how deep into history globalism reaches. Chang, in separate discussions of literary forms and factions under Japanese colonialism and then under the Nationalists, does cultural studies with a powerful political edge. Stylistically she takes no prisoners, noting that with the formation in 1987 of an opposition party, "literature was largely relieved of its function as a pretext for political contention" (p. 416).

This volume is too hefty to explore completely, but the reader should know that its sixteen chapters fall into two neat halves. Each of these would make a strong core for courses on Taiwan social history. Essays on geography (Ronald Knapp), discourse on Taiwan Aboriginal origins (Stainton), Ming connections (Vermeer), the Dutch era (John Wills), Taiwan as Qing frontier (John Shepherd), mid-Qing local elites (Chen Chiukun), the island's treaty port period (Robert Gardella), and colonialism's vicissitudes (Harry Lamley) give a vivid picture of key forces shaping experience in preindustrial Taiwan. The second half offers colonial literature (Chang), the crisis years of 1945 to 1948 (Steven Philips), a perspective on the re-engineering of the political economy to 1970 (Peter Chen-main Chen), a palate-cleanser on folk religion for readers grown weary of elites (Robert Weller), an interpretation of modernization from 1971 to 1996 (Rubinstein), post-1949 literature (Chang), the Aboriginal self-government movement (Stainton), and political Taiwanization from 1971 to 1994 (Rubinstein).

Inevitably, subject areas are neglected; every reader will have her favorites. As an anthropologist interested in Taiwan's recent political economy, I most regret gaps where studies of state patterns of wealth circulation, labor, and kinship and gender could have been included. Taiwan's feminism, covered briefly by Lamley and Rubinstein, has an undiscussed base in educational opportunities, government hiring strategies, and the conditions for entry into small business. Taiwan's commercial history, currently much researched in Taiwan, could have expanded understanding of historical continuity.

Whether focused on past or present, all readers should want to see more than these authors offer of the history of society's troublemakers. Where are the pirates, smugglers, gangsters, prostitutes, and armed regional cliques that maintained illicit monopolies—and the interstitial structures of governance that allowed their incumbents silently to tax their profits? These were essential elements of the Fujianese trading world (as Vermeer acknowledges and Chen Chiukun touches on), stirring currents of disruption that ultimately persuaded Beijing to absorb the island into the empire. Nor has a certain swashbuckling habit vanished from this complex political economy: smugglers, gangsters, and corrupt officials still help to shape Taiwan's trade with Fujian, the operation of brothels and small businesses in Taiwan, and the construction and real estate industries. Culturally well-tolerated slippage between the licit and the illicit is too critical, even today, to be politely ignored.

Most of these authors accentuate the positive—and there has been plenty of it—in successive historical moments. Set against this reader's experience, however, the tone of the later chapters is credulous, too willing to believe that early Nationalist leaders knew what they were doing and were good at it. The editor unquestioningly accepts a modernization approach that derives economic development and political democratization from increasingly open markets but still credits the party-state with guiding this paradoxically self-abnegating trend. Authors examining post-1945 events retroject the successes further back than the data warrant, I believe, and omit much key party and state economic activity. By ignoring the sturdy core of profit-making and personnel-employing state enterprises, imaginative revenue-extraction strategies, and the real estate holdings that did, and do, underpin central power, several contributors miss opportunities to frame their analysis as a social history of one of the twentieth-century's successful planned economies.

This book does not seek originality of interpretation

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

or explicit causalities. If you want to build your own argument about Taiwan's remarkable experience, however, it is an excellent place to begin.

HILL GATES
Stanford University

G. CAMERON HURST III. *Armed Martial Arts of Japan: Swordsmanship and Archery*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 243. $30.00.

This volume breaks new ground. G. Cameron Hurst, a long-time student of unarmed martial arts, writes as a historian. He applies his understanding of martial arts training without turning his book into a treatise on technique, aesthetics, or spiritual refinement, yet he treats each of these issues for armed martial arts. This makes his book different from other works on Japanese martial arts. Hurst illustrates the transformation of archery and swordsmanship from military techniques into modern sports. All students of premodern Japanese history should be grateful for his accomplishment.

Hurst begins with a short chapter on "Martial Arts and Japanese Culture." Part one, "Swordsmanship," includes three chapters: "The Early Tradition," "From Self-Protection to Self-Perfection in the Early and Mid-Tokugawa," and "The Sporting Element in the Late Tokugawa." Part two, "Archery," includes two chapters: "The Way of the Bow and Arrow," and "The Quest for Records in the Tokugawa." Here Hurst makes an important point: "Archery . . . was . . . the primary bushi fighting skill for most of premodern history"; "Not until the Tokugawa period did bushi come to venerate the sword more than the bow" (p. 103.).

Part three, "Armed Martial Arts Today," completes Hurst's narrative. Chapters on "Swordsmanship and Archery: The Modern Transformation" and "The Martial and Other Japanese Arts" illustrate how both combat techniques evolved into competitive sports—archery and kendo (fencing). Hurst shows how martial arts share features with other forms of organized cultural expression in Japan. The various schools (*ryūha*) "were corporate groups controlling a particular asset . . . mastery of specialized cultural forms" (p. 177). Although an *iemoto* pattern of transmission was characteristic of tea ceremony, flower arranging and other arts, it was less common among the martial arts. Here, the leader was the *shihan* or teacher, and students who mastered the art could become authorized teachers of subgroups operating independently from their former teacher. Thus, for martial arts schools "discontinuity in headship" was common (p. 178). The Tokugawa bakufu and domain governments discouraged association among warriors across domain boundaries. In the late Tokugawa era, it would be at urban fencing schools that samurai from various domains met, improved their technique, and plotted against the Tokugawa house. Hurst illustrates how martial arts schools were arenas of social mobility as ability replaced ascription as the basis for advancement. Many of the best swordsmen or archers were lower-ranking samurai who achieved status through their martial accomplishments.

The secrets of each *ryūha* were transmitted from master to disciple. While there were standard patterns (*kata*) that needed to be mastered, there were also written texts for most schools by the Tokugawa era. Yet a "non-verbal understanding" was also important as a reflection of the mastery of an art, martial or otherwise (p. 184). Once a student had demonstrated mastery in a *ryūha*, a certificate of mastery was usually conferred, authorizing the recipient to teach and reproduce the art. This encouraged the proliferation of martial arts schools as each licensee was taught everything and was allowed to function on his own. In contrast, under the *iemoto* system, special techniques were often held back and passed on only to the master's designated successor. Hurst goes into detail about various styles of transmission, the oaths signed by students promising to protect the secrets of the school, and even the type of paper on which the oaths were written. It is at this level of detail where we see the skills of the institutional and cultural historian blended with the experience of the martial artist to provide a lucid and erudite discussion of archery and fencing in Japan.

A major contribution of this study is Hurst's discussion of how training had religious features but was not tied to Zen Buddhism or any other religion. He challenges the claims of others that Zen formed the spiritual base of archery or swordsmanship. "Martial arts texts advocate not the simple mind-body unity of Zen Buddhists . . . but a mind-body unity in which the two are in reverse correspondence with one another. That is, if the body is at rest, the mind should be active, if the body is active, the mind should be motionless. If the mind is in a defensive mode, the body is in attack posture, and vice versa" (p. 193). This final point caps this most informative study of the armed martial arts in Japan. This is the first of two volumes; one can hope that the second will be as valuable and as useful as the first.

WILLIAM B. HAUSER
University of Rochester

BENEDICT ANDERSON. *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia, and the World*. New York: Verso. 1998. Pp. x, 374. $19.00.

Since the publication of his *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983), Benedict Anderson has become one of the treasured icons of postmodernist social science, almost if not quite as frequently cited as Edward Said. The apt phrase, that nations are "imagined," caught the attention of all scholars interested in the phenomenon of nationalism because it is at once true and also sarcastically debunking. After all, what nationalist would really want to admit that his nation is less than real? If

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nationalist passion has any basis, its proponents have to believe that the generations of mythmakers who created its heroic imagery must have been revealing the truth, not just imagining it. It was surely an accident, but a revealing one when the *New York Times* some years ago referred to the Cornell scholar, "Benedict Arnold," who wrote that nations are imagined; after all, in ordinary language, to say that implies that the nation is in some sense a fraud.

In these collected essays, which cover many different topics, Anderson somewhat corrects that impression. He does really admire some forms of nationalism, as long as they are revolutionary and anti-imperialist. The essays were written from the late 1970s to the late 1990s and range from brilliant Marxist interpretations of class-based politics in Southeast Asia (Anderson's own scholarly preserve) to intriguing essays of literary analysis.

"Cacique Democracy in the Philippines" concisely tells how that country's Spanish colonial, Catholic, Chinese, mestizo land-owning elite thrived under American colonial rule and emerged stronger than ever with independence. It still rules. This explains why the Philippines sometimes seem to resemble Latin America more than any part of Asia. It also explains why the Philippines have experienced relatively slow economic growth in the past decades, and why so many of its most dynamic people have emigrated. "Elections in Southeast Asia" offers a similar analysis of the class basis of politics in Thailand and Indonesia and also up to the mid-1990s for the Philippines.

There is, however, the other Anderson, whose Marxism is more literary than economic and whose deconstruction of high literary texts can be breathtaking. "Hard to Imagine" compares the seminal Philippine nationalist colonial novel, *Noli Me Tangere* (1887) by José Rizal, to its major English translation published under the title *The Lost Eden*, by the translator Leon Guerrero, a twentieth-century Filipino diplomat. Rizal was shot by the Spaniards in their desperate bid to stop rising anticolonial nationalism and so became a nationalist hero. But he wrote in Spanish, which hardly anyone in his country still reads. Anderson shows us that the Guerrero translation seriously altered the original by leaving out many old Tagalog expressions and much of the populist, realistic, irreligious crudity in the original. The translation misses the flavor of the old society by modernizing and Americanizing it. To give but one example, "mestizo" is translated as the contemptuous American word "half-breed." Anderson is hardly a defender of corrupt, cruel Spanish colonial rule, but in this essay he manages to suggest slyly that American cultural influence was even worse, cheapening and simplifying a previously more subtle cultural tradition.

In "Radicalism After Communism," there is a loving analysis of the works of Indonesia's great novelist, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, as well as those of some Thai leftists. Here, as in many other references to Indonesia, Anderson rarely misses an opportunity to lambaste the murderous Suharto regime that finally collapsed in ruins in 1998, after thirty-two corrupt years in power. Yet, there is no mention of the brutal class war that was gradually engulfing the Indonesian countryside in the years before the mass murders of 1965–66. The Communists and their cultural allies, such as Pramoedya, emerge as immaculate heroes, and the killings, tortures, and years of jail they suffered make them Christlike.

Nor can one look to Anderson for any analysis of the parts of Southeast Asia misruled during all these years by Communists. Pol Pot, the embodiment of ultranationalist extremism, makes a cameo appearance as a tool of the Thai-U.S.-Chinese anti-Vietnamese coalition after 1979, not as the perpetrator of genocide. Even Burma, misruled for decades by "Burmese socialism," gets off lightly. Not being an imperialist tool mitigates many sins.

No one is free of biases, and if we accept his, Anderson is a wonderful guide through modern Southeast Asian history and literature. His scholarship is impeccable, and unlike many who cite him and throw around the words "imagined this and that," he writes beautifully. His readers will take great pleasure in reading this new book.

DANIEL CHIROT
University of Washington

NANDINI SUNDAR. *Subalterns and Sovereigns: An Anthropological History of Bastar, 1854–1996*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. Pp. xxiv, 296. $28.95.

The mountain forests of Bastar are well travelled by anthropologists and folklorists. Thus it is fitting that the history of this vast region in the southeastern corner of the Indian state of Madhya Pradesh has begun to emerge from ethnographic efforts to piece together remnants of the past that will be useful for people in the present. Nandini Sundar did two years' fieldwork in villages populated primarily by people categorized officially as "tribals," and she combined this work with deep archival research and with a broad interest in current political issues to produce an impressive monograph that addresses many important themes in the modern history of subaltern groups in the hills of Asia. Her central theme is the changing political interaction of cultural authority with local struggles over legitimate control of material resources, particularly forests. Throughout the book, she balances archival accounts with oral histories, official texts with local memories.

The first chapter presents a tantalizing account of the older history of village settlement, shifting cultivation, and political culture, upon which colonial power would be established. But the history effectively begins with the "watershed" of colonialism, when the British established indirect rule in Bastar in the late nineteenth century, relying on the intermediary authority of a lineage of Kakatiya kings whose ancestors had first come to rule the region in the thirteenth century.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chapter two launches the local history of colonialism with a popular rebellion against the king in 1876. By suppressing this revolt, the British established their own form of "paternalism . . . couched in terms that required greater intervention in everyday life" (p.103). Political change under colonial administration, described in chapter three, led to another rebellion, in 1910, which is used in chapter four to demonstrate the interactions of administration and resistance through the use of popular memory and colonial documentation. Subaltern and official discourses appear as inherently distinct ways of representing modern modes of state power, but the author also argues that the modern state, under the British (and later under the government of India) has continuously reformulated the politics of custom and tradition.

Modern law, police, and taxation were imposed on the region by the colonial state, and the expansion of alien control over the forest fostered rebellions that always involved struggles over symbols and enactments of legitimate authority. Chapter five considers the entanglement of old "feudal-paternalist" authority with popular loyalties during famine in 1898 and rebellion in 1910. Chapter six discusses the "anthropologist-administrators" who organized the enforcement of customary controls in the context of India's modern development regime. Chapters seven and eight follow modern administrative paternalism and resource exploitation into the period of Indian independence. Another rebellion, in 1966, represents a pivot of modern political history. It opposed the government's rice procurement policy; and led by the former raja, Pravir Chandra Bhanj Deo, this revolt expressed popular resistance through the magic of kingship, despite the failure of the old king to provide effective leadership. Pravir's charisma reappeared after his death in the form of Baba Bihari Das, who claimed to be Pravir's reincarnation, and chapter eight traces the Baba's popular movement, replete with rituals of resistance. Chapter nine concludes with a survey of contemporary struggles over resources in the region and popular political options.

In the later chapters, as the book becomes a wide-ranging account of current political events and issues in Bastar, it begins to impart the impression that a new crisis of political authority is occurring today under a regime that strives to accelerate development within the legacy of administrative paternalism but also claims to be democratic. But Sundar's central argument is rather about continuities in the politics that define Bastar as a region. Acts of rebellion and political conflict today remain material struggles and ritual events at the same time. They formulate and also contest political authority. The Dussehra festival stands out as a key political ritual. It organized royal authority and state labor conscription in precolonial times and became a hot spot for revolt, electioneering, and storytelling in modern times. Tales and events during Dussehra form a popular text that localizes state authority. Today, as in the past, stories about Dussehra and about the exploits of kings and rebels historicize legitimate political authority. As the modern state impinges on life in the villages and outsiders insert themselves into local struggles over the land, Bastar struggles with modernity in its own terms.

David Ludden
University of Pennsylvania

Sumathi Ramaswamy. *Passions of the Tongue: Language Devotion in Tamil India, 1891–1970.* (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 29.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xxiii, 303. Cloth $50.00, paper $20.00.

Ever since the publication of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983), which details the constitutive character for European (and later postcolonial) nation formation of the rise of print capitalism and the deployment of vernaculars for functions of state, students of nationalism have been aware of the interlacing of the nation and language. And yet, as Sumathi Ramaswamy points out in this fine study of Tamil linguistic revivalism and separatism in British and postindependence India, scholars, especially historians, have rarely endeavored to analyze or to come to terms with the politics of linguistic community formation except as a subordinate and purely functional component of a saga of a larger (Indian) nationalism. Even Anderson, who comes closer than most to understanding the affective volatilities rather than the severely utilitarian charge of language in the production of "nationness," feels little need to examine just how the new language(s) of the nation came to be invested with this emotive power. The question is a particularly charged one in the context of postcolonial India, which tries uneasily to reconcile tolerance of the several languages of its linguistically defined states with fidelity to the nation-state (as marked by its purposeful promotion of Hindi, the predominant language of northern India, as the language of rule, education, and employment). Opposition to this "Hindi hegemony"—an opposition that is intimately linked to critiques of Brahmanical privilege and the anti-South bigotry of northern nationalist and Orientalist scholarship—has perhaps been most visible, ambitious, and sustained in (what is now) the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu. Tamil Nadu witnessed in the 1960s and 1970s not only a Tamilization of the public sphere but also various forms of adoration of Tamil, including the publication of classic Tamil texts, the (re-)investiture of a goddess of Tamil (Tamiltṯay), and the public self-immolation of Tamil activists protesting the imposition of Hindi by the Indian state. It is the narrative of this production, over the course of a long century, of fealty to Tamil as the language of primordiality, purity, and democratic community and of the Tamil speaker as a masculine devotee willing to surrender all for language that interests Ramaswamy.

The discourse of *tamilpparṟu* (glossed as "Tamil

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

devotion") is, as Ramaswamy carefully elaborates, an extraordinarily complex and internally variegated one, encompassing a wide range of modern subjects as *tamilar* (Tamilians, Tamil subjects), including those—like the famously iconoclastic E. V. Ramasami of the Dravidian movement—who resolutely abjured and even satirized all forms of linguistic devotion. *Tamilpparru* assumed heterogeneous manifestations in different contexts and historical conjunctures. Where the "religious" or neo-Shaivite devotees of Tamil conceived of it as a divine language, more suitable for worship than the Brahman and Aryan Sanskritism of northern India, its "classicist" adherents sought (using the language of the very Orientalism they contested) to establish its antiquity and its primacy among world civilizations; Tamil speakers were elevated from the degraded position assigned them in Orientalist scholarship to "the Greeks of the East." The Indianists and the Dravidianists had no liturgical or scholarly ambitions for Tamil; they wished to establish it as a language of governance, popular communication, and scientific utility. They were clearly at odds, however, in their analysis of the relationship of Tamil to Indian identity. The Indianists insisted on the subordination of Tamil to a more encompassing Indian citizenship, while the Dravidianists were inimical to the putatively imperial ambitions of the Hindi-identified center. The struggles of these discrepant parties assumed a variety of forms as a result: liturgical, scholarly, educational, and bureaucratic. All these strains were nonetheless indisputably structured by forms of affect and attachment that took a specifically gendered and modern form. The construct of the "mother tongue" (usually embodied in Tamiltttay, "Mother Tamil") drew on the new affective powers embodied in (bourgeois) motherhood to press Tamil sons into filial service and sacrifice for the linguistic community. In post-independence India *tamilpparru* was also generated, perhaps ironically, by large-scale opposition to Hindi more than by allegiance to Tamil. Ramaswamy emphasizes the populist character of Tamil struggle in the 1960s (in contradistinction to its rather different class character in earlier periods), noting that the young males who became martyrs for Tamil tended to be ill-paid and minimally educated. But she is unaccountably reticent about what might have permitted them this powerful identification with Tamil subjecthood.

There are a few lapses in production in an otherwise handsome book. A more scrupulous copy editor would have corrected some of the errors in the use of tenses. The reader would have been helped, moreover, by an elucidation of the scheme of transliteration, which is modeled on that of the University of Madras Tamil Lexicon. These caveats notwithstanding, this book promises to be a significant addition to the scholarship on language politics and the gendered history of nationalism.

PARAMA ROY
University of California, Riverside

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

JAMES W. ST. G. WALKER. *"Race," Rights and the Law in the Supreme Court of Canada: Historical Case Studies.* Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press for the Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History. 1997. Pp. xiii, 448. $44.95.

In the eyes of a large number of its citizens, and of many foreign observers and prospective immigrants as well, Canada today is seen as free of racial conflict and prejudices, a model of multiculturalism. All believe that Canada compares very favorably in this respect to its neighbor to the south, and many assume that the present reality emerged from an equally benign past.

James W. St. G. Walker's meticulous study of four Supreme Court cases involving the issue of race gives the lie to the myth of Canadian tolerance with regard to the past. The cases involve four different "racial" groups (Chinese, blacks, Jews, and Indians), four different decades of the twentieth century (the 1910s, 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s), and three different areas of the country (the Prairies, Quebec, and Ontario). Ample reference is made, as well, to cases involving individuals from other groups and other areas of the country, including the Maritimes and British Columbia, and stretching over the course of Canadian history. Despite its seemingly narrow focus, then, this book sheds light on the whole Canadian experience.

In addition to a detailed account of the legal proceedings, Walker presents for each case a thorough discussion of the relevant social and political background both in Canada and abroad, especially the "common sense" attitudes that underlay judicial decisions. He describes how eminent Canadians of undoubted honesty and good will, including the much-admired Lester B. Pearson, could paradoxically deny the existence of racism in their country and yet maintain the desirability of discrimination based on the principle of freedom, on family values, and/or on putative existential realities (the alleged "immorality" of Orientals, for example). American readers may be surprised to learn that blacks coming to Canada on the Underground Railroad faced a hesitant welcome at best, and that they lived with de facto segregation upheld by the courts until well after World War II. (The specific case highlighted dates from the mid-1930s and involves the right of a Montreal tavern to refuse service to blacks.)

Walker takes great pains to be fair and to avoid anachronistic value judgments. It is, of course, correct to say, as Walker does, that Canadian law and practice reflect attitudes and customs accepted elsewhere in the world (pp. 302–03). In the wide and generous view, however, lies the danger of glossing over Canadian particularity. Although softened somewhat by the country's location on the periphery of modern history, Canadian racism has had a uniquely nasty edge that requires explanation.

To say that Chinese laborers did not bring their families to Canada because of the discrimination they

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

faced (p. 88) is insufficient. Japanese immigrants faced the same hostility, yet they brought their families. The particularly virulent anti-Semitism of Quebec in the 1920s and 1930s was not just "part of a more general xenophobia of that period" (p. 187). Quebec was more hostile to Jews than to others not of French Canadian ancestry, and the roots of that antipathy lie in the historical, religious, and ethnic ties of the province and in a racist conception of nationalism. The number of blacks in Canada has been very small until quite recently, and black-white conflict has never been a central social issue. Is it not odd, then, that Canadians believed as passionately as Americans that segregation and discrimination were desirable, that they were as insistent as U.S. southerners on separating blacks from whites in movie theaters and excluding blacks altogether from restaurants? And how do we understand the fact that, accounting for size and population, Canada was less open to Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany than any other country in the Western world? (Walker notes that, in 1938, the German government sought advice from Canada "on the introduction and implementation of racially discriminatory legislation" [p. 23].)

These are not trivial questions, but raising them is not meant to detract from the considerable achievements of this volume. The author has illuminated the historical systemic racism in Canadian law and society most effectively, and he has shattered the smug self-righteousness of many Canadians. He convincingly presents national and international contexts for Canadian legal developments and, in an excellent introductory essay, sets out the appropriate theoretical and methodological context for this and other historical studies. In every way, this is an impressive and important book.

In an afterword, Walker notes that the Canadian Constitution with its Charter of Rights adopted in 1982 provides a potent weapon with which to fight racism and inequality. But even here he refrains from self-congratulation, reminding readers that legal instruments operate in a context. Whether the new weapon will continue to be effective in overcoming Canada's racist past depends on the "common sense" and social attitudes of the future and also on myths about the past, all of which will provide the context for Canadian constitutional law in the years to come.

MICHAEL BROWN
York University

DONNA R. GABACCIA. *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Foods and the Making of Americans*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1998. Pp. 278. $24.95.

Dressed in a glossy, colorful jacket showing an array of canned and bottled ethnic" foods, and tagged with a bumper-sticker title, this book by Donna R. Gabaccia is an example of how much a reputable academic press is willing to sacrifice in the desperate search for a more marketable product. The book is full of potential and good sense, but it is hard to believe that it passed through the kind of editorial review that a university press normally uses to turn potential into substance and good sense into compelling analysis.

The best parts of the book are its concluding generalizations and the many interesting examples of America's seemingly endless appetite for combining, recombining, mixing, and matching foods from various ethnic and regional sources. The result of this culinary activity, Gabaccia contends, is an eclectic diet that nauseates cultural critics but sustains a positive American trait: "Our food reveals that we are cosmopolitans and iconoclasts; we are tolerant adventurers who do not feel constrained by tradition" (p. 225). As far as eating is concerned, American identity is defined much more by interplay than separatism, although this fact may not justify the author's belief that "indeed we are what we eat—not a multi-ethnic nation, but a nation of multi-ethnics" (p. 232). The book offers a significant insight into the relationship of American ethnicity and commerce: American consumers push in two different but reconcilable directions, preferring both standardized, mass-produced foods and a variety of multi-ethnic dishes. As a result of the tension between national and local, "ethnic and local loyalties repeatedly generate critiques of mass consumer culture, even while the marketplace remains the arena for expressing ethnic and local identities" (p. 230).

As is well known, the Americas were at the heart of a massive food revolution, as various animals, plants, and recipes unknown in Europe or America became popular, and even definitive, in each. In British America, Africans and non-English immigrants like the Dutch and Germans added their own flavors to the English-Native American stock, so that "all these groups by the end of the colonial era shared eating habits that were characteristic of their home region, and each seemed quite American in having departed substantially from the eating habits of their ancestors" (p. 35). Southwestern, northeastern, and southern cuisine in North America—to name the most conspicuous regional styles—transcended purely ethnic tastes while absorbing them. Most of this story is not new, but the author does a nice job of articulating the hierarchy of region and ethnicity vis-à-vis taste.

The remainder of the book focuses on varied examples of ethnic entrepreneurship, the mass production of once-ethnic foods such as bagels, pasta, salsa, and nachos, the conflict of values between reformers and "ethnics" (a story that is better told by Harvey Levenstein), and twentieth-century culinary experimentation.

Unfortunately, after the opening chapter the book's methodological and conceptual problems become more and more troublesome. These problems are devastating because they encompass the two most important parts of historical scholarship: adequacy of research and familiarity with secondary literature. The slackness in the handling of evidence defies description in the short space of this review. (The use of dates is so

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

haphazard as to strip some paragraphs of their historical intelligibility; see p. 115.) No one minds an occasional lapse, but here unsubstantiated and sometimes inaccurate statements abound because of the lack of systematic research. New and potentially fascinating lines of inquiry, such as the rise of catering businesses out of ethnic kitchens or immigrant adaptations of Thanksgiving, are touched on in the briefest and most superficial way, contributing almost nothing to our historical knowledge.

The kind of comprehensive primary research found in Levenstein's benchmark studies in the history of American foodways is absent here. As a result, even though Levenstein does not focus on ethnicity per se, his assessments of ethnicity and food are often superior to the anecdotal generalizations in this book. For example, take the claim that most immigrants were "cultural conservatives" resistant to new foodways (chapter two). Gabaccia is either unaware of, or does not bother to engage, the considerable scholarship to the contrary, and she neglects to do the research on which any such categorical claim must be based. By contrast, Levenstein recognizes that immigrants retained certain customs but quickly altered their diets in favor of a greater abundance and variety of foods, and that there were significant differences between ethnic groups as they adapted to American tastes. Jews, for example, a group that Gabaccia mentions frequently, were much more receptive to American foodways, including brand-named products, than the author realizes.

This book ignores not only much of the scholarship on immigrant consumption habits but also the general historiography on consumption and popular culture in the U.S. One of the very few such works that is acknowledged, Daniel Boorstin's *The Americans: The Democratic Experience* (1973) is misread as a blanket endorsement of standardization when, in fact, it says that the rise of mass-marketed foods and merchandise both enlarged *and* diluted the experience of daily life.

For readers content with a goulash of anecdotes and facts about America's multiethnic diet, this book may be satisfying. For scholars wanting a well-researched, cogently argued analysis, the fare is thin.

ANDREW R. HEINZE
University of San Francisco

DANIEL WICKBERG. *The Senses of Humor: Self and Laughter in Modern America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 267. $35.00.

It is easier to articulate what David Wickberg's monograph is not than what it is. The book is not a study of American humor in the usual sense. Wickberg does not examine a set of texts, and he is not primarily concerned with styles and forms of humorous expression. Nor is this a psychological study, although those who have studied the role of humor and laughter in human personality and behavior, such as Sigmund Freud, do make occasional appearances, and this is not, strictly speaking, a study of "modern" America; much of the book concerns the period from 1870 to 1930, when, Wickberg maintains, the sense of humor began to acquire its current status as the personality trait no one wants to be without. It is, instead, the history of a concept frequently taken for granted—a history that involves semantics, concepts of selfhood, cultural values, understandings of physiology, and social institutions. If the result sometimes has an air of dogged determination, the reader who follows Wickberg's quest for understanding will be rewarded with an enriched understanding of how and why the sense of humor has come to be ubiquitous in twentieth-century American life.

Wickberg necessarily begins his study in the medieval and early modern periods, in which the physiological concept of the four "humors" gradually gave way to the notion of humor as a psychological response, first to deformity and later to incongruity. The idea of humor as a "sense," however, did not emerge until the eighteenth century, when the individual began to be viewed as possessing a variable collection of "senses," including the "common sense" so famously touted by Thomas Paine. While these early sections of the book are occasionally tedious and repetitious, Wickberg does an excellent job of demonstrating that it was not until after the Civil War that the sense of humor began to be perceived as a valuable way for the individual to negotiate between his own desires and the demands of "corporate capitalism," which required him to adapt to larger social institutions and the strictures of Victorian culture. The person judged not to have a sense of humor could now be seen as dangerously narrow-minded and egocentric. Concurrently, humorous forms proliferated: college humor magazines, comic lectures, a newly comic form of the minstrel show.

One of the strongest and at the same time most troubling parts of the book is its fourth chapter, in which Wickberg demonstrates how humor was commodified in the early part of the twentieth century, as first vaudeville and then radio demanded humor that could be bought and sold in the form of the joke. Although his analysis of the development of humor as a business and account of the "scientific" classification of jokes into types are cogent and convincing, Wickberg's focus here suggests that the joke was the only medium of humorous exchange in the first decades of the twentieth century. *The New Yorker* magazine, for example, is nowhere mentioned, even though it represents a parallel commodification of humor and could have usefully extended the distinction between intellectual wit and sympathetic humor discussed in the previous chapter. What Wickberg does show is that, by 1930, the sense of humor had been firmly established as an attribute of middle-class American life as the result of a consumer culture, the popularity of psychology, and the spread of popular entertainments such as radio.

Wickberg's fifth chapter, "The Humorous and the Serious," is perhaps the most successful as social

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

history. The medieval concept of the humor as physiological fluid is, as he shows, not that far removed from the more modern concept of the individual as a kind of "hydraulic machine" (p. 173) that uses humor as a relief from the serious pursuits of life, but in the twentieth century, the sharp distinction between the humorous and the serious has become blurred, allowing humor to be integrated into politics, religion, and education. It was largely the academic study of humor, in fact, that sparked Wickberg's interest in the subject he investigates so thoroughly in the book, and although this well-researched intellectual and social history will interest those engaged in such study, I wish that the author were not so dismissive of those who have preceded him.

NANCY A. WALKER
Vanderbilt University

LAWRENCE B. GLICKMAN. *A Living Wage: American Workers and the Making of Consumer Society*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 220.

Historians have shown increasing interest in the relationship between class and consumption of late. That interest has fueled one of the most significant developments in recent American labor historiography and led to important, insightful, and provocative studies. Lawrence B. Glickman's book is bound to occupy a position in the front ranks of this literature for some time to come. This ambitious and sophisticated volume advances arguments that no student of consumption history can safely ignore.

Glickman's book is organized in four parts. Part one examines the initial resistance of nineteenth-century workers to the notion of wage labor. Reinforcing the conclusions of other scholars, Glickman reminds readers that, for most of the century, workers had aspired to become independent producers. They believed that a lifetime spent working for wages was nothing more than wage slavery. This belief was gendered, according to Glickman, and was inscribed in "prostitution narratives" that drew explicit connections between the "wages of sin and the sin of wages" (p. 38). Because male wage slaves were too poorly paid to provide adequate sustenance for women, women were driven into even more poorly paid work that in turn left them vulnerable to the temptation of prostitution, these narratives held.

Yet, as part two of the book explains, a subtle shift was underway in workers' thinking by the late nineteenth century. That shift saw the rise of what Glickman calls "consumerist living wage discourse" (p. 53). A wide range of working-class thinkers, led by Ira Steward, brought about a "'Copernican Revolution' in labor ideology" (p. 68). With that revolution, slavery became "a synonym not for wage earning itself but for low or inadequate wages" (p. 79). Workers began to accept wage labor while at the same time deploying a critique of inadequate wages on both economic and moral grounds. Low wages endangered prosperity by discouraging consumption; they also undermined the character of citizen workers, according to this critique.

In part three of his book, Glickman illustrates the influence of the new thinking on the development of a "class-conscious consumerist vision" (p. 97). This vision, he demonstrates convincingly, was deeply embedded in both the eight-hour movement and union label campaigns.

Part four of Glickman's book makes clear that this class-conscious vision was ultimately coopted by a middle-class alternative in the twentieth century. By then, the activism that had fueled workers' demands for a living wage had been replaced by social policy initiatives that focused only on the much less visionary notion of the minimum wage. Nonetheless, Glickman argues, labor's long struggle for the living wage influenced the New Deal's encounter with demand-side economics and consumption politics. "The living wage was the prolegomenon of New Deal labor discourse" (p. 156), he contends.

This is a tightly argued book that makes significant contributions to more debates than can be dealt with adequately here. But two of Glickman's points merit special mention. First, in his book's "Coda," Glickman offers a surprising intervention into ongoing discussions of the "family wage" concept. One result of scholars' inattention to the living wage idea, Glickman argues, is that "many historians have used the term 'family wage' instead of living wage, substituting a phrase that nineteenth century workers never used for the one favored by workers" (p. 158). He finds "no uses" of the term before the Progressive era and contends that "'living wage' is the proper historical term" for workers' wage-earning ideals (p. 158). This is no mere question of semantics. Glickman's point holds important implications for recent studies of class and gender, and it should influence debates in that field for some time to come.

Glickman's work is important also for its insistence that the rise of working-class consumerism did not represent an "abandonment of labor's oppositional tradition," as some studies have suggested (p. 156). Glickman points out that living wage discourse grew out of nineteenth-century labor republicanism and was compatible with its assumptions. In claiming a living wage, workers were not rupturing a republican Eden by reaching for the forbidden fruit of the marketplace—a suspicion that haunts the more romantic studies of nineteenth-century labor republicanism. Rather, they were asserting that "high wages and organized consumption were the very basis of citizenship in the republic of wage earners" (p. 156). In doing so, workers carried forward into the industrial age much of the republican tradition's moral vision, engendering a critique that ultimately shaped twentieth-century capitalism for the better.

For offering so many fine insights, this book should gain a wide and enthusiastic readership.

JOSEPH A. MCCARTIN
Georgetown University

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PHILIP J. DELORIA. *Playing Indian*. (Yale Historical Publications.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1998. Pp. 249. $25.00.

When Barry Goldwater joined the Smokis—a Prescott, Arizona-based group of white men who performed versions of Indian ceremonial dances—he became yet another participant in the time-honored American tradition of "playing Indian." The Smoki performances were conducted for decades in conjunction with Prescott's Frontier Days, a local celebration deigned to lure tourists to the community, But, ultimately, belonging to the Smokis symbolized a particular perspective about power and identity—elements that are central to the analysis provided by Philip J. Deloria in this brilliant book.

Deloria declares that "the practice of playing Indian has clustered around two paradigmatic moments—the Revolution, which rested on the creation of a national identity, and modernity, which has used Indian play to encounter the authentic amidst the anxiety of urban industrial and postindustrial life" (p. 7). But if playing Indian is a "persistent tradition in American culture," Deloria contends that it is also "a tradition with limitations" that "clung tightly to the contours of power." He explores the connection between "the Indian" and American identity, the role of disguise and costume, how and why this form of identity changed over time, and how American Indians "participated in white people's Indian play, assisting, conforming, co-opting, challenging and legitimating the performative traditions of aboriginal American identity" (p. 8).

The book is divided into six chapters and a conclusion. From "Patriotic Indians and Identities of Revolution" through "The Grateful Dead Indians," Deloria considers the meaning and significance of an array of events and organizations, including the Boston Tea Party, the New York Tammany Society, the Improved Order of Red Men, the New Confederacy of the Iroquois, the Woodcraft Indians, the Boy Scouts, the Camp Fire Girls, and various hobbyist and counterculture groups of the recent past. He furnishes perceptive portraits of James Fenimore Cooper, Lewis Henry Morgan, Ely S. Parker, Arthur C. Parker, Daniel Carter Beard, and Ernest Thompson Seton.

As I read this book, I often thought of Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr.'s *The White Man's Indian: Images of the Indian From Columbus to the Present* (1978). *The White Man's Indian* demonstrated not only Berkhofer's command of American Indian history but also his wide reading in the humanities and social sciences. His placement of American Indians in the context of the history of North America made his book an important one. Now, a generation later, Deloria offers a comparable tour-de-force, one that displays a truly impressive intellectual virtuosity and reveals the extraordinary promise of this young scholar. The book lacks a bibliography, but its footnotes—nearly one-quarter the length of the text—show the breadth of Deloria's reading and understanding in the rapidly expanding field of American Indian studies and in the humanities and social sciences more generally. For example, his discussion of modernity and antimodernism in the chapter on "Literary Indians and Identities of Modernity" is informed by the work of T. Jackson Lears, James Clifford, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, Marianna Torgovnick, and Leah Dilworth.

This book began as a dissertation at Yale University, where Deloria studied with Howard Lamar, Ann Fabian, William Cronon, and Jean-Christophe Agnew. The book also has been influenced by Deloria's years in Boulder, Colorado, where one of his colleagues is his father, Vine R. Deloria, Jr. With this volume, Deloria carries on the remarkable work of his own family. He joins such major scholars in the field of American Indian history as Frederick Hoxie and Richard White, noteworthy for their ability to make vital connections between the Indian experience and the national experience.

Deloria concludes that "the self-defining pairing of American truth with American freedom rests on the ability to wield power against Indians—social, military, economic, and political—while simultaneously drawing power from them. Indianness," he underlines, "may have existed as a cultural artifact in American society, but it has helped *create* these other forms of power, which have then been turned back on native people" (p. 191). At the end of the twentieth century, more than two hundred years after the American Revolution, significant questions persist about the nature of American identity. This book reminds us that at least one question about America has been settled. Contrary to the conventional wisdom that prevailed throughout most of our history, the Indians will remain.

PETER IVERSON
Arizona State University

JILL LEPORE. *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1998. Pp. xxviii, 337. $30.00.

This great book, despite a rather awkward main title (and shouldn't the subtitle read "*An* American Identity"? What about *The Matter of Metacom: . . .* ?), now takes its place as the most important statement to date on the emergence of "American identity" in colonial New England. Two of the book's qualities require acknowledgment of its superiority in the field.

First, it is a superb exercise in historical interpretation in the rich scholarly tradition (including Frederick Jackson Turner's "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" [1893], the relatively neglected Roy Harvey Pearce [*Savagism and Civilization* (1953, 1965)], and Richard Slotkin [*Regeneration through Violence* (1973)], among others) that would focus our search for the earliest expressions of "American identity" on the transplanted European culture's conflict with the native cultures and physical environment of America. Jill Lepore's variation on this tradition brings

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a fashionable "language itself" sensitivity to the more familiar attraction-and-repulsion theme in the Euro-American/Native American interaction that defined Americans as a people, primarily European-American people from this perspective, trying to maintain their identity in an inhospitable environment. We begin with the seventeenth-century colonial fear of native contamination, then move through the nineteenth-century attraction to romanticized and sentimentalized native figures who no longer posed a serious physical or cultural threat. For instance, James Fenimore Cooper drew on the matter of Metacom to give his readers *The Wept of Wish-ton-wish* (1827), which, as Lepore notes, "failed as a novel but became a successful play and even a ballet" (p. 195). In a realm far removed from ballet but surely much nearer the heart of American identity building, Beadle's Dime Novels offered *Metamora, The Forest King* (c. 1870), while Edwin Forest (billed as "The Brightest Star in the whole Dramatic Firmament!") milked his apparently insatiable audiences for their applause, tears, and money in *Metamora; or, The Last of the Wampanoags* (1829). Forest's career as Metamora makes it clear that this was not merely a New England phenomenon. There was a truly national process at work here. Forest carried Metacom sentiment all the way to the Gulf of Mexico. As Lepore points out, "When [Forest] held a lengthy engagement in Mobile, Alabama, in 1844 . . . his theater receipts for *Metamora* were far greater than for any other performance—twice the receipts for *Macbeth* and *King Lear* in an age when Shakespeare typically thrilled the theatergoing public" (p. 194). And however Shakespeare and Macbeth fared with sophisticated Philadelphians who might have expected little discernment on the part of Mobileans, Forest and Metamora apparently held up well in the long-term competition: "In twenty-five years Philadelphia had only two seasons without *Metamora*" (p. 194). With respect to *Metamora*, if on no other ground, Mobile and Philadelphia agreed. These aspects of Lepore's book suggest its importance for the study of nineteenth-century American popular culture, a contribution in danger of being overlooked if readers approach it as a work of colonial history only.

In fact, Lepore moves well beyond the strong colonial and nineteenth-century foundations to conclude with a view of New England's twentieth-century Native peoples. (Her fascinating discussion and probable solution of the Mount Hope Stone mystery is a wonderful epilogue ["The Rock," pp. 227–40] as well as a first-rate piece of popular historical writing reminiscent of *American Heritage* at its best.)

Lepore, in offering her book as an analytic capstone to the debate, has become an important figure in the discussion of the Native vs. European theme, as is altogether fitting for someone who, although not herself a Native American, has been so careful to serve as a medium for Native expression by combing the often rather unyielding sources for Native voices to quote whenever possible (for example, in her account of the beginning of King Philip's War). More than in any other study of colonial English-Native relations I know of, the Native peoples are present in this book as both participants in and commentators on the historical processes affecting them. Let us hope that Lepore's accomplishment will serve as a challenge and model for other scholars.

Finally, this book is an impressive stylistic achievement in its fluent interweaving of interpretive passages with effective narrative unmarred by the annoying pretensions of italics or special indentations. For this reason, it should be useful to courses in historical methodology as well as in Colonial or Native American Studies. I look forward to discussing it with my graduate and undergraduate classes.

JOHN CANUP
Texas A&M University

THEDA PERDUE. *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700–1835*. (Indians of the Southeast.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 252. $40.00.

As the new millennium beckons, the Ani-Yun-Wiya (Cherokee) remain a thriving "real people." Like other Native groups, the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma is engaged in a cultural renaissance following the difficult decades that began with the creation of the State of Oklahoma and the federal goverment's refutation of the tribe's sovereignty. Both this nation and the Eastern Band of Cherokee in North Carolina have recently benefited from the respective leadership of Wilma Mankiller and Joyce Dugan. In 1999, strong women's participation helped the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma revise its constitution. Theda Perdue offers a timely evaluation of Cherokee women's role prior to removal. The women of the era recreated by Perdue were contending with the deer hide demands of Scottish fur traders and, later, with Thomas Jefferson's fallacious opinions about the Cherokee. Today, other issues have encouraged "the reemergence of Cherokee women onto a public stage" (p. 195). Then and now, Cherokee women have maintained their role as figures of strength within their society.

Perdue has earned national recognition as a scholar of the Cherokee. Best known for her book, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540–1866* (1979), she has also authored or edited several other volumes on the Cherokee and other southeastern Natives. *The Cherokee Removal, A Brief History With Documents*, coedited with Michael D. Green (1995), has spawned vigorous discussion in one of my courses on American Indians/Alaska Natives. In the book under review, Perdue draws heavily on this extensive research experience to relate an intriguing tale of adaptation and continuity.

Perdue concentrates on the responses of Cherokee women who, like the rest of their nation, were balanced precariously "on the frontiers of aggressively expanding empires" (p. 186). Although she provides

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

considerable background by synthesizing the importance of gender in pre-contact Cherokee society, she directs her primary attention to the contact era. Perdue convincingly contrasts the seventeenth-century matrilineal, clan-based society, which incorporated a strong economic and kinship-based position for women, with the early nineteenth-century Cherokee society, which was ruled by a male-dominated national council that largely superseded the previous role of clans and towns. Still, she insists that this contrast is somewhat overdrawn because it fails to allow for Cherokee women's pervasive influence.

Adopting a revisionist stance, Perdue claims that her position differs from that of the late William McLoughlin, noted scholar of the Cherokee. Contending that "the story of most Cherokee women is not cultural transformation, as McLoughlin describes it, but remarkable cultural persistence" (p. 9), Perdue points out that scholars must read carefully the predominantly male contemporary commentaries on the Cherokee. It is likely that the authors either ignored or misunderstood the significant role of women in Native societies. Reading between the lines and arguing through an ethnohistorical understanding of Cherokee society, Perdue portrays Cherokee women as "conservators of traditional values" (p. 64).

Tracing the role of Cherokee women to their progenitor, Selu, the mythical figure who offered the gift of corn to the people, Perdue depicts women's responsibilities as twofold: by caring for the crops they were responsible to the land; through matrilineal lines of descent they were responsible for the continuation of the people. Further, she maintains that despite the post-contact power brokerage opportunities afforded to Cherokee men, who engaged in the slave and hide trade, acquired material wealth, and negotiated with outsiders, Cherokee women, often moving in the background, struggled to maintain some semblance of the balance their roles contributed to society. The women, she argues, fought to retain the land as a community entity, opposed removal to Indian Territory, and sought to maintain traditional communal values.

The themes that Perdue assesses in this volume are germane across Indian Country. Even though she argues, correctly, for the distinctiveness of each Native people's history and culture, some commonality prevails. *Women and Power in Native North America*, edited by Laura F. Klein and Lillian A. Ackerman (1995), introduces some of these connective issues. If Perdue had universalized a few themes, such as the contribution of gender balance to spiritual harmony, it might have lifted her study to a different level.

Part of the University of Nebraska Press "Indians of the Southeast" series, Perdue's book moves this series in a new direction and lays the groundwork for further studies of the complementary roles of men and women in Native societies.

MARGARET CONNELL-SZASZ
University of New Mexico

MICHAEL A. GOMEZ. *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 370. Cloth $45.00, paper $18.95.

Michael A. Gomez presents a persuasive argument that African ethnicities had both a profound effect and an enduring presence within the slave communities of the southern United States. His work thus not only supports but also advances significantly a dominant trend in recent slavery historiography emphasizing the agency of enslaved African Americans in shaping their world.

Race, a convenient construction imposed by whites to categorize African Americans but "without significant meaning in much of Africa" (p. 11) before the Atlantic slave trade, did not quickly overwhelm ethnicity as the key determinant of slave identity, as generations of commentators and scholars have posited. Slaves' African antecedents retained potency and vitality at least through 1830, when Gomez concludes his study, by which time American-born slaves predominated and a composite African-American identity had become more readily discernible.

Gomez introduces his study with an assessment of Denmark Vesey's 1822 slave insurrection that accords primacy to its ethnically based organizational structure, then uses the subsequent chapter's review of the demographics of the transatlantic slave trade to make some reasonable if not readily verifiable extrapolations for the North American context. The next four chapters examine, in turn, the societal characteristics of the peoples of Senegambia and the Bight of Benin; West African Muslims; Sierra Leonians and the Akan; and the Igbo and West Central African communities. Gomez then assesses how slaves made the transition to the American context during the Middle Passage and the "seasoning" they underwent upon arrival and concludes by arguing that the alternative visions offered by ethnicity and class progressively bifurcated African-American society, with the class-based acceptance of Christianity highlighting the contours of the division. In a provocative, two-page epilogue, Gomez pushes his argument further: African-American elites, buoyed by Christianity's inclusionist philosophy, would henceforth pursue full integration, a goal considered chimerical by the black American majority who recognized American racism's "fundamental and unequivocal rejection of Africa as equal" and hence determined to stay "as close to the bosom of Africa as they could get" (p. 292).

Notwithstanding that Gomez had to construct his case on the regrettably meager and partial extant record of slave life, his demonstration of the pervasiveness of Africa in America effectively demolishes time-worn but misguided notions of white cultural hegemony in plantation America. As future scholarship increases the evidentiary base for slave studies,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gomez's findings will undoubtedly be ratified and built upon.

Gomez offers an intriguing explanation for the schisms within slave communities, based primarily but not exclusively on occupation or color, that characterized plantation societies. Although again confronted by a paucity of primary documentation, he skillfully argues that a slave cohort comprising headpeople, tradesmen, domestics, and mixed-race "mulattoes" self-consciously defined itself as an elite class of Christianized African Americans whose members based their collective identity on race and disparaged the ethnic orientation of their fellow slaves, particularly the African-born and field hands. Although the evidence of solidarity among slaves across this "class" divide that can be found (for example, in recent studies of slave rebellions) runs counter to the sharp distinctions Gomez draws, his model has merit as an "ideal type" and suggests fruitful directions for future research.

Gomez has yoked his admirable grasp of recent advances in African historiography with a subtle and sensitive reading of slavery and slave trade documents to craft an extraordinarily rich narrative. On occasion, he overburdens his limited sources with interpretive weight (as evinced, for example, by his efforts to quantify qualitative evidence on slave Christianity [pp. 244–63], and by the recurrence of speculative locutions like "it is reasonable to conclude" [p. 36], "it is therefore likely that" [p. 37], "general statements can be ventured" [p. 61], "it is logical to conclude" [p. 255], and "in all probability" [p. 280] throughout the text). Meanwhile, the white European and American sources he relies on for ascribing African ethnicities and for endowing them with particular traits (for example, the propensity for suicide by Igbo slaves [pp. 120–34]) require more critical evaluation. Problems like these, however, seem virtually inherent to such seminal scholarship in the historiography of slavery, and they are far outweighed by the strengths of this important work.

RODERICK A. MCDONALD
Rider University

FRANK LAMBERT. *Inventing the "Great Awakening"*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999. Pp. viii, 300. $35.00.

Frank Lambert's level-headed account of mid-eighteenth-century colonial revivals quietly abridges claims made in the 1960s and 1970s about political and social upheaval in the "Great Awakening." Limiting his discussion largely to the years between 1735 and 1750, Lambert stresses the "regional and intercolonial" character of the New England, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey revivals (p. 253); their deliberately "sequenced invention" that spanned both sides of the Atlantic (p. 254); and the revivals' "contested" character as well as their status as "part of a colonial cultural war" (p. 255). If the book as a whole somewhat contradicts this last argument, the friction scarcely detracts from an otherwise important survey of modern revivalism's New World debut in two important regions of colonial British America.

Lambert essentially argues that 1980s critics of broad claims for the power of the "Great Awakening," including this reviewer, threw the baby out with the bath water; they shrunk the revivals' import and character and left readers little more than Joseph Tracy's now-famous book, *The Great Awakening: A History of the Revival of Religion in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield* (1842).

Lambert instead takes up the middle ground. He argues that evangelicals invented diverse yet coordinated intercolonial revivals in New England, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania between 1735 and 1750. These revivals upset the standing order wherever they appeared, drenched the colonial press in a war of words, and brought evangelicalism and its revivals center stage in rapidly expanding colonies. But Lambert nowhere stresses political and social upheavals with links to the American Revolution that so fascinated historians thirty years ago.

Lambert moves back and forth between the New England Calvinist revivals of the mid-1730s and Theodorus Frelinghuysen's Dutch Reformed revivals of the 1720s in New Jersey's Raritan river valley, then highlights the Tennent family's importance to Presbyterian revivalism. Lambert stresses George Whitefield's publicity-driven crusades in both Britain and America, interrelationships between regional and local awakenings, the fashioning of a "common script" in revival narratives, and the creative power of new evangelical magazines and histories, such as John Gillies's *Historical Collections Relating to Remarkable Periods of the Success of the Gospel* (1754) and Thomas Prince's Boston magazine, *The Christian History, Containing Accounts of the Revival and Propagation of Religion in Great-Britain and America* (1743–1745). Lambert is especially insightful about divisions among revivalists and about pro- and anti-revivalist rhetoric (the latter elsewhere often reduced only to caricatured views of Charles Chauncy) by underlining subtle as well as profound differences that separated the work of exhorters like Jonathan Edwards, Gilbert Tennent, and Whitefield.

Lambert does not systematically probe differences between the politically potent Virginia revivals of the 1760s and 1770s, famously described in Rhys Isaac's *Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* (1982), and the earlier New England and middle colony revivals. Nor does the argument about the revivals as part of a colonial "cultural war," briefly stated in the conclusion, work well with Lambert's careful exegesis, which emphasizes specifically religious, ecclesiastical, and organizational issues rather than the massive political and social confrontation suggested in the term "cultural war." Here, Lambert might have probed more deeply into suggestions by figures like the moderate New England revivalist, Ebenezer Turell, who bemoaned

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the revivals' tendency to encourage "Negroes and the most ignorant of the Principles of Religion to become Exhorters ... and Women to become Teachers" (Turell, quoted on p. 247).

Similarly, Lambert might also have focused more on the converted. Were their experiences as diverse as the means by which evangelicals advanced revivals and that are the focus of this book? Finally, readers might have hoped for more attention to the continued interplay of transatlantic forces, expanding Lambert's excellent discussion of the evangelicals' eighteenth-century transatlantic publishing. W. R. Ward's *Protestant Evangelical Revival* (1992), which Lambert cites, treats the colonial revivals as offshoots of earlier, spiritually eclectic European awakenings, and greater detail might have deepened our understanding of the ways New England and middle colony preachers drew on and departed from Europe's diverse revival precedents.

Still, Lambert's straightforward, non-sensational history makes a good case for "great awakenings" in New England and several middle colonies before 1750 and marks a helpful turn in the debate about the real meaning of Joseph Tracy's *Great Awakening*.

JON BUTLER
Yale University

ROBERT F. DALZELL, JR. and LEE BALDWIN DALZELL. *George Washington's Mount Vernon: At Home in Revolutionary America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. xxi, 300. $35.00.

Robert F. Dalzell, Jr., and Lee Baldwin Dalzell attempt to show what George Washington's 8,000-acre plantation can reveal about his personal character. Their core premise is that his deeply held values and opinions were embedded in his artifactual environment. By looking at Washington through the lenses of material culture research, they try to suggest a connection between the way that he managed Mount Vernon and the way that he understood the nation. Writing, for example, about how Washington assembled the work force that he needed to build his house, the Dalzells see parallels with the concerns that also troubled the country: "When fully assembled, the building crews at Mount Vernon thus had a polyglot character. Indeed, they came close to replicating, in miniature, the larger Virginia society from which they were drawn. They also displayed, sometimes dramatically, the pressures and tensions that eddied through society" (p. 127). Here the Dalzells are following the axiomatic premise of anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn, who held that cultural performance serves the analyst as a "mirror for mankind." In a similar way, the authors argue that Washington is effectively mirrored in Mount Vernon.

The book is extensively illustrated, as all good material culture studies should be, with more than eighty photographs, images, scaled-drawings, and maps. Yet the potential for a truly alternate view of Washington is not fully achieved. The Dalzells might have paid more attention to the physical elements of the landscape that Washington so carefully crafted over a period of forty years, but instead they have depended most heavily on conventional documentary sources. Further, they have limited themselves mainly to Washington's mansion, giving only passing glances to elements such as the grounds, gardens, and assorted work buildings. The growing body of archeological research on the enslaved community at Mount Vernon is acknowledged but has not been well used. The same could be said of the recent studies on housebuilding techniques in the Chesapeake region. That sort of data tends to appear mostly in the footnotes rather than in the text.

In their explanation of the mansion house, the Dalzells do make effective use of material details, and chapters three through five are the most convincing sections of the book. They point out various architectural faux pas to which Washington was prone as an amateur architect and thus humanize the aloof figure of a general turned president. He is shown to be a person who, like many of us, sometimes had to accept less-than-perfect compromise solutions. The western facade of his house with its awkward arrangement of windows stands as a telling and lasting statement both of his attempt to create a harmonious and balanced arrangement and of his failure to do so. This facade and other architectural maneuvers reveal what Washington wanted to achieve and what, in the end, he had to accept. The house speaks "of the man whose will, choices, and objectives did so much to give it shape, and who was himself, after all, a singularly complex human being" (p. 18).

At several points in their book, the authors indicate that Washington was troubled by the institution of chattel slavery, and in their concluding chapter they detail how he came to include provisions for the emancipation of his slaves in his will. This is a gesture that the Dalzells interpret as a "stunning affirmation" of equality, an act suggesting that Washington held compassionate feelings for his bondsmen. Yet they also show that Washington split up slave families by assigning husbands and wives to different sections of Mount Vernon; in a work force of 300, only eighteen men and women lived together as couples (p. 133). Further, given that Washington's slave cabins were described at the time as more miserable than the poorest peasant cottages of Europe, his last act may have been little more than an attempt to ease the burdens of his guilty conscience. Had the Dalzells considered the material conditions of servitude more carefully, they might have shown Washington finally as stymied by the moral dilemma of slavery and thus as a thoroughly conflicted figure.

JOHN MICHAEL VLACH
George Washington University

JEAN M. YARBROUGH. *American Virtues: Thomas Jefferson on the Character of a Free People*. (American

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1998. Pp. xxiv, 256. $35.00.

A study of ideas about character, especially those of a president of the United States, comes at a most propitious time in our history when character has become the most inquired about aspect of contemporary presidential candidates. Jean M. Yarbrough's study of Thomas Jefferson's concerns about character is more than a fresh investigation of Jefferson's ideas: it is in many respects a way to determine whether these ideas are useable in our own time. The results are manifold. Not only has Yarbrough crafted a provocative, occasionally maddening study, but she also brings a much-needed corrective to Jefferson studies, especially to the work of Garry Wills and Richard Matthews and also, to a lesser extent, Lance Banning.

Yarbrough argues, for example, that the influence of the Scottish Enlightenment, while clearly discernable in Jefferson's writings, was not as profoundly determining as Wills would have us believe. Nor was Jefferson as radical as Matthews has argued, nor was he a thinker as deeply entrenched in the republican tradition as Banning has suggested. Instead, Yarbrough reveals a Jefferson who was fully a man of his time, an eighteenth-century liberal thinker and writer who believed that a person's character, if formed and nurtured with an appropriate education, could be molded appropriately for the individual to live in a free society.

Jefferson spent a lifetime, Yarbrough argues, attempting to influence the character of the American people who possessed the potential to conform to his ideas of moral virtue: in short, to his idea of character. These virtues form a litany that she cites again and again in an effort, in part, to show how they conform not to late twentieth-century, *fin-de-siècle* state welfarism but rather to a pre-New Deal environment, a Barry Goldwater "pull-yourself-up-by-your-own-bootstraps" mentality, a Ronald Reagan "get-the-government-off-backs-of-the-people" aphorism, a return, in effect, to eighteenth-century limited and self-government. Jefferson's moral virtues included "industry, self-reliance, frugality, self-restraint, modesty, temperance, fortitude, cheerfulness, civility, and self-control" (p. 159).

Yarbrough suggests that Americans should strive to adopt these very virtues today if we are to achieve the proper character of a free people. Yarbrough is, accordingly, a writer *engagé* who is fearless in expressing her views about contemporary society and politics. Throughout her book, she fires bolts of lightning to show where contemporary Americans have lost their way with the rise of the welfare state, in which entitlements have become the rule and expectation of us all, judicial review has transferred legislative authority from the legislature to the judiciary, and, ultimately, what she calls "paternal despotism" (p. 86), has infected all Americans—not just poor, disadvantaged minorities—with the disease of dependency so profound that we have lost our character as a free people. Aside from Jefferson, her heroes, in a contemporary context, are Charles Murray, George F. Will, Harvey Mansfield, and James Q. Wilson, all conservative social commentators and political theorists.

Nowhere does Yarbrough say this more clearly than when she comments on Jefferson's faith in majority rule (as opposed to James Madison, who argued about the dangers of an overwrought majority trampling the rights of the minority). "Yet although Jefferson is too optimistic about majority rule, today we tend to err in the opposite direction. Concern for minority rights has been taken too far and extended to too many minorities, fracturing the power of a community to govern itself" (p. 136). In her note to this statement, Yarbrough cites a number of issues that belong to the local community to decide: namely, abortion rights, gay and lesbian rights, religious practices in the public schools, and affirmative action (p. 229, n. 156). She is not wrong to suggest that a free people, either directly through Jefferson's quaint wards (or New England town meetings) or indirectly through representation, should determine the contours of their social and political life. But Yarbrough ignores two very real issues: namely that the twenty-first century is not the eighteenth and, perhaps even more importantly, that the United States, in size, diversity, and complexity, is not the same nation it was two hundred years ago.

None of these comments is meant as a criticism of the quality of Yarbrough's study of Jefferson's ideas of character. Her work is grounded in a close, almost Straussian reading of his writings, and for that reason alone, there is a great deal to recommend her study—not only to Jefferson scholars, but to all those who have any sensibility about the virtue of a people's character.

JACK FRUCHTMAN, JR.
Towson University

RICHARD BUEL, JR. *In Irons: Britain's Naval Supremacy and the American Revolutionary Economy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 397. $35.00.

Unlike the flourishing cottage industry that examines Revolutionary War generals and battles, discussion of the American economy during the War for Independence has remained a murky backwater, and understandably so. British customs records, so helpful in analyzing the colonial economy, tell us little about North American trade during the war years. Battles, blockades, occupation forces, and inflation disrupted normal patterns and seemingly threw the economy into near chaos. Richard Buel, Jr., sheds new light on this turbulent era in a book that has significant strengths and shortcomings.

The broad outlines of the story Buel tells are convincing. His tale is one of economic decline and recovery. The war disrupted the economy in 1775. Then conditions worsened each year until 1779, for several reasons: the effectiveness of the British navy,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

British occupation of the major ports, a shortage of manpower to harvest the crops, much reduced trade with Europe and the West Indies, and a flood of paper money. Recovery began in 1780 and gathered strength in 1781. Underlying this recovery were the influx of specie from France, booming trade with St. Eustatia and Cuba, the decision to repudiate the inflated currency, the establishment of the Bank of North America, and victories that reaffirmed American control over the mainland. Recovery slowed, however, in 1782 because of poor harvests and a tightening British blockade.

The great strength of this book lies in Buel's extensive research. He has visited dozens of archives and examined hundreds of collections. The work will be a starting point for those wanting to explore particular aspects of the Revolutionary economy in more depth. Buel makes commendable use of fragmentary evidence. For example, using the account books of two major grain merchants, he presents valuable series for flour production. He unearths important if incomplete data on privateering and port clearances.

But this well-researched work has shortcomings. To begin with, the organization is disconcerting. Usually the structure is chronological, but often it is topical, so the account jumps forward and back in time. The broad narrative flow must be teased out of discussions in many chapters.

More significantly, the questions Buel asks are narrow ones. He is concerned about how many bushels of wheat farmers produced and how many vessels slipped through the blockade. But only in passing does he note the conflicting ideologies that shaped different approaches to the economy. Scholars such as John E. Crowley, Drew R. McCoy, Margaret Ellen Newell, and Peter S. Onuf have demonstrated the vigor and significance of the debate over political economy. It was a period in which the advocates of regulation and freer trade came to blows. Few of these exchanges are evident in this book.

Indeed, except in detail, Buel does not revise the picture set forth by several older, classic works on the Revolutionary economy. He relies on E. James Ferguson's magisterial study of government finance, *The Power of the Purse: A History of American Public Finance, 1776–1790* (1961) but does not move beyond this work. Similarly, Buel's conclusions parallel but do not significantly revise those reached by Robert East in *Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era* (1938). Like East, Buel details the activities of financier Robert Morris and a small group of contractors who struggled with wartime conditions. And like East, Buel focuses on the northern states with only occasional forays into the Chesapeake and very little discussion of the Lower South. Curiously, there appears to be no mention of East's still useful book in the more than one hundred pages of endnotes.

In sum, scholars will need this book to understand business activity during the Revolution. But they must turn to other works to grasp the intense debates that shaped the course of development.

MARC EGNAL
York University

DONALD J. RATCLIFFE. *Party Spirit in a Frontier Republic: Democratic Politics in Ohio, 1793–1821*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 336. Cloth $52.50, paper $22.95.

At a time when most historians (and their publishers) boast of connections between their work and one or another "new" history, Donald J. Ratcliffe gives his study of party politics in early Ohio a refreshingly different spin. "This book will be dismissed," he writes in the opening sentence, "as old-fashioned political history" (p. ix). Certainly, Ratcliffe's focus on political contests and electoral competitions contrasts with recent trends in the historiography of the early republic. He makes no effort to decode the symbology of political culture or to understand how diverse power relationships shaped public and private behavior. What has come to be called the new political history, Ratcliffe maintains, tells us little about how politics actually worked, about how candidates won elections. By contrast, that issue did inform the social science-minded historians, who constructed the last generation's "new political history." Yet Ratcliffe's work stands apart from that current of scholarship as well. Although the concerns may be similar, the methods are not. Ratcliffe's book contains only one table, and no computers were needed to analyze the limited quantitative evidence that the author marshals.

Unfashionable though it may be, Ratcliffe's study revisits questions that should still matter to political historians of all vintages: when did a system of organized partisanship emerge, how did this party spirit shape the workings of politics in Jeffersonian Ohio, and what significance did this experience have for the future? Challenging historians who insist that anti-party sentiments and deferential habits checked the development of organized partisanship until the Jacksonian era, Ratcliffe argues that "the political system in Ohio was thoroughly democratized by the early years of the nineteenth century" (p. 12). Gentry leaders, writes Ratcliffe, "would have been amused to learn that they controlled an 'aristocratic state republic' where followers followed wherever leaders led" (p. 107). Drawing on his exhaustive excavations of Ohio's newspapers, public records, and manuscript collections, Ratcliffe also takes issue with the now conventional wisdom that all politics was local and that ethnocultural factors explained political alignments in the early republic. Instead, he asserts that the fallout from the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars found its way to the Ohio frontier in the 1790s and that partisan sentiment continued to focus on national, not local, issues in the years before 1815. From admittedly spotty election results, Ratcliffe demonstrates the ex-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tent to which Ohioans in different parts of the state voted along party lines. Although Federalists became uncompetitive in state elections after 1805, organized partisanship persisted at the county level and was embedded in the consciousness of Ohio voters. Indeed, Ratcliffe claims that the memory of party feeling in the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century created "emotional and ideological attachments" that "survive[d] the Era of Good Feelings and laid the groundwork for the nation's Second Party System" (p. 12).

Even as Ratcliffe forwards his bold contentions, he qualifies them in ways that blunt criticism but also reduce the book's controversial thrust. Ratcliffe, for example, does not dispute the relevance of ethnocultural divisions. He simply holds that these did not alone define the partisanship of the early statehood period. More important, Ratcliffe concedes that in Ohio the Federalist and Republican entities were parties in only a limited sense of the term. True, contemporaries called them parties. Moreover, the partisanship of Republicans and Federalists inspired organizational techniques and voter loyalties that outlasted the Jeffersonian Age. Still, Ratcliffe does not pretend that the political organizations of Ohio's first parties equaled those refined by Democrats and Whigs. Viewed against subsequent political institutions, Ohio's Republican and Federalist formations remained proto-parties whose "partisanship, vitriol, and passion" merely "foreshadowed" the organized and structured system of the 1830s and 1840s (p. 242). Party spirit, in other words, was not the same as party system.

If Ratcliffe's book fails to resurrect entirely the idea of a "first party system," its contributions must not be dismissed. Recovering the popular sources of party spirit in early Ohio politics, Ratcliffe's study reminds us that old-fashioned research, when skillfully assembled, can provide new insights.

Stephen Aron
University of California, Los Angeles

Peter S. Field. *The Crisis of the Standing Order: Clerical Intellectuals and Cultural Authority in Massachusetts, 1780–1833*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998. Pp. xiii, 272. $39.95.

This work on the demise of the Congregational Standing Order in Massachusetts is chronologically framed by the state's constitutional decisions of 1780 and 1833. The former maintained established religion in Article three of the state's new constitution; the latter disestablished it. During the intervening half-century, asserts Peter S. Field, a culture war emerged between two Congregational parties in the Boston area: a Harvard-educated "Brahmin" party of rational or liberal Christians (incipient Unitarians) and an almost exclusively Yale-educated, conservative party of orthodox or evangelical Calvinists. Although both parties sought to uphold the Standing Order and to benefit from the Congregational alliance with the state, decades of infighting—culminating in the infamous 1821 "Dedham decision"—eviscerated the Standing Order. The 1833 vote in favor of religious disestablishment proved little more than a formal confirmation of the Standing Order's moribund status.

In a lively, clear, but not completely satisfying way, Field examines Boston's Congregational clerical elite through the lens of a "social history of intellectuals" (p. 3). Early chapters perceptively trace the emergence of the Boston Brahmins, "America's first coterie of professional intellectuals" (p. 53). Known for their high literary (and correspondingly low theological) tastes, Brahmin ministers cultivated the favor of a nouveau-riche class of merchants whose status as parishioners—not as church communicants—bespoke their indifference toward orthodox Calvinism's demand for conversion. This mercantile elite bankrolled ministerial salaries and supported high culture through patronage of new literary institutions (the *Monthly Anthology* and the Boston Athenaeum). The crowning achievement of this emerging Boston aristocracy was its takeover of Harvard, symbolized by the controversial election of Henry Ware to the Hollis professorship in 1805 and solidified during the presidency of John Thornton Kirkland (1810–1828).

Ware's election, a "turning point for the Standing Order of Massachusetts" (p. 140), galvanized orthodox Calvinist forces to do battle. Led by Jedidiah Morse, the self-appointed slayer of the Brahmin dragons, the orthodox party created competing institutions (the *Panoplist* magazine, Andover Theological Seminary, and Park Street Church in Boston) to challenge Brahmin ascendancy. Indicative of orthodox stridency, ministers such as John Codman of Dorchester refused to exchange pulpits with their Brahmin counterparts and thus offended their liberal parishioners. The Dorchester controversy and subsequent, though unsuccessful, efforts by the orthodox party to shore up church discipline by creating a presbyterian polity exacerbated tensions to the point of triggering a crisis of the Standing Order. Indeed, while both a rising democracy and the remarkable growth of Baptists and Methodists challenged the hegemony of the Standing Order, Field concludes that "in the end, Congregational infighting killed the Standing Order" (p. 209). When, in the Dedham decision, the court ruled in favor of the majority rule of liberal parishioners over the minority wishes of church members and declared the parish the legal entity, the orthodox party reconsidered its stance. Led by the irrepressible Lyman Beecher, the evangelical Calvinists turned to revivals to reinvigorate and sustain the Congregational churches. Eschewing legal coercion for voluntary persuasion, they no longer had a compelling reason to defend the privileges of their own Standing Order.

Field writes with sensitivity about the complex struggles over clerical authority, constitutional issues, and the realignment of religious parties, but not without

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

flattening the perspective and restricting the interpretive landscape. Relying upon the works of "new class" theorists, he argues that the Standing Order was motivated primarily by self-interest, defined as a consuming desire to preserve power and prestige. Despite his caveat that this approach is "an important complement" (p. 3) to works on theology (his rationale for ignoring doctrinal debates), Field's "thoroughgoing materialism" (p. 4) reduces theological ideas and convictions to a derivative role. There is thus little reason to offer a precise definition of "Hopkinsian" Calvinism (or even mention its namesake, Samuel Hopkins) or to account for the decline in full communicant status except to suggest that it was primarily the result of "decreasing prestige" (pp. 59, 229).

Equally problematic is Field's near-exclusive focus on eastern Massachusetts. To be sure, the crisis of the Standing Order largely played itself out in the Boston area, but Field's gaze is so restricted that he incorrectly asserts the novelty of Lyman Beecher's "revivals to the rescue" approach. In western Massachusetts, revivals in orthodox ("Hopkinsian") Congregational churches had waxed strong since the 1790s. Finally, a disconcerting carelessness mars this book. Is it John (p. 133) or James (p. 135) Thornton Kirkland? Footnotes and bibliography with misspelled authors and missing page numbers from numerous articles are unworthy of this important work.

Field's book is the most complete work written to date on a crucial transitional phase in New England Congregationalism. It has the provocative merit of most single-premise works of historical explanation, brightly illuminating one part of the story but also casting a shadow on others no less important to the full and more complicated plot.

David W. Kling
University of Miami

Cynthia Lynn Lyerly. *Methodism and the Southern Mind, 1770–1810.* (Religion in American Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 251. $45.00.

There has been an efflorescence of scholarship on early American Methodism. Cynthia Lynn Lyerly's new book bears comparison especially with John H. Wigger's *Taking Heaven by Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America* (1998) and Christine Leigh Heyrman's *Southern Cross: The Beginnings the Bible Belt* (1997). Although Wigger takes a national perspective, he covers much the same ground as Lyerly's account of southern Methodism. Heyrman examines the whole spectrum of southern evangelicalism but gives pride of place to the Methodist experience. All three authors rely heavily on the memoirs of Methodist itinerants and take pains to tease meaning out of these sources in order to gain insight into the relationship of Methodism (or evangelicalism) to early national (or southern) culture. Each of them ponders the question of why religious movements born in an upsurge of popular self-expression and promising some measure of equality for women and freedom for African Americans eventually became reconciled to male prerogative and relations of power established in the secular realm.

The question, then, is what is distinctive about Lyerly's approach? Whereas Wigger tends to blur regional distinctions, Lyerly plants her study firmly in southern soil. Unlike Heyrman, who tries to discern the rhetorical or narrative strategies that are encoded in the clerical memoirs, Lyerly tends to take specifically Wesleyan beliefs seriously and her clerical interlocutors pretty much at their word. Lyerly, more unambiguously than Heyrman, fits Methodism into a countercultural or counter-hegemonic paradigm of early southern evangelicalism. The Methodist moment, she writes, was one of those "rare moments in southern history that held out the promise of a just world" (p. vii).

The core of Lyerly's argument lies in her central chapters, which deal with the Methodist ethos and its implications for a southern world view that insisted upon patriarchy in the family, hierarchy in society, and honor in one's personal relations. Their theological Arminianism, emphasizing human agency, encouraged Methodists to wage a life-long struggle against sin and to aspire toward perfect love and holiness. Methodism's transforming power on individuals and the sense of community that it created allowed it for a time (and imperfectly) to transcend differences imposed by race, gender, and class. People became Methodists for a variety of reasons, but in the case of both whites and blacks, and men and women, Lyerly is emphatic in taking their spiritual concerns seriously. A few Methodists struggled courageously against slavery, although most Methodists, often uneasily, eventually made their peace with it. Even so, there was an openness and lack of rigidity in early Methodism that, according to Lyerly, clearly distinguished it from later antebellum evangelicalism. Preachers tended to take for granted that slavery was an evil even when they were circumspect about condemning it. But, in the end, saving souls was a more pressing task that could not be accomplished if Methodists remained a despised minority. The primacy of evangelism, according to Lyerly, was the Achilles' heel of Methodist antislavery. Lyerly rightly makes much of the fact that a substantial majority of early converts were women. Women's high visibility and active participation in early Methodism seemed especially subversive of the patriarchal ideal and male code of honor. As for women themselves, joining a church, often against male opposition, became "an act of autonomy and self-assertion" (p. 118). Finally, Methodism's egalitarian style and criticisms of the pretensions of wealth and power also posed a challenge to the gentry's world view.

Lyerly marshals substantial evidence in this lively and intelligent book in favor of her counter-hegemonic thesis. She offers plausible reasons for Methodism's decline as an insurgent force, even as it gained in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

numbers, wealth, and more conventional forms of influence. Yet nagging questions remain about the relative ease and rapidity of Methodism's fall from grace. For one thing, Lyerly may make too much of the hegemonic force of "gentry values." If Rhys Isaac is correct, gentry values had been under attack for a long time. Methodism's growth may even be explained partly as a consequence of the way those values had been changing since before the Revolution. Another possibility is that Methodist "egalitarianism" has been exaggerated. It may have faded so quickly because it was a highly ambiguous commitment to begin with.

FREDERICK A. BODE
Concordia University, Montreal

CHRISTOPHER H. OWEN. *The Sacred Flame of Love: Methodism and Society in Nineteenth-Century Georgia*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1998. Pp. xx, 290. $50.00.

This book joins half a dozen recent studies of the origins and evolution of early American Methodism. Although Christopher H. Owen has a narrower geographic focus than John H. Wigger's *Taking Heaven by Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America* (1998) or Gregory Schneider's *The Way of the Cross Leads Home: The Domestication of American Methodism* (1993), his long chronological sweep enables him to chart the changes and adaptations that help to explain Methodism's persistence in the American South from the period of its inception into the early twentieth century.

Chastising historians for characterizing southern evangelicalism as unchanging over two centuries, the author contends that the literature has largely stereotyped white evangelical churches as conservative defenders of the social order and black churches as prophetic arenas of struggle for social justice while overlooking the complex biracial interaction among them. To correct these flaws, the book traces the long process of church consolidation in early nineteenth-century Georgia and continual retrenchment thereafter—a process that, despite the author's protests, is largely familiar from previous scholarship.

Like numerous scholars, Owen locates the key moment in Methodism's ascent in moral and social choices made by church leaders in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, especially regarding slavery. To gain respectability and a foothold among both planters and yeoman would-be planters, white Methodists muted their criticism of slavery and made peace with an institution many had abhorred. In an impressive chapter called "A Slaveholder's Millennium," Owen describes how, once this crucial decision was made, the church constructed an elaborate apparatus of both ideological defense of slavery as well as mission outreach to "civilize" the enslaved. The maintenance of, and complicity in, legalized bondage and racial caste became central to white Methodism's self-conception.

Owen argues that although antebellum Methodism was no haven of social equality, this "religion of the heart" did provide something of a coherent structure and conversion-based world view that tenuously bridged racial and social divisions among black and white congregants. This arrangement was fractured by the Civil War, which not only caused black and white Methodists to part company but evoked soul-searching responses among white Methodists as well. Sensitively exploring the mixed reactions to secession and war among white Methodists, Owen contends that their views were "less monolithic and more subtle" than historians have realized, ranging from "outright Unionism to bitter-end support for the Confederacy" (p. 94). Yet despite their wartime disagreements, the author suggests that evangelicals emerged from the war with greater respect and appeal than ever because the church offered white southerners refuge in defeat, thus fusing "the evangelical outlook to the southern psyche" (p. 113).

Antebellum cross-racial cohesion fell prey to the politics of Reconstruction and redemption, as black Methodists began leaving white-controlled Methodist churches for African Methodist Episcopal and Colored Methodist Episcopal congregations under black leadership even before the war was over. The postwar burgeoning of independent black churches reflected what the author calls Methodism's "ideological disintegration" along racial, political, theological, and social lines by the end of the century.

The book analyzes these structural changes well, usually avoiding easy generalizations and carefully examining conflicting points of view. The author's biracial cultural approach, which could have made a signal contribution, is less convincing, however. The discussion of antebellum black Methodism is compressed into a few pages; the dramatic statistic (p. 41) that between 1800 and 1830 black church membership increased by 3,000 percent to 5,000 adherents, or one-fifth of the state's total Methodist population, is not fully explored. Rich possibilities for investigating cross-racial spiritual influences as well as black Methodist life in either plantation missions or semi-autonomous urban congregations are almost untapped. Throughout, the phrase "Georgia Methodists" is used as shorthand for white Methodists, as in the discussion of the Civil War, which devotes one paragraph to the wartime experiences of black Methodists while claiming that "Georgia Methodists had rendered loyal service to the cause of southern independence" (p. 113).

The book's discussion of postbellum black Methodist struggles and church growth is better developed and imparts a good sense of why, despite (or perhaps because of) the era's political and social turmoil, the church continued to provide a spiritual home for thousands of black and white Georgians. But the author has not greatly altered prevailing scholarship that white nineteenth-century evangelicalism but-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tressed a conservative social order and that black churches were centers of resistance against racism. Moreover, his conclusion that emancipation shattered Methodists' "claims to racial inclusiveness and substituted full-fledged ecclesiastical segregation" (p. 186) produces the unintended but odd effect of sounding like a lament for a lost vision of church harmony before black freedom intruded.

JON SENSBACH
University of Florida

DIANNE ASHTON. *Rebecca Gratz: Women and Judaism in Antebellum America*. (American Jewish Civilization Series.) Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 1997. Pp. 329. $39.95.

This lively and intelligent biographical ode to Rebecca Gratz (1781–1869) of Philadelphia, one of the most influential Jewish women of the antebellum era, is primarily about Jewish organizational life in America's first major industrial city and, secondarily, about the interesting Gratz family. Unmarried, like a great many middle and upper-class antebellum Philadelphians, Gratz's closest ties were with her unmarried brothers, with whom she lived throughout her life, and the greatest fulfillment in her life came from her more than sixty years of communal service. Indeed, her institutions (Female Hebrew Benevolent Society, Hebrew Sunday School, and the Jewish Foster Home) were her real legacy, and they thrived, thanks in great part to her extraordinary organizational abilities, long after her death. A member of the emerging leisure class, this very intellectual woman made a career of managing organizations, and she convinced two or three generations of Jewish women that they, too, could manage institutions and make a place for themselves (and for Judaism) within American culture. Shut out of the family business by American law and circumscribed in her religious activities by a patriarchal Jewish tradition, Gratz found a rewarding life in benevolent societies.

Dianne Ashton develops this theme, showing Gratz working at being fully Jewish (an implacable foe of Reform and a model of women's piety, she was what we would today call an Orthodox Jew) and fully American (she was also from an upper-class family that intermarried in large numbers and included many family members who embraced Christianity) in every decade of her life and demonstrating with clarity how "her values and attitudes toward philanthropy and domesticity blended Judaism with popular American ideas shared by gentile women of her class" (p. 255). We see how Gratz's religious duty (and it was as deep as it was simple: Jewish women's treatment of the poor would be discussed at the "judgment seat of . . . God") paralleled the desire of similar Protestant women of her age to be models and teachers of religious virtue within their families and communities. We discover that the regimen of Gratz's philanthropic organizations followed the descriptions of piety in Victorian culture and the regimen of Christian institutions (prayer, discipline, study); this is of little surprise, given how much time she spent in religious activities. The Hebrew Sunday School that she founded—her greatest commitment in time and energy; she personally evaluated each student, assigned them to the appropriate class, and graded all weekly assignments—was no different; like Victorian culture, it emphasized domestic piety and devotion to God. And we learn about the emerging women's culture, its impact and influence on Gratz, and how Jewish organizations gave Jewish women a public, institutionalized role in Jewish life (for example, teaching religion publicly for perhaps the first time in Jewish history) and helped resolve some of the conflicts in Jewish women's religious identities. Gratz, without formal religious education, showed Jewish women how to keep Judaism in their homes and Christianity out (how to respond to evangelists), or, in the case of the many intermarriages within her own family, how to maintain one's Judaism in spite of a Christian spouse.

Gratz's relationships of intimacy came from a distance, especially through correspondence. Her "chief pleasure is derived from receiving letters" (p. 46); "letters linked her to the world of normal teenage fun" (p. 58); and "Gratz told her new sister-in-law in no uncertain terms that she expected intimacy through letters" (p. 106). Her closest ties, after her unmarried brothers, were to her sister Rachel's children, the nieces and nephews whom she raised after Rachel's death, and to the children of a dear friend, Maria Fenno Hoffman. She believed in the class and social distinctions that placed her among Philadelphia's elite and agreed with non-Jewish upper-class women that philanthropy offered wealthy women a way to eradicate poverty, but she did not, for the most part, display her status. Gratz stacked the management of the philanthropic organizations she managed with family members and close friends from her synagogue, Mikveh Israel, but she spent far more of her time among the poor than among the balls and gala events of the rich. She also spent more time reading and discussing classical and English fiction and poetry, as well as the Bible, than in frivolous social activities, continually searching for stimulating intellectual contacts (Washington Irving, Grace Aguilar, Catherine Sedgwick).

The major disappointment in this fine history is that nowhere is there anything close to a complete letter from the many excerpted in the study. If Gratz could soar on "the wings of imagination" in her writing, there is little evidence of this, because we get only words and phrases and the occasional sentence. The same may be said of the poems Gratz wrote. One Ashton describes as "similar in attitude to Wordsworth and the British romantics" (p. 78), but we do not see any of her poetry. Perhaps this master of emotional control from a young age wrote letters and poems of little interest, but since they are the primary source from which this biography is drawn and are extensively cited throughout, one or

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

two examples would have helped the reader complete a picture of this very intriguing and significant woman. More importantly, since there is no critical examination of anything Gratz wrote, some letters would help the reader evaluate how much of what she wrote is merely the mastery of appropriate conventions of social relations and a rhetoric of domesticity and how much reveals something essential about its author.

MARC LEE RAPHAEL
College of William and Mary

AMY S. GREENBERG. *Cause for Alarm: The Volunteer Fire Department in the Nineteenth-Century City*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 233. $35.00.

Amy S. Greenberg challenges the previous work on nineteenth-century fire fighters by labor historians. She also challenges the belief, and I will quote myself here, that in the Jacksonian era "there was a close affiliation between gangs, fire companies, politics, and ethnic identity" (*Rioting in America* [1997], pp. 68–69). Using an in-depth analysis of the volunteer departments of three cities—Baltimore, St. Louis, and San Francisco—Greenberg shows that firemen came from a broad social spectrum including many respectable individuals who were not affiliated with gangs, that firemen were not successful in pushing a consistent and united political agenda, and that few fire companies had a clear ethnic identity. In short, the fire companies were not vehicles of working-class identity.

If class did not bind these men, what was it, other than fighting fires, that held them together? Greenberg argues that volunteer fireman developed a peculiar masculine identity that emphasized athleticism, physical competition, brotherhood, and civic duty while accepting intemperance and a lack of restraint. She defines this male identity in contrast to the emerging middle-class norms of temperance, discipline, and domesticity. Men of all stripes joined in this anti-middle-class world: a few came from the upper echelons of society, but most came from lower white-collar employment and the skilled trades. In this gendered identity, single men predominated and even turned to the firehouse as a residence to escape the female domestic sphere of the middle-class homestead. Despite this strong reaction to the identity of the middle class, Greenberg insists that the firemen created a classless society.

Her research reveals that most firemen came from the middle of society. But class involves more than simply occupation. It also revolves around identity, and often identity is as much defined against another group as for itself. The introduction of gender as a tool of analysis here is extremely useful, but it need not exclude class. Some of the most interesting recent labor history, like Richard B. Stott's *Workers in the Metropolis: Class, Ethnicity, and Youth in Antebellum New York City* (1990), demonstrates that the emerging working class in the nineteenth century often identified itself in terms of gender and as a rejection of those same middle-class feminized values discussed by Greenberg. How, then, do we explain so many white-collar employees—men who should be eager to join the middle class—becoming fire laddies? The answer is that class formation was an ongoing process before the Civil War. The group that identified itself first was the middle class. The working class remained largely inchoate, sometimes expressing itself strongly, sometimes more weakly. Within the cities, however, traditional plebeian culture, the progenitor of the working class, had provided a large umbrella. Under its protective covering huddled people whom we would clearly identify as working class, as well as a host of others who rejected the new middle class. Frequently this second group joined in the fun of the streets only during the early stages of their life. Most firemen, after all, left the fraternity of the firehouse after marriage. Yes, these men were attracted by the male gendered identity, but it was a male gendered identity that came from the plebs just as a female gendered identity came from the middle class.

Greenberg offers us a comprehensive examination of the volunteer fire companies in the first half of the nineteenth century. She raises questions about the assumptions of many labor historians, including my own. She also provides a compelling analysis of the demise of the volunteer fire fighters wedded to the emergence of the steam fire engine and the growing influence of insurance companies. Although I would have preferred that she had been less determined to exclude any working-class consciousness in her analysis, and I would have liked to see her extend her analysis to Philadelphia and New York, there is little doubt that she has written a significant book that will force many of us to rethink our understanding of the period.

PAUL A. GILJE
University of Oklahoma

NAN GOODMAN. *Shifting the Blame: Literature, Law, and the Theory of Accidents in Nineteenth-Century America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 198. $39.50.

Nan Goodman's book is an original interdisciplinary study of the understanding of accidents in American culture. The author provocatively demonstrates that the American attempt to make sense of accidents interrelates with larger questions of causation, human agency, and social responsibility sent spinning by rapid modernization, especially in the nineteenth century.

The strongest chapters of Goodman's volume explore works by James Fenimore Cooper, Richard Henry Dana, Jr., Mark Twain, Stephen Crane, and Charles Chestnutt—all with an eye to the accidents on the frontier, on board ship, and in factories that these works contain. Less curious than it is refreshing, Goodman's focus results both in new readings of important individual nineteenth-century works and in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the convincing underscoring of parallels and continuities among the works. Especially insightful are her treatments of Twain's views on accident insurance and Crane's sense of cross-race rescues in emergency situations. Overall, Goodman makes her point that "nowhere was the significance of the new doctrine of accidents more visible than in the pages of the accident narratives that began . . . to permeate the literary marketplace" (p. 4).

Not content to write historical literary criticism, Goodman strives as well to weave literary themes with evolving nineteenth-century legal doctrine. She finds this doctrine not in the novels and short stories she interprets but rather in the formal opinions of jurists ranging from Lemuel Shaw to Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. Here, too, the author is insightful, usually by placing emergent legal doctrine in sociopolitical context. Her class analysis of Good Samaritan law, for example, exposes biases behind the law's neutral facade.

Goodman's legal history, strongly influenced by the work of Morton Horwitz, is less original than her literary criticism, but it is sound. The general theme is that in the course of the nineteenth century, American courts came to adjudge accidents with reference not to the age-old doctrine of strict liability but rather in light of the new doctrine of negligence. Under the former, courts could impose liability on causers of accidents even if they were unblameworthy. The underlying notion was that one suffered the consequences of one's acts. Under the new negligence law, by contrast, a court inquired into "fault," that is, a form of carelessness. The emergence of negligence law had the effect of limiting the risks and responsibilities of industrial expansion, a point aptly illustrated through critiques of secondary negligence doctrine such as the fellow-servant rule, assumption of risk, and previously mentioned Good Samaritan standards. The author disdains what she takes to be Horwitz's economic determinism, but industrial capitalism seems nevertheless to be the engine in her tale.

How do literature and law fit together? Goodman has contemplated this question and, indeed, includes an early section titled "Literature, Law: A Model." Echoing the late Robert Cover, she describes literature and law as "coequal narratives in a normative world" (p. 9). Taken together, Goodman argues, "legal and literary narratives can illuminate the way the culture constructs itself through narrative without privileging either the ostensibly real or the imaginary, the ostensibly true or the morally ambiguous" (p. 10).

Through most of the book, Goodman's conceptualization of literature and law's interrelationship yields a rich harvest of insights regarding American culture, but in her last two chapters the author grows less sanguine about her own conceptualization. She treats Benjamin Cardozo's policy thinking regarding modern torts, signal systems at railroad crossings, railroad pulp fiction, and finally toxic tort and Don DeLillo's superb *White Noise* (1984). "Coincident with the introduction of a calculus geared to policy in the law came the gradual decline of accident narratives in fiction," the author argues, "for both began to reflect a major reconceptualization of the accident that was less conducive to narratization" (p. 158). But does the author hurry her largely nineteenth-century study to a late twentieth-century conclusion? Several of John Steinbeck's works, all written after Cardozo's rendering of the *Palsgraf* decision in 1928, involve striking and dramatic accidents. John Barth's *The Floating Opera* (1956) features legal themes and ends with a simulated steamboat explosion and the near-explosion of a theatrical barge.

This arguable attenuation aside, Goodman has written a first-rate study, as intelligent and scholarly as it is inventive and stimulating. The work merits the attention of nineteenth-century Americanists and, most certainly, all literature and law scholars.

DAVID RAY PAPKE
Indiana University/Purdue University, Indianapolis

CHRIS DIXON. *Perfecting the Family: Antislavery Marriages in Nineteenth-Century America*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 322. $45.00.

Chris Dixon's book is another reminder that a lively, growing body of scholarship in American history comes from elsewhere in the world. While some of that work clearly—and often quite productively—has the freshness of an outsider's perspective, Dixon's approach is more familiar to students of the American antislavery movement. Asserting that "concern for family life and gender relations stood at the center of the antebellum contest over slavery" (p. 21), he sets as a goal throwing "new light . . . both on abolitionism, and on nineteenth-century constructions of gender" (p. 10). Those are commendable objectives, even if the book's accomplishments are more modest.

The book moves back and forth between the large claims of its title and subtitle and topical chapters based on an analysis of eight "radical abolitionist" marriages. The latter are the usual suspects: David and Lydia Maria Child, William Lloyd and Helen Garrison, Abby Kelley and Stephen Foster, Lucretia and James Mott, Wendell and Ann Phillips, Henry Blackwell and Lucy Stone, Henry B. and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Theodore and Angelina Grimké Weld. Although the representativeness of these couples is open to question, the book is most interesting when it moves past the first two chapters, which provide overviews, to examining these marriages and what they tell us about sorority, masculinity, and intimacy and affection.

Even in the strongest part of the book—chapters three through six—problems compromise the analysis. Some of these are relatively minor and probably artifacts of the translation from dissertation to published work. In addition to the occasional rough transition, the book has twists of phrase or logic that call

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for ruthless copyediting, as in the following proposition: "There were differences between the abolitionist and women's rights movements, the most significant being that while antislavery advocates sought the abolition of slavery, antebellum proponents of women's rights continued to believe in the ideal of marriage" (p. 237). A more serious problem is likewise not entirely Dixon's fault. It is in the nature of the evidence, which is asymmetrical, both between and within marriages. The index reflects this. Entries for Lydia Maria Child, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Angelina Grimké Weld are much fuller than those for their mates. Abby Kelley and Stephen Foster, along with James and Lucretia Mott, come closer to equity, which doubtless would have pleased them. Even so, references to Lydia Maria Child far outnumber those for the Motts. Some antislavery marriages are simply more open for inspection than others.

What Dixon often finds within those marriages is a partial "reordering of gender roles" (p. 125) and "tensions," primarily between "public and private life, and between individualism and responsibility to collective social units such as the family" (p. 156). Although he occasionally claims to revise historians such as Blanche Hersh (p. 191) and Lawrence J. Friedman (pp. 209–10), neither the evidence quoted nor the conclusions will transform the way scholars look at antislavery or gender relations. The real strength of the book is in bringing together these marriages and the admirable, contentious, and sometimes irritating men and women who made them. Where it might have gone farther, and where scholars might consider going in the future, is toward a deeper exploration, and one grounded in a wider range of theoretical and empirical literature, of what Dixon rightly sees as the significant question of the relationship between "public" and "private" in the lives of reformers and radicals.

RONALD G. WALTERS
Johns Hopkins University

JAMES MARTEN. *The Children's Civil War.* (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 365. $34.95.

In the beginning of *A Son of the Middle Border* (1917), Hamlin Garland poignantly recalls his father's homecoming from the Civil War and observes: "My first impressions of life were martial," and "a large part of what I am is due to the impressions of these deeply passionate and poetic years" (p. 6). That was true for virtually all members of Garland's generation, both North and South, black as well as white, as James Marten makes compellingly evident in this study of childhood on the home front.

The Civil War was a huge, complex, multidimensional development, the reverberations of which are still felt in the very bones of this society. In our retrospective studies of it, we have slowly, sometimes carefully, worked our way down through its many layers from headquarters and cabinet rooms to battlefields, then still further down to local scenes and soldiers in the ranks. Now, at last, we have come to the children. They were important members of Civil War society because, by then, the great demographic revolution in the West, as Philippe Ariès called it, had made children the primary focus of the shrinking American nuclear family. Furthermore, children made up more than a third of the entire U.S. population, and when the war came, they, like everyone else, were "fascinated by the sudden militarization of their society" (p. 165). Adults on both sides worked hard to mobilize their support and to that end marshalled newspapers, schoolbooks, public entertainment, and children's literature in a variety of forms. All beat heavily upon the themes of courage, duty, and sacrifice while vilifying the people on the other side and exalting the nobility of those on their own. As a result, observes Marten, "ambiguity rarely characterized . . . children's responses to the war" (p. 155).

There were also the letters sent home from fathers who had gone off to be soldiers; "like men fighting any war, they feared that their small children would forget them" (p. 75). Many saw soldiering as part of their duty of being good fathers, setting a proper example, and preserving their family's good name, and their absence from home only intensified already deeply felt family affections. "Although northern and southern soldiers may have arrived at their assumptions about parenting by different routes," writes Marten, "the separation and anxiety generated by the war no doubt amplified soldiers' commitment to and affection for their children" (p. 98). But, of course, the war ripped families apart, too often separating their members forever. All of that radically affected how children were raised, imposing upon them heavy burdens of responsibility and unusual amounts of fear and grief. In certain areas of the South, they also confronted personally the death and destruction of the terrible conflict. Most suffered, and many contended with emotional disturbances that we now associate with post-traumatic shock.

An entire generation was affected, haunted for the rest of their lives by the memories and images and injuries of those violent years. Marten looks briefly at some of those long-term influences on the later lives and careers of such Civil War children as Theodore Roosevelt, Tom Watson, Booker T. Washington, Woodrow Wilson, Henry O. Flipper, and Ben Tillman. They all shared "frames of remembrance," says Marten, through which they attached meanings to the events and experiences of the war which became "more important than the objective facts of those memories" themselves (p. 239).

This is an important book, well researched and written, which directs our attention to some previously overlooked casualties and consequences of the Civil War. As with unearthing the past of any inarticulate group, the history of these children had to be gotten at somewhat indirectly. Marten was resourceful at that,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

although the findings were, perhaps unavoidably, rather heavily weighted towards the male side of the experience. Also, his look at the longer-term influences raises questions and arouses curiosity but fails to satisfy. He might have done with the children of this war more of what Paul Fussell did with the soldiers of World War I, by looking deeper for links between the Civil War and the appalling social violence at the end of the century. But that would be another study, and Marten has given us plenty to contemplate already.

KERRY A. TRASK
University of Wisconsin, Manitowoc

STEVEN ELLIOTT TRIPP. *Yankee Town, Southern City: Race and Class Relations in Civil War Lynchburg*. (The American Social Experience, number 36.) New York: New York University Press. 1997. Pp. xviii, 344. $45.00.

Steven Elliott Tripp, the author of this thoroughly researched and prudently argued work, seeks to answer the age-old historiographical question of how the Civil War and Reconstruction influenced antebellum southern race and class relations. No consensus has emerged, especially with respect to the issue of continuity or discontinuity, an increasingly tiresome question whose answers yield in diminishing returns.

Tripp's conclusion is inconclusive. It is clear, for example, that during the 1850s the adherence of working-class whites to the leadership of Lynchburg's elite began to unravel. Economic prosperity and the expansion of the working class, as well as the geographic growth of the city, resulted in the growing estrangement of whites. The separation of work and residence and the sorting out of class occurred in other cities, regardless of region, during this period. Although a broader comparative framework is beyond the scope of this work, Tripp could have done more to place Lynchburg within both an urban and a regional context. Such a rendering would enhance the value of a fine case study.

Another example of the value of comparative analysis occurs in the author's treatment of the rising tensions with respect to race relations in the 1850s, at precisely the same time that class antagonisms rose. The scenario is reminiscent of the situation in Charleston, as Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark elaborated in *No Chariot Let Down: Charleston's Free People of Color on the Eve of the Civil War* (1984). In fact, the interplay of race and class in the late antebellum era foreshadowed what occurred in Lynchburg after the war.

The Civil War resulted in the closing of white ranks, though divisions remained scarcely below the surface. During the last years of the conflict, Lynchburg became a disorderly and dangerous place. Tripp provides an example of a white woman whose faithful slave protected her from marauding Confederate deserters. After the war, the fraying of deferential and dependent relationships among whites of different social classes continued. If antebellum leaders had presented themselves as protectors and patrons of the white working class prior to the war, the result of that conflict and the difficult years immediately following the surrender cast those assertions into disrepute. White leaders had to build a class consensus on other factors, and race solidarity provided a convenient and effective mechanism to achieve that objective.

This was especially so because the place of African Americans in Lynchburg society was uncertain following emancipation. Tripp does a fine job of noting the assertiveness of freedmen, politically and socially, after the war, and the construction of a black community. He articulates the fears of working-class whites competing for jobs with blacks and demonstrates how white leaders maneuvered to regain political power after the Republican insurgency in 1867.

The leaders achieved mixed results from their efforts to forge white solidarity to attain and secure political power. Despite the real animosity between working-class whites and blacks, both the Regulator movement in the early 1880s and the Knights of Labor organizing efforts in 1886 resulted in interracial alliances that achieved some economic and political benefits for both races. What is not clear from Tripp's account is why appeals to racial solidarity and the very vivid dire consequences of interracial cooperation as conjured by the local press worked sometimes and not others. Not until black (and some white) disfranchisement in 1902 did the city's white elite effectively achieve racial solidarity and black exclusion.

Although Tripp tells the story well, he might have paid more attention to the role of gender in refashioning postwar race and class relations in Lynchburg. In *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860–1890* (1995), LeeAnn Whites stresses the close connections between race, class, and gender in the urban South. And, finally, Tripp notes commendably that studying the urban South can "provide a new vista for interpretation" (p. 5), but it is not clear how Lynchburg fulfills that objective.

DAVID GOLDFIELD
University of North Carolina, Charlotte

LESLIE A. SCHWALM. *A Hard Fight for We: Women's Transition from Slavery to Freedom in South Carolina*. (Women in American History.) Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 394. Cloth $49.95, paper $24.95.

This pathbreaking study of emancipation in the lowcountry South Carolina rice districts, with its rare focus on slave women, was the worthy recipient of the Willie Lee Rose prize for 1998. Leslie A. Schwalm's analysis stresses slave women's central roles in establishing rice culture, pioneering resistance techniques, and reshaping labor and freed communities in the early Reconstruction era. This focus on women's labor, coupled with labor's ramifications for slave families

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and communities, defines the book's unique conception. Schwalm effectively demonstrates the centrality of community for slave women. Significantly, she adds that hers is a history of slave and freedwollien's encounters with the state. Her argument that slave women's interwoven labor and familial experiences are crucial to a full understanding of emancipation is persuasive, nuanced, and well-documented. This book—and the title is apt—is a signal contribution to the fields of gender, race, and labor in the nineteenth century.

Schwalm is at particular pains to broaden the history of slave women beyond the bounds of family where, she argues, they have languished too long. Work and family were equally important material conditions for the content of slave women's lives, and the resistance of the former promoted the structures of the latter. Slave women worked, and in lowcountry South Carolina they formed the backbone of the labor force in the rice fields. Building on Peter Woods's landmark *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (1974), Schwalm shows that women, utilizing skills they wielded in Senegambia, were responsible for the rice revolution in the late eighteenth-century lowcountry. Certainly women displayed a great respect for family life, whose chief significance lay in its extended structure, in turn forming the foundation for women's emphasis on community strength, the arena where they defined freedom. Indeed, "extended community" might best capture Schwalm's analysis of slave women's most important social terrain. Within that network, West African social and economic influences were palpable.

Schwalm contributes to the weighty literature on the Civil War in coastal South Carolina by demonstrating how much more brutal and fierce conditions were when considered from slave women's perspectives. She also shows how influential their resistance was to the war's outcome. The proximity of armies and the effects of the Union naval blockade meant that slave women had to endure devastating economic conditions. They met much heavier demands on their labor. Furthermore, they experienced widespread separation from the extended community, particularly given the heavy impressment of male slave labor and then the entry of men into the Union army in large numbers. Like slaves throughout the Confederacy, women accelerated time-honored techniques of resistance and developed new ones made possible by the exigencies of war. The Union army established an early and persistent presence, and slave women subsequently faced extreme risk of sexual abuse. Harsher planter controls over slaves fueled sharper confrontations that steadily exacerbated masters' authority. Most of those refugees to western parts of the state were women, who encountered considerable local hostility and a long and dangerous trek home at surrender. The brutality at the end of the war was especially hateful. William Tecumseh Sherman's bloodthirsty troops frequently spent their fury on slave women, while retreating Confederates only added to the viciousness. Many, if not most freedwomen, lost everything they had accumulated in the vibrant antebellum slave economies that had characterized the region. They embarked upon freedom with few if any material resources but armed with a rich heritage of resistance that they employed fully.

The contest over the meaning of freedom erupted immediately and fiercely after emancipation. Freedwomen, those critical enslaved workers of the lowcountry who had had the most extensive experience with homefront resistance, found themselves once more in the fore of battle. Widespread male absence left many slave women to face vituperative planters alone—but simultaneously in a pivotal place to advance their definition of freedom. The mindboggling hardships they faced—disease, privation, death, family and community disruption—imposed dramatic obstacles. They set out to destroy and appropriate symbols of planter authority, especially homes and furnishings, which they systematically took apart and redistributed among the community. They returned to the lands of their labors and ancestors and demanded their rights to the land by virtue of the labor they had invested in it. Significantly, this particular component of freedom's meaning was distinctly women's contribution. Schwalm located some remarkable examples of freedwomen's physical attacks on overseers and drivers and discovered that Freedmen's Bureau authorities and local officials jailed substantial numbers of freedwomen for labor resistance. One of the book's most revealing findings is that widespread withdrawal of freedwomen's labor, thought to be commonplace in the immediate postwar South, did not prevail as extensively in the lowcountry. Because they maintained an established presence in the labor force, women forced the adoption of the work-rent system, which gave workers more time for themselves and their families, and were instrumental in redefining work in terms of separate, delineated tasks for which specific payment was required. As in slavery, women aimed to tailor freed labor's boundaries and conditions so as to maximize the work they performed in their homes and communities, and Schwalm has a fascinating anaylsis of the frictions generated by the attempted instillation of bourgeois family relations into peoples whose familial histories rested on distinctly different foundations.

This important book's contents range further than the ones examined here, but all depend on Schwalm's lucid and refreshing focus on labor, family, and community. Carefully crafted, well-conceived, shrewdly argued, extensively documented, and cleanly and sparely written, her book will occupy an enduring and significant place in the literature, in no small part because it establishes the social origins of the ideology of freedom in emancipation America.

LYNDA MORGAN
Mount Holyoke College

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WILBERT L. JENKINS. *Seizing the New Day: African Americans in Post-Civil War Charleston*. (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1998. Pp. xvi, 238. $29.95.

Curiously, although there are few post-Civil War studies of black communities in southern cities, this book is the third on Charleston's black community to appear in eight years. Wilbert L. Jenkins's book closely resembles Bernard E. Powers, Jr.'s *Black Charlestonians: A Social History, 1822–1885* (1994) in its organization and thesis. Appropriately, Jenkins frequently cites Powers's work.

The book begins with a chapter on antebellum Charleston in which Jenkins argues that the assertiveness of Charleston's postwar African Americans was, in part, the legacy of Denmark Vesey. He devotes a chapter to the struggle for black economic independence and emphasizes the formation of black labor unions in the city, which used the strike to attempt to achieve their ends. Jenkins stresses the desire of Charleston blacks for "some book lernin'" (p. 91) and shows how benevolent societies and local black churches promoted both public and private education. (In so doing, he covers much of the same ground plowed in greater depth by Powers and Edmund Drago in *Initiative, Paternalism, and Race Relatons: Charleston's Avery Normal Institute* [1990], which Jenkins cites.) Jenkins also argues that shortly after the occupation of Charleston by Union forces, black Charlestonians in great numbers abandoned the white churches to form their own, wherein black leaders found a forum to speak for the black community.

Like Powers, Jenkins argues that during Reconstruction, Charleston's African Americans aggressively asserted themselves in the face of white attempts to keep them in subordinate positions. They won seats on the city council, received appointments to the police force, and organized black fire companies; on occasions, they committed civil disobedience, rioted, and armed themselves and returned the gunfire of whites in and near Charleston. All this occurred before the 1880s and the counterrevolution that reestablished white supremacy in the city and across the state. But Jenkins, like Powers, argues that the assertiveness demonstrated by Charleston blacks in the two decades following the Civil War lay dormant, only to resurface again in the twentieth century and pave the way for the Second Reconstruction.

Jenkins's only major disagreement with Powers concerns his perspective on caste and class within Charleston's African-American community. Whereas Powers concluded that the differences between darker and lighter-complexioned blacks, closely tied to social status, occupation, and wealth, sharply divided Charleston's African-American community, Jenkins demurs. Based on little hard evidence—indeed citing some to the contrary—Jenkins argues that "Charleston's black community was socially, racially, culturally, and politically united" (p. 110). Both books are recommended for students of the urban southern African-American experience.

WALTER J. FRASER, JR.
Georgia Southern University

RICHARD ZUCZEK. *State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 250. $29.50.

Despite what is implied by its subtitle, Richard Zuczek's book does not offer readers another overview of Reconstruction in the Palmetto State. Instead, it examines how South Carolina conservatives struggled to reclaim control of the state through fraud, intimidation, and political terrorism. Never mind the confiscation of plantations and the redistribution of that land to the freedmen that some historians hold forth as the basis for a far more satisfactory outcome to the problem of racial justice: the scale and scope of violence against blacks and their white allies in itself prevented the realization of whatever egalitarian promise there was in 1865. And, as Zuczek correctly observes, whatever chance existed of a more far-reaching upheaval in social and economic relations crumbled once Andrew Johnson set his mind to reestablishing the old order. Indeed, if we are to accept the implications of Zuczek's study, the effort to reestablish civil government was foolhardy, primarily because in many ways, white southerners were still at war, battling threats to white supremacy. The quest for independence was merely one means to that end. If South Carolina's conservatives could minimize the threat that emancipation posed to the old order, all had not been lost at Appomattox.

Zuczek pursues this theme with a doggedness (and occasionally a discordant note of scholarly contentiousness) that brings to mind the determination of South Carolina's redeemers to prevail, whatever the cost. Reflecting newer understandings of the period that see both the Civil War and Reconstruction as part of a larger process, he shows that the line drawn between war and peace in 1865 obscures as much as it defines. He emphasizes the limited and often half-hearted efforts of the federal government to resist this counterrevolution, from the Freedmen's Bureau to the Grant administration's erratic efforts to halt violence and intimidation. Most impressive is the evidence he amasses to argue that the Ku Klux Act of 1871 had a far more limited impact on curbing terrorism than traditional accounts claim, effectively countering assertions that Grant's invocation of the act in October 1871 broke the back of the Klan. According to Zuczek, conservatives had already tempered their behavior; many prosecutions were carried out in accordance with previous legislation. By the mid-1870s, in fact, South Carolina's whites had become so skilled at what they did that, despite the occasional misstep, they were able to evade punishment for their actions, which destabilized the state's Republican regimes.

Yet Zuczek's concentration on the conservative

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

counterrevolution raises a few questions of its own. While he is clearly correct in emphasizing the limited nature and institutional shortcomings of federal intervention, would a more determined effort have checked the counterrevolution? Would northern Republican voters have supported such an endeavor? Would it not have required mobilizing federal power to a degree that was incompatible with contemporary attitudes? Or did the real flaw lie in the rush to reestablish civil governments at a time when something approaching a state of war still existed in the South? Was it possible to reconcile southern whites to a new order not based on the foundations of the old one? And what of South Carolina's Republicans? Surely they proved unable to take the sort of measures necessary to strike down the continuing insurrection; surely party factionalism at a time when unity was essential did not enhance their prospects to prevail, while the corrupt behavior of some party members helped justify opposition to Reconstruction both in South Carolina and across the nation. As Michael Perman and others have suggested, the continual dependence of these state regimes on federal intervention helped to undermine their claim to legitimacy. Perhaps the real problem was that the quest to reestablish legitimate civil governments was premature. Finally, although a majority of South Carolina voters were black, they play at best a minor role in Zuczek's account, which prefers to emphasize the views and actions of white politicians and policy makers.

Unlike those historians who seek out their scapegoats among southern Republicans and the Grant administration, Zuczek realizes that, whatever their weaknesses and shortcomings, Republicans alone should not bear the burden of the blame for Reconstruction's failure. Rather, the actions of determined white conservatives (with assistance from Andrew Johnson) proved decisive in defeating the struggle to create a fairer political and social order based on equal justice under law. Left unanswered is whether the outcome was inevitable; perhaps speculation to the contrary is ahistorical. Nevertheless, Zuczek deserves credit for raising troubling questions in a provocative study.

BROOKS D. SIMPSON
Arizona State University

BROOKS D. SIMPSON. *The Reconstruction Presidents*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1998. Pp. xi, 276. $35.00.

In this volume, Brooks D. Simpson describes the Reconstruction policies of Presidents Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, Ulysses S. Grant, and Rutherford B. Hayes in a concise analytic narrative. Simpson demonstrates a deft gift for analysis of policy making. He clearly and succinctly describes each president's goals, the alternatives available for securing them, and the political and institutional constraints that limited their choices and affected the outcome. He utilizes secondary sources, augmented by a well-chosen selection of primary materials.

Simpson is chiefly concerned with the failure of the Reconstruction-era effort to secure equal civil and political rights for African Americans. Was the failure one of personality and policy, or were there deeper forces at work? In the Lincoln and Johnson administrations, the issues were whether the president or Congress would control Reconstruction policy and the civil and political status of African Americans. The chapters on Grant and Hayes concentrate on how each attempted to secure black rights and to establish a viable Republican Party in the South.

Simpson describes Lincoln as acutely aware of political constraints, committed first of all to saving the Union, and sensitive to constitutional limitations upon his non-war powers. All these factors made Lincoln slow to endorse emancipation. Hoping to end the war by fostering southern unionism, which he believed to be a dormant but powerful force, he pressed for voluntary abolition, encouraged by a federal program of compensation and colonization, to be undertaken first by border-state unionists and by unionists in reoccupied southern territories. Only after border-state unionists repeatedly rebuffed his efforts and it became clear that he had overestimated the strength of southern unionism did Lincoln finally endorse emancipation through the exercise of his war powers and by constitutional amendment.

The decision to abolish slavery was made in Lincoln's administration; the decision to recognize African-American civil and political equality was made during Andrew Johnson's, and over his bitter resistance. Simpson argues that Johnson's stubborn pugnaciousness prevented him from securing his goal of a quick restoration with minimal further disruption of southern race relations. He could have achieved most of what he wanted by compromising with moderate Republicans. Instead he fought aggressively to keep control of Reconstruction, forcing Republicans to impeach him. But although Johnson failed to secure his immediate goals, Simpson writes, by forcing Republicans to concentrate on repelling his attacks, he deflected their attention from the crucial reforms necessary to secure civil and political equality for African Americans in the South.

Grant and Hayes faced the problem of sustaining black rights and southern Republicanism after the Confederate states were restored to normal relations in the Union. Simpson describes their dilemma clearly: one might secure black rights and sustain Republicanism in the South by intervening there forcefully and long enough to compel white southerners to acquiesce, or one might attempt to secure the result by winning a substantial number of whites to Republicanism through conciliation. The weakness of federal institutions and Americans' commitment to federalism made long-term intervention difficult. Northern racism further limited the prospect. But one could only protect black rights by conciliating southern whites if an

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

appreciable number were willing to be reconciled on that basis.

In these circumstances, Grant did as well as anyone could, Simpson concludes. He tried both coercion and conciliation at different times and in different places, without much success. Northern support for intervention rapidly eroded. Few white southerners were willing to accept conciliatory gestures short of abandoning black rights. By the time he left office, Grant's efforts had collapsed. Simpson is less generous to Hayes, who inherited the mess. Critical of Hayes's persistent and naïve optimism, Simpson nonetheless concludes that he had no alternative but to attempt conciliation and that he saw the effort not as an abandonment of black rights but as the only way to secure them.

Simpson argues persuasively that securing civil and political equality for black southerners may have been an impossible task, and that historians should be careful about condemning those who failed to accomplish it. An excellent study of presidential decision making, this book may be too limited in its description of the obstacles. Although historians need to be reminded of how institutional and legal constraints affect public policy, more attention to the class, ethnicity, and gender issues that Reconstruction raised would have made even more clear how difficult a task Grant and Hayes faced. Despite this observation, Simpson has provided an excellent study that will be consulted not only by specialists but by anyone interested in the history of the Civil War, American race relations, and American government.

MICHAEL LES BENEDICT
Ohio State University

DANIEL W. STOWELL. *Rebuilding Zion: The Religious Reconstruction of the South, 1863–1877*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 278. $65.00.

Daniel W. Stowell has written a book we have needed for a long time. With clarity and insight, he has reconstructed the religious perspectives and interests of Protestant freedpeople, white southerners, and black and white northerners who struggled to build their own particular Zion in the postwar South. Rather than focus on one group, to the exclusion or distortion of others, he has brought the stories together to suggest the dialectics that created, at the same time, a thoroughly evangelical Protestant landscape and a more divided Protestantism in the South. Most important, he has approached each group's view of providence and efforts at church-building with respect and let each group have its say.

According to Stowell, very different interpretations of the Civil War's meaning set the course of religious reconstruction. White southern evangelicals read Confederate defeat as a chastisement by God, rather than a rejection, for their sins of selfishness, declension, and failure to provide for the religious upbringing of slaves. Such a self-critique demanded no repudiation of slavery and states' rights, but it did demand renewed religious obligation to save souls, build churches, and forsake the materialism of this world. Northern evangelicals, meanwhile, saw Union victory as God's judgment on the South for the sins of slavery and secession and, consequently, thought that white southern churchmen were unfit to make a new South. A few "religious scalawags," as Stowell calls them, accepted the northern critique, which served only to convince northerners all the more of the rightness of their interpretation. Their convictions drove northern evangelicals to "invade" the South, setting up schools for freedpeople, preaching to them, and helping them construct their own churches when they would not come into white-run northern denominations. Such attitudes and actions infuriated most white southern evangelicals. They rejected northern overtures for denominational reunion and stepped up their own efforts to "control" the freedpeople through conservative instruction in faith and social responsibility. But southern outreach left blacks segregated in galleries or back benches and under white ministers. They, too, would go their own way. Black southerners welcomed the financial, educational, and organizational aid from white northern denominations, but they turned to their own people and resources to build churches. For them, the war meant deliverance from bondage, and drawing on themes of Exodus, they saw their task as crossing the River Jordan to find, and build, their own promised land.

In perhaps the most remarkable and rapid movement of the postwar period, within two years of emancipation, blacks had almost completely abandoned biracial churches to join all-black congregations. A furious period of churchbuilding among blacks, and whites too, redrew the southern religious map. By establishing schools and colleges, ordaining ministers, and aligning with and strengthening black Protestant denominations, southern black evangelicals developed the infrastructures that made possible religious community. White evangelicals did likewise. Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists still debated such issues as infant baptism and church polity, but "they largely agreed about the main features of religious reconstruction" (p. 183). Concerned about faith and history, and the political and social direction of the region, white southern evangelical churchmen invested heavily in reviving the religious press, establishing Sunday schools and writing a specifically "southern" curriculum for them, and founding colleges. If they had lost the war and authority over their former slaves, at least they would ensure that their own children would be fortified against heresies coming from northern pulpits and books. For blacks and whites, no Jeffersonian wall of separation kept church and state apart; they both used the church to "vote the Bible," though with very different preachments on what policies and politics were right with God. Whatever evangelical faith and practices southern blacks and whites still shared, they did not read the same religious literature, listen to the same ministers, worship in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

same churches, or seek the same road to southern reconstruction and "redemption."

Stowell's arguments make much sense, grounded as they are in close readings of contemporary religious literature, sermons, and public statements. Still, he sometimes pushes his analysis too far, especially when extrapolating from his excellent case studies of Georgia and Tennessee to suggest that what happened in those states stood for "the South." The most ardent "secesh" and "unreconstructed rebel" states, such as Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina, get shunted aside in Stowell's formulations. Also problematical is Stowell's devotion to institutional perspectives and interests. The ministers and editors have a voice, but those in the pews rarely speak. Stowell insists that race and region overrode bonds of gender, class, or denomination. Perhaps. One wonders, though, what happened inside each church. How, for example, did the development of strong denominational organizations and ties and the elevation of ministerial authority affect the roles and interests of women, who often made up the majority of church members of congregations? Stowell does not say.

Such criticisms in no way should discourage students of nineteenth-century American social, religious, and regional history from reading Stowell's vital work. Its intricate interlacing of the ideas and interests of the various black and white, northern and southern evangelicals offers the most complete reconstruction of postwar southern Protestantism to date. It shows why God counted in Dixie in so many ways.

RANDALL M. MILLER
Saint Joseph's University

WARD M. MCAFEE. *Religion, Race, and Reconstruction: The Public School in the Politics of the 1870s*. (SUNY Series, Religion and American Public Life.) Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998. Pp. x, 317. $21.95.

Not since 1870s Democratic speeches and editorials have the Radical Republicans been charged with plotting to build up a Bismarckian centralized state by using public schools to launch an anti-Catholic, pro-black "*Kulturkampf*" (p. 215). From their beginnings in Massachusetts, according to Ward M. McAfee, the "primary characteristic" of public schools "was an agenda for standardizing American culture" (p. 10). After the Civil War, education became "the Republican Party solution" to the ignorance and poverty both of freed people in the South and of Catholic immigrants in the North, but Republicans were more interested in "cultural standardization" than in "true self-determination" for blacks and more concerned "to create an unwanted cultural homogeneity" than in economic uplift for either group (pp. 11, 13, 162). Reconstruction foundered on Charles Sumner's Civil Rights Bill, for blacks preferred "control of their own institutions" to school integration, while whites throughout the country "regarded racially 'mixed' schools with as much grace as mixing healthy children with another group infected with smallpox" (pp. 13–14, 123, 80). But after Sumner's "irrepressible stridency" led to the party's huge congressional losses in the 1874 elections, Republicans returned to their Know-Nothing roots, refocusing their statist impulses northward in an "anti-Catholic political movement" that "emerged to dominate the Republican party's nationalizing agenda" (pp. 113, 55).

Northern Republicans reluctantly agreed to eliminate the reading of the Protestant Bible from the public schools, but they backed a constitutional amendment prohibiting state support for religious schools and making separation of church and state binding on state governments, and they won Protestant votes by stressing an "imagined Ultramontane threat to American public education" (p. 191). Despite their "campaign of anti-Catholic bigotry," the "constitutional revolutionaries" were defeated (pp. 7, 4). Whereas most recent historians have bemoaned the failure of Reconstruction, McAfee, asserting that the "Hegelian" statism of American Reconstructionists contained the same "germs" of "supernationalist fascism" as the contemporary German empire did, is much less distressed (pp. 46–47). "Religious prejudice," he contends, "pushed many Americans to consider a thorough remaking of the American polity in the image of the new Germany. But racial prejudice led them back to the traditional American preference for local control" (p. 109).

Repeatedly exaggerating, failing to confront opposing hypotheses or to weigh evidence explicitly, and much too willing to repeat Democratic charges of Republican corruption, incompetence, "Caesarism," and hypocrisy, McAfee fails to persuade. A refusal to subsidize Catholic schools, for instance, hardly resembles the widespread suspension of civil liberties in Otto von Bismarck's Germany, and Republican praise for German educational accomplishments is not the same as a desire to adopt the Prussian state system. Dunningite or racist contemporary sources offer fragile support for a finding that "very little meaningful education occurred for blacks" in the Reconstruction South because of "political corruption and gross incompetence" (p. 96), especially since McAfee does not openly consider the much more measured views of Eric Foner or other recent historians of Reconstruction. George F. Hoar's 1871 attempt to require states to set up systems of public education open to every child and to provide federal dollars to those state-based schemes does not deserve to be called a "centralizing creature," and the view that the bill threatened a takeover by "federal bureaucrats insistent on racial mixing in the public schools" is pure Democratic propaganda (pp. 106, 109). There is evidence of both opposition to and support for black education in the North in documents from which McAfee cites only the opposition (see, for example, *Report of the Commissioner of Education* (1873), pp. 80, 100, 245, 313–14; (1874), pp. 81–82). Misreading legal cases and blithely

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

asserting that protective laws "made no difference" (p. 157) without openly contesting strongly opposing viewpoints (for example, my own *Dead End: The Development of Nineteenth-Century Litigation on Racial Discrimination in Schools* [1986]) undermines credibility. Contending that school integration was the most important issue in the 1874 congressional elections without making a systematic effort to compare its influence with that of the depression, corruption charges, and the anti-saloon crusade is unconvincing. And McAfee's conclusion that religion was "the unifying factor" in the "centralizing vision" that embodied "the Reconstruction spirit" (p. 210) is vitiated because he makes no explicit effort to weigh other factors: tariffs or gold, regional or war-induced loyalties, civil service or personalities, or, above all, race.

McAfee's is a tidy thesis that leaves out or ignores too much that does not fit.

J. Morgan Kousser
California Institute of Technology

Karin A. Shapiro. *A New South Rebellion: The Battle against Convict Labor in the Tennessee Coalfields, 1871–1896.* (The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1998. Pp. xvi, 333. Cloth $55.00, paper $22.50.

This book chronicles the rebellion against the convict lease system in Tennessee. In the New South, states passed laws to criminalize petty larceny and the stealing of livestock. Sentences and fines ensured a substantial prison population that could be leased to timbering, mining, and other enterprises. Using a blend of family papers, scrapbooks, business and company records, state records, government documents, newspapers, court cases, and secondary sources, Karin A. Shapiro tells the story of how free miners from the mining communities of Coal Creek, Briceville, and Tracey City assembled a military force to "liberate" convict miners in east and mid-Tennessee. Although emboldened by the Farmers' Alliance movement, Tennessee's miners essentially held to conservative beliefs about the benefits of competitive capitalism, the sanctity of private property, and the preference of political action over militant force. The movement was interracial in the sense that black and white miners worked together in labor organizations during the age of Jim Crow segregation, and this cooperation did restrain rank and file racism. Community life and "the culture of work" always reflected racial biases, however, regardless of interracial labor cooperation.

Shapiro begins by setting her work within the historiography of the New South on the question of the forces that led thousands of southerners, black and white, to leave agricultural work and enter the industrial labor force. Scholars divide into two camps. Some emphasize how the southern yeomanry resisted the rise of commercialization and the spread of the market economy, developments that plunged them into debt and destroyed the independence of small-scale farmers. In this view, farmers were forced to leave and reluctantly sought work in the New South's textile mills, coal mines, lumber yards, and iron forges. Other more recent research presents a contrasting picture of farmers all too glad to leave the chronic misery, drudgery, and isolation of rural society to seek a better life in the industrial towns. According to this view, population pressures made it increasingly difficult for children to gain access to enough land to sustain a family. Consequently, many embraced the social and economic opportunities in the industrial towns. This study supports the finding that by 1880, scores of farmers and tenants sought new opportunities for economic betterment.

Chapters two through seven describe and analyze the rebellion and events leading up to it. Chapter eight looks at the aftermath in terms of the trials of the rebels, the efforts of the state government and mining companies to come to grips with the convict lease system, and the weakening of labor's solidarity. In a final chapter on "The Boundaries of Dissent," Shapiro sets her work within a broad comparative context of militant labor resistance, agricultural and industrial, throughout the New South. It is a revealing comparison that demonstrates how demographic, economic, and political conditions formed the bases for militancy in both areas. Because of the system of Jim Crow, for example, insurgent whites composed the leadership and the majority of the rank and file. The vision of a free society motivated both agricultural workers who feared monopolistic tobacco companies and industrial workers who saw convict labor as a threat to free men. It fortified the resolve of both groups to organize and seek redress, by arms if necessary.

Equally revealing, conditions in Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana produced a tamer opposition than in Tennessee. Free miners in Georgia and Alabama faced the competition of convict lease miners, but other factors limited the challenge. In Georgia, the state had very few coal mines and nearly all the workers were convicts. In Alabama, where black miners predominated as convicts, and in Louisiana, where the state leased black convicts for agricultural work, race also precluded any militant assault on the system.

The miners' revolts ended convict lease in Tennessee, but the most interesting irony concerned the state government's decision to build a new penitentiary and acquire coal lands. The Brushy Mountain coal mine opened in 1896 and remained a highly profitable operation for fifty years, due to its use of convict labor in the state-owned mine, until it closed in 1938.

Shapiro's book eschews facile romantic views of southern labor as a brotherhood of class-conscious workers striving to overthrow the system. Instead, she gives us an analysis of the forces—social, economic, and political—that shaped labor militancy, and consequently she has created a much more balanced, com-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

plex, and compelling portrait of labor in the New South.

CRANDALL SHIFFLETT
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

GRETCHEN RITTER. *Goldbugs and Greenbacks: The Antimonopoly Tradition and the Politics of Finance in America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 303. $54.95.

In this book, Gretchen Ritter presents a political scientist's perspective on the politics of money in the late nineteenth century, arguing that this issue can provide new understandings of the nature of American politics and possibilities for democratic change. Although she organizes her work mostly chronologically, Ritter provides frequent overviews and previews, beginning with two chapters that survey the money issue and party politics over the three decades between 1865 and 1896. She then circles back, in the next two chapters, to review the creation of the greenbacks and the national banking system during the Civil War and to look in depth at the political struggle over greenbacks in the 1870s, including state-level studies for North Carolina, Illinois, and Massachusetts. Moving quickly over the 1880s, she then devotes two chapters to the currency issue in the 1890s, with case studies of the same three states, and concludes with another overview of money, banking, and politics.

Ritter's four central chronological chapters, those on the 1870s and the 1890s, are based on extensive research into the periodical and pamphlet literature produced by the politics of those decades, supplemented by works by historians. Her treatment of currency issues is clear and makes extensive use of primary sources. (It should be noted that historians have also treated those topics at length within the past three decades.) She gives relatively little attention to the Bland-Allison Act (1878) and provides only a few passing references to the significance of ethnicity for understanding Gilded Age politics, despite the wealth of works by historians on that topic.

Ritter argues for the existence of two continuing groups: antimonopolists and financial conservatives (her labels). Ritter is not the first to posit such long-term continuities (Charles Beard comes to mind, among many others), but some historians have made discontinuity arguments, and Ritter's approach here is convincing. The antimonopolists, she argues, saw the financial system as central to economic development and the distribution of wealth, and they sought to use politics to regulate finance in order to maintain the economic opportunity they equated with political democracy. The financial conservatives, by contrast, saw the economy as ideally regulated by supply and demand rather than politics. "For antimonopolists," Ritter specifies, "money was social and political, while for the financial conservatives, it was natural and objective" (p. 73).

Ritter focuses on the antimonopolists, claiming that previous scholars have given disproportionate attention to their opponents (p. 153)—a claim that will surprise most historians of that era. She traces the antimonopolists' origins to early nineteenth-century republicanism and producerism, and she examines their development within the Greenback, Populist, and related movements. She argues that their proposals were intellectually coherent and politically significant. Their failure was not, she specifies, due to the inadequacy of their ideas but to "a multifaceted phenomenon that belies deterministic accounts about the superiority and inevitability of corporate industrialism, the forces of bureaucratic modernization, and the encompassing rigidity of the liberal tradition." Ritter finds the sources for the antimonopolists' failure in "an intersection of institutional structures, strategic choices, and the effects of historical contingency" (p. 265).

Ritter bases an important part of her claim for significance on her demonstration that "temporal order and historical narration matter for political outcomes" (p. 269). "Historical development" in general, she states, "is contingent and layered" (p. 273). Such arguments for the importance of context, multiple causation, the reality and importance of past choices, the uses of history by political participants in past times, and the significance of chronological sequence will not surprise most historians. If there are significant numbers of political scientists who need to be convinced of such things, perhaps her work will assist in that task.

The publisher of this book ought to have taken more seriously its obligation to provide competent copy editing. The use of "Illinoians" (p. 124, when "Illinoisians" is used seven pages later) and the frequent repetition of entire phrases virtually unchanged within a few pages of each other should have been avoided. Cambridge University Press has a reputation for charging a good deal for its books; it needs to devote more attention to the quality of its production process.

ROBERT W. CHERNY
San Francisco State University

MARK WYMAN. *The Wisconsin Frontier*. (A History of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1998. Pp. xviii, 336. $29.95.

JAMES E. DAVIS. *Frontier Illinois*. (A History of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1998. Pp. xx, 515. $35.00.

These books are the third and fourth to appear in the Indiana University Press "History of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier" series, edited by Walter Nugent and Malcolm Rohrbough. Although Mark Wyman and James E. Davis share similar goals, the series editors have given them plenty of leeway to pursue and develop their individual ideas. As a result, the books employ rather different approaches and avoid present-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing materials that vary only by place. Yet, at the same time, they address fundamental issues related to the occupation and settlement of neighboring states during the nineteenth century. Unlike some of the New Western historians who are unable or unwilling to use the term "frontier," Wyman and Davis have moved beyond such intellectual blinders to address the issues related to that slippery term,

Of the two books, Davis's volume gets the reader to the 1770s after a mere fifty pages. The author identifies three broad factors or groups that molded society in frontier Illinois. These were the physical environment, the people who lived there, and outsiders whose actions had some economic, social, or political impact on the society. Davis posits a situation in which tension and conflict among these three elements produced the frontier society. Although that argument is supported by his evidence, Davis avoids giving a specific definition of the frontier. Rather, he presents a two-sided definition. First, it is a physical region that moved generally from the Ohio Valley in the south to the Lake Michigan shore at Chicago in the northeast and to Galena and the lead mining region near the Mississippi in the northwest. Within this shifting area, Davis presents a small society in which people lived in relative isolation, experienced considerable loneliness, encountered acute labor shortages, faced inadequate credit, and dealt with nearly overwhelming transportation difficulties, Second, in addition to being a specific but moving place, the Illinois frontier represented the process of settlement and development of the economy, society, and political structures in the state. The narrative traces the evolution of technology from hand tools to the railroads and the telegraph. While the economy developed rapidly, the society matured slowly: from simple to complex, and from isolation to becoming almost entirely integrated into the national political and economic systems.

Clearly, an era stretching from the 1770s through 1860 presented Davis with some difficulties. When part of the state was participating in national developments, other parts had few people and lagged decades behind. Thus one has frontier conditions even when the state population had moved above the million person mark. To deal with that, the narrative combines chronological discussions with more narrowly focused topical chapters. Davis's central thesis is that frontier Illinois developed within a broadly accepted consensus that saw most people seeking to avoid disorder and violence. Although he admits that those things occurred at the personal level—with frequent drinking bouts and fist fights offering a kind of public entertainment—he assures the reader repeatedly that once the arguments had been dealt with, the foes shook hands and went on about their lives.

Overall, Davis presents a clear picture of developments in early Illinois. At the same time he has a tendency to give too much information in support of his ideas. For example, when discussing the formation of new counties and disputes among towns over which one would become the county seat, Davis cites so many examples that he is likely to lose all but the most careful reader in the process. This tendency to provide unneeded data lengthened the book unnecessarily by at least a hundred pages. Usually his argument that frontier conditions created powerful drives for social cohesion is persuasive. At the same time, his presentation of frontier Illinois as a society lacking significant social conflict and violence is at least questionable. The narrative includes much evidence of such actions from the organization of farmers and miners' claim associations to violence over abolition and other vigilante actions.

Wyman depicts the frontier as being an area of interracial and interethnic contact, cooperation, and conflict. He sees it as a region where people confronted the social and economic difficulties that arose from physical isolation and inadequate technology. Within the conflicts between man and nature, and man and man, he traces the many adjustments people made as they moved into frontier regions and worked to transform them through the exploitation of resources such as land, timber, and minerals. Using these ideas as the base for his discussion, Wyman takes a full third of the book in getting the reader to early American actions in present Wisconsin. In this context, he examines the experiences of local Indian groups as well as those who migrated there from farther east. For generations, the French and *métis* populated the small fur-trade villages of the region. Anglo-Americans barely set foot there prior to the end of the War of 1812.

In the thirty years that followed, succeeding waves of pioneers poured over the land. By the early 1820s, the lead mines of the southwestern corner of the state had attracted thousands of people from Illinois and Missouri. During the 1830s, agricultural pioneers occupied much of the southeastern region and the Lake Michigan shore lands. Wyman examines the actions and impact of the European ethnic groups on frontier development and pays particular attention to the Indians' situation in the face of increasing settlement. He carries the frontier story down to the end of the nineteenth century because of the significance of lumbering in the northern third of the state. There, the thin, acidic soils inhibited agriculture, so lumbering became the motivation for settlement (or at least exploitation) of the region. Wyman follows both technological and economic developments in this industry with care. To some extent, he echoes one of Davis's central themes when analyzing the lumber industry. Despite some spectacular incidents of violence, he finds more cooperation and conflict among the lumber companies. In fact, by late in the century the Weyerhauser combination was firmly in control of the industry in Wisconsin.

Both of these books examine the depletion of natural resources and the destruction of plant and animal life in the region. Together they present frontier regions as centers of accommodation among contend-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing population groups other than the Indians. They offer a modified Turnerian cast to events in both states. Each author suggests that although the pioneers abused the environment and sometimes each other, the resulting societies developed an optimistic view of their worlds. Both books present multicausal and detailed discussions of settlement and social development on the trans-Appalachian frontiers. In doing so, they provide readers with a useful framework for considering important nineteenth-century issues.

ROGER L. NICHOLS
University of Arizona

ROBERT GOUGH. *Farming the Cutover: A Social History of Northern Wisconsin, 1900–1940.* Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1997. Pp. viii, 295. $40.00.

American agricultural history is, by and large, a story of triumph. Farmers claimed the land, worked hard, and eventually produced great wealth for the country if not always for themselves personally. Robert Gough presents a counter-narrative, an account of the birth and failure of yeoman farming in northern Wisconsin in the years from 1900 to 1940.

Once the forested home of Indians who hunted, fished, and gathered wild rice, much of the eighteen northernmost Wisconsin counties were appropriated by lumber companies that by 1900 had produced a wasteland of tree stumps. Government experts, attempting to salvage the environmental disaster, promoted small-scale farming on the cutover. This was somewhat successful in the boom years of 1900 to 1920 but failed sadly in the ensuing agricultural slump, leaving the predictable human carnage of shattered dreams and poverty. Expert opinion shifted to favor reforestation and depopulation. Gough acknowledges that the cutover was a different place for Indians, timber barons, farmers, and urban critics. The farming phase was a brief interlude; but, for Gough, farmers were central and most deserving of support. For him, the critical factor in farming failure arose not from the spotty soils and short growing season of the cutover but rather from the experts' betrayal and indifference to the lives of cutover farmers, a preview of what other yeoman farmers would soon experience.

This book is about the intersection of the world of farmers and the world of academics and bureaucrats. As agricultural history, it takes its place alongside such work as that of Jane H. Adams on southern Illinois and Paula H. Nelson on West River South Dakota, studies that bring out the specificity of subregions within the agricultural Midwest. As an exploration of the effect of social change agents on their frequently hapless subjects, the book belongs next to studies of the New Deal and the "war on poverty."

The database is both qualitative and quantitative. Gough makes extensive use of oral histories. Not surprisingly, the minority of farmers who held the course through boom and bust get more ink than the greater number who tested the waters and left. To his credit, Gough notes this and frequently places his findings in statistical form: twenty-nine percent of the 1900 farmers of Rusk County persisted to 1910; thirty-six percent of the 1925 farmers persisted to 1940 (p. 144). Unfortunately, Gough's statistical analysis, like that of many historians, is weak. A simple chi-square test of statistical significance would revise some of his findings. His fertility data are too unsystematic for careful study. Deficiency of statistical expertise is forgivable and may be remedied through (often painless) consultation. Such cross-disciplinary collaboration would have strengthened this study.

Among the empirical dilemmas is Gough's frequent attribution of thoughts and motives to cutover farmers. In fact, his initial definition of yeoman farmer relates entirely to what was in farmers' heads: expectation of economic independence, willingness to work hard, satisfaction with small farms, respect for individuality, and acceptance of rural lifestyle benefits rather than wealth. None of this says anything about what happened on the ground, even though we have much more reason to trust sources on what people did and said over assessments of why they acted as they did or what they thought. Gough further claims that farmers were drawn to northern Wisconsin because of its natural beauty rather than out of desire to make money, that farmers wanted only limited amounts of land, and that they saw themselves restoring the natural balance of the land in the wake of capitalist exploitation by lumber companies. All of this might be true, but if cutover farmers deviated from orthodox American ambition, I would like to see evidence for it beyond the fact that they remained poor. The poor can be money-centered at least as easily as the rich.

My skepticism about the thrust of this book leads me to recommend that it be read carefully rather than that it be dismissed. It opens historical scholarship on northern Wisconsin, leaving a rich assortment of debates and possibilities for further study. Such regional studies as this are not trivial asides to the story of America; they are its texture.

DEBORAH FINK
Ames, Iowa

WILLIAM A. DOBAK. *Fort Riley and Its Neighbors: Military Money and Economic Growth, 1853–1895.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1998. Pp. xvi, 241. $29.95.

Somewhere between the traditional view of the frontier army as protector of citizen-settlers and the orthodoxy of the New Western history is a fully nuanced picture of the army in the West. In the old view, the army protected westering citizens and fought those who resisted national sovereignty. The words "outpost," "citadel," and "sentinel" recur in the titles of these studies, revealing the emphasis on this mission. Practitioners of the New Western history, largely indifferent to the army or employing a litmus test of sympathy with the Native peoples who resisted expansion, have joined their traditional colleagues in under-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

valuing the significance of the army, and particularly the military post, in shaping western development.

Forts in the trans-Mississippi West represented a massive public investment in expansion. Authors have begun to examine their roles in regional development. Titles including the words "community" and "neighbors" indicate recognition of the multifaceted relationship between post and town that frequently made the two a single community, providing services, employment, investment opportunities, and problems for each other.

William A. Dobak explores this important interaction. Fort Riley, Kansas provided a market for goods and services, from farmers' produce to construction. It also encouraged accumulation of the wealth that sustained local elites and gave momentum and direction to economic development. Military officers and western entrepreneurs agreed strongly on the importance of transportation—soldiers needed to deploy troops and supplies, while businessmen longed for markets—but the relationship between the post and the town was not forged on identical development philosophies. It was based on cash.

Overall, the army was a conduit for cash, "the chief outlet for federal funds," according to Dobak (p. 44). This money entered the economy through scores of western forts in three basic forms: wages paid to civilian employees; larger disbursements to local contractors for food, forage, fuel, and construction; and the military payroll. Dobak concentrates on the first two, which promoted legitimate businesses and economic growth as well as the fortunes and influence of local businessmen. He stays clear of the third, which tended to support saloonkeepers, gamblers, pimps, and whores, all of whom influenced in their way economic development in garrison towns.

All federal outlays raised the same issues in communities near forts. Primary among them was: who got the money? Locally, grain contractors reaped the biggest benefits near this growing cavalry post, with sellers of wood and forage behind them. Profits from construction, which was capital intensive, tended to flow toward larger cities. Other subjects explored in this book involved the social status of those who prospered and the adaptation of communities to sources of revenue beyond their control.

The frontier perception of federal money as a natural resource was astute. Fort Riley's generally positive economic impact varied directly with the expenditures of the post quartermaster, and a change in policy in Washington could affect his purchases as drastically as a catastrophic flood could strike a river town. Moreover, the army could also negatively influence growth by sequestering land for the military reservation, closing significant acreage to development, reducing the tax base, and reserving resources, such as timber, for military use.

Dobak's analysis draws heavily on contract registers of the Army's Quartermaster Department. These massive volumes, in Record Group 92 at the National Archives, list contractors, the goods and services they provided, and the amounts paid by the government. These books are infrequently consulted by historians of the army in the West, but Dobak uses them effectively—with local histories and directories—to identify contractors, their locations, businesses, and revenues.

Dobak concludes that "the first forty years of Fort Riley's history and the century that has followed exemplify the interplay among federal activity, local interests, and market forces that has characterized the entire history of the American West" (p. 183). This view of western development as largely dependent on government spending has become popular among historians, but the role of the frontier army as dispenser of this largesse has rarely been examined. Dobak shows the army's impact at one key place and illuminates varieties of its influence, telling his story with a wry humor that makes his book a pleasure to read.

FRANK N. SCHUBERT
Joint History Office
Office of the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

LOUIS S. WARREN. *The Hunter's Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997. Pp. xi, 227. $30.00.

Louis S. Warren argues persuasively that a book about animals addresses issues of life and livelihood typified by hunting for the table and market stall. It also tackles a potent symbol of access to abundant game and open space in the American West. Drawing on Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis, which posits the inevitability of domination through white settlement, and on Garrett Hardin's thesis about the need for social constraints if subsistence from the "commons" is to continue, Warren organizes his 227-page book around six examples that address and challenge these positions. He insists that both Turner's and Hardin's statements are flawed: the former never comes to grips with the frontier in a rigorous way, the latter oversimplifies both the ecological and social characteristics of the commons (which was, in fact, never open to all people). Nevertheless, both authors, he says, "point to the centrality of free access to abundant resources as an organizing concept in history, particularly in the American West" (p. 8).

Technology (horses and firearms) provided one form of access, and federal laws and institutions coopted, reorganized, and rearticulated indigenous and local attitudes toward and treatment of wildlife. Warren's telling point is that local systems of appropriation already governed human access to and harvest of elk, bison, and other animals. Interventions by regional and federal authorities undermined existing strategies and patterns of wild animal use, largely due to the establishment of trade and market networks.

Warren examines six case studies that typify nineteenth and early twentieth-century endeavors to impose extraterritorial authority over animals as re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sources. The killing of L. Seely Houck, deputy game protector in Lawrence County, Pennsylvania, in 1906, for example, helped terminate unfettered access to animals by immigrants who disdained regulatory statutes about hunting. But as Warren's next case exemplifies, enforcement of such statutes ultimately led to the recovery of deer populations in the 1920s that resulted in substantial crop losses and underutilization of game. Other examples from New Mexico involving the young Aldo Leopold, the Forest Service, game associations, and ranching interests, and another set from Montana involving Blackfoot Indian access to Glacier National Park, underscore Warren's point that extraterritorial intrusions by agencies and regulators whipsawed both local and federal interests. On one hand, locals needed to authenticate their traditions and viewpoints by appealing to the government for assistance both in restricting the access of others to open space and in defining the limits of wild animal harvest. On the other, federal authorities paid the price of being vilified, as subsquent settlers made appeals that others had made earlier and existing locals spurned the efforts for negotiation and understanding necessary to sustain both ecological well-being and social access to forest and rangelands.

A ten-page epilogue summarizes and recapitulates what has been detailed. Warren explains that local people and interests lost as the national government imposed itself into the arena of wildlife issues. He notes that land far to the west of the Mississippi River was a "more federalized place" (p. 173) than the remainder of the nation. But during the Depression years and thereafter, additional states appealed for federal jurisdiction over land tracts, in part to ensure income and in part to regulate and enforce hunting practices that have in recent decades grown steadily more restrictive. Warren concludes that the expression of federal authoritarianism in the West (itself the imposition of an elitist sentiment toward the hunting and harvesting methods) became the blueprint for "embedding" (p. 175) the federal government in wildlife matters and in the "daily life" of local communities (p. 175).

Local people have come to resent curbs on livestock access, stocking in public areas, and hunting in national parks. They contest federal notions of abundance and management methods aimed at sustainability. As newcomers, however, locals invited federal supervision over the settlement process by using laws and institutions to challenge existing occupants and indigenous practices. Today, Warren assures us, the "new" locals, as tourists and well-heeled transplants, anger older groups, who again are calling on the government, just as they mistrust it, to punish people who fail to observe social control in policing their hunting.

He concludes with a brilliantly explained paradox: that establishment of a local lifeway often demands extralocal assistance. In the examples he provides, Warren notes that federal officials have been asked to authenticate local traditions in the face of change. How these "local commons became the national commons" (p. 182) through usurpation and protection is his tale. He argues it in a cogent, lucid, and fully documented way.

ROBIN W. DOUGHTY
University of Texas, Austin

HAL K. ROTHMAN. *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West.* (Development of Western Resources.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1998. Pp. xi, 434. $34.95.

Whoever hears anymore of Carlsbad Caverns, New Mexico? It used to be one of the premier tourist sites in the West, but that was at least twenty years ago, by which time destinations such as Aspen, Colorado and Jackson Hole, Wyoming were changing the whole logic of tourism into what Hal K. Rothman terms "entertainment tourism," which "swallowed the previous forms, integrating them into a mass market form that in itself was authentic to people who had never experienced any other kind" (p. 339). It would be inaccurate to say that Rothman's intricately researched, wonderfully detailed, and profoundly disturbing new book is a lament for places such as Carlsbad Carverns. It is not. Like most people who study tourism, Rothman does not like it. Yet, such is the nature of his narrative, whereby one form of tourism is fated to be engorged by another, larger, and more national one, just as corporations swallow the projects of regions or individuals, that it is tempting at century's end to lament the sheer modesty or unpretentiousness of Carlsbad. If it is difficult to maintain that something of the bedrock of the mythical West remains visible there, at least there are fewer of the enormous cultural and economic transformations that, according to Rothman's argument, have made the myth banal while reducing the area to the status of a colony for various governmental and especially corporate interests. In this book, the whole of the American West aspires to the condition of Las Vegas.

There is ultimately little to be done for tourists and locals alike, although, in a series of case studies beginning with the Grand Canyon, moving through Sun Valley, and concluding with Las Vegas, Rothman tries to recover the history of local resistance to outsiders, and then to "neonatives" of various kinds. These studies make for compelling reading. There is room for asides on such places as Telluride, Colorado, whose history is not identical to that of Vail, whose own history differs from that of Aspen or Steamboat Springs. Indeed, it is possible to read Rothman more for his details than his argument. The research that has been done in this book is impressive and makes an enduring claim to the study of Western history. No one who reads the chapter on the Grand Canyon—less a primal vision for the nation than a battleground for business interests—will ever feel the same about it. My

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only reservations have to do with the book's conceptual scheme. In these pages, what goes by the name of "tourism" has ultimately too many different forms. Rothman strives mightily to keep all his distinctions (three kinds of tourism, three kinds of nature) in order, and all his binary oppositions (especially that between local and outsider) stable. But the very dynamic of tourism continually disturbs his master narrative.

Usually, this disturbance is registered by the word "transformation." This explains everything from how area residents of Teton County, Wyoming benefited from John D. Rockefeller's investment of $50,000 in the 1920s so that Yellowstone's roads could be paved to why visitors to Las Vegas's McCarran International Airport in 1997 are confronted today by advertisements for gaming resorts everywhere from Joliet, Illinois to Adelaide, Australia. Transformation explains why a native of Sawtooth Valley, Idaho writes that it can be "fun to be a tourist in your own town," and why the valet and some of his fellows at the Maui resort hotel where Rothman himself stays celebrate him when he slips out successfully to buy some cheaper food at a nearby grocery store. In other words, tourism explains everything. I would have these pages, precisely because they are so rich, be more mindful of the times when the master narrative either fails to explain much of anything or else fails to explain it with enough nuance.

Transformation is effectively at odds with another idea, that of a "script." A script is what a tourist in these pages increasingly travels *for*; older notions, based on heritage or culture, and then on recreation, were neither so oppressive nor so totalized with respect to the kinds of people they could designate, much less the sorts of personal fulfillment (rather than merely experience) these people would expect. The reason Las Vegas has become the consummate model of touristic experience today is because its space is so wholly "scripted" by corporate investment that something new and imperious has been created: "the amalgamation of tourism into one overarching form with many manifestations" creating "a melange of postmodern tourism that [is] self-referential and trend-driven" (p. 340). By the conclusion of Rothman's book, it becomes idle to ask if the transformations of the West will survive its scripts. With the glittering example provided by Las Vegas, the two are consummately one.

TERRY CAESAR
Mukogawa Women's University, Japan

MARY WARNER BLANCHARD. *Oscar Wilde's America: Counterculture in the Gilded Age*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1998. Pp. xv, 302. $45.00.

Although the assertion on this book's cover that it represents the "first cultural history of the aesthetic movement in the United States" is vastly overstated, Mary Warner Blanchard does offer valuable new material on some of the highways and byways of aestheticism during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century. Blanchard begins her narrative with Oscar Wilde's tour of America in 1882, when he told the natives they had "too many white walls" and tried to convince them of the charms of artifice; it ends shortly after the Spanish-American War of 1898, when, under the influence of Theodore Roosevelt and others, more traditional models of the soldier hero were coming back into vogue. Blanchard has some interesting things to say about Wilde, particularly the extent to which he was received as an embodiment of masculinity in the Western states. She also convincingly links his persona in America with the challenges to conventional definitions of masculinity during the 1880s, noting how "the urban homosexual world . . . was, in fact, commonly acknowledged in straight society" at this time (p. 13). The book's real claim to originality, however, lies in its discussion of what the author calls "female aesthetic visionaries" (p. xv): Candace Wheeler, who contested the masculine imperatives of Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis in the interests of promoting American folk culture; Celia Thaxter, a painter and poet who became the focal point of an intellectual community on Appledore Island, off the coast of New Hampshire; Mary Louise McLaughlin, a fashioner of domestic objects who founded the Cincinatti Pottery Club; and Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer, who wrote on medieval architecture and helped to establish the popularity of Catholic iconography in late-nineteenth-century America.

One of the issues that Blanchard never quite resolves in this book is the problem of perspective. She states in the prologue that her "survey will not provide a definitive explanation of aestheticism" (p. xv), yet at the same time she is clearly using her "female aesthetic visionaries" to counterbalance what she sees as the excessive emphasis given to male versions of this tradition. In itself, this is valuable and enlightening: indeed, many of the best moments in the book come when she delves into more commonplace expressions of aesthetic ideals, looking at the way Pre-Raphaelite images found their way onto greetings cards or examining the impact of these ideas on interior design or women's fashion. Yet for all of her fascinating convocation of materials, it still remains unclear exactly how Blanchard wants us to see this aesthetic movement. If she is seeking to displace conventional aesthetic hierarchies, the way she appears intent upon drawing her female heroines into the orbit of more famous figures like William Dean Howells and Henry Adams would seem to reinforce existing reputations rather than realign them: if one of the noteworthy aspects of Van Rensselaer is that she "circulated with Henry Adams" (p. 186), what does that tell us about the respective significance of these characters? Blanchard's style has a tendency to flatten out conceptual distinctions, and the claims being made for these women artists seem unclear. She puts together a lot of detailed information on Wheeler, for example, but at the end of her

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

discussion the overall significance of the author of *How to Make Rugs* (1902) remains somewhat obscure. Although I can understand the author's reluctance to impose judgments or to reach for any kind of synthesis, there are times when the lack of a clear critical perspective becomes frustrating. At times, indeed, the book itself threatens to relapse into a treasure-house of colorful bric-à-brac.

The author's slightly disengaged narrative tone might have resulted partly from a conscious decision to market the book to a popular as well as an academic audience. This may have led to some of the more scholarly arguments and debates in this area, which are heavily referred to in the notes, being deliberately suppressed in the text itself. Blanchard's narrative unfolds in a plain and thoroughly accessible style, but, from a theoretical point of view, it seems content to leave too many loose ends. (It is also odd that a book based around Wilde should cite the Irish author's leading biographer, Richard Ellmann, as "Ellman" throughout.) Nevertheless, this is a valuable work that covers many intriguing and underexplored topics. The publisher has done a splendid job with the production, and the book is lavishly illustrated with some two hundred photographs. While not in itself a definitive volume, it may well help to open up new lines of inquiry about the general popularity of aestheticism in the United States and the subsequent influence of this movement on modernist culture.

PAUL GILES
University of Cambridge

JAMES F. O'GORMAN. *Accomplished in All Departments of Art: Hammatt Billings of Boston, 1818–1874.* (Studies in Print Culture and the History of the Book.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 291. $39.95.

Who was Hammatt Billings? I surmise that most historians, myself included, might well offer this query. Now, with this carefully crafted, analytical biography, James F. O'Gorman has lifted the veil of obscurity from a multifaceted nineteenth-century artist and has simultaneously made a strong case for the undeserved nature of his neglect.

O'Gorman never overestimates his subject, however. Billings's overall influence was minor, his work sometimes pedestrian or worse. Rarely innovative, Billings was more the artist who was representative of contemporary cultural tastes and activities. But the wide scope of his achievements is what set Billings apart from others and made him a noted and noteworthy local and regional artist, appreciated by such diverse individuals as Ralph Waldo Emerson and the influential art critic James Jackson Jarves, as well as by the general population of Boston and its environs.

Although he deems the oeuvre of his subject as greater than the sum of its numerous component parts, O'Gorman, for the sake of coherence, has wisely organized the material topically rather than chronologically. Gifted in both major and minor arts, Billings won particular acclaim for his skills as an illustrator who variously employed pencil, pen, and brush. Probably his most famous work along these lines involved his well-received illustrations for Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), although O'Gorman believes that his finest antislavery depictions graced John Greenleaf Whittier's *Sabbath Scene* (1854). (An opponent of slavery, Billings, who was as poor at managing his finances throughout his career as he was gifted in producing works of art, donated a fairly expensive drawing to William Lloyd Garrison and the antislavery crusade.) Billings was also an active illustrator for the temperance crusade and for the Mexican War and the Civil War. His historical scenes and state emblems for periodicals were popular, as were, in a different vein altogether, his illustrations for children's books.

Billings additionally enjoyed an active career as an architect, frequently working with his brother, Joseph. Conversant with architectural developments in Boston, New York, and abroad, he incorporated different styles into his designs. In the opinion of O'Gorman, who hitherto has written important studies of Henry Hobson Richardson, Louis Sullivan, and Frank Lloyd Wright, Billings was "competent rather than brilliant" (p. 134). O'Gorman deems of interest his subject's Boston Museum and Tremont Street Methodist Episcopal Church, which still stands, but regards as his best work the buildings—razed by fire in 1914—at Wellesley College, where the author currently teaches. Careful to provide historical context for his subject's diverse artistic endeavors, O'Gorman touches—somewhat too briefly, I believe—on the contrasting results of the designs at Wellesley and its sister college, Smith. The latter, more decentralized in its buildings and integrated into rather than separated from the town, was to have far more influence on future blueprints for women's colleges.

Billings also managed to design a number of private and public monuments. The private ones were funereal and attracted attention at a time when ornate Victorian statuary and motifs regularly attracted tourists to cemeteries. The Founders Monument at Plymouth, which represented his most ambitious public effort, was both a response to increased nineteenth-century respect for the past and at the same time a challenge to its state rival, the Bunker Hill Monument. Beset with delays and transformed plans for design, the Founders Monument was only completed and dedicated more than a decade after the death of Billings and was, according to O'Gorman, rather a disappointment. This monument was only one example, if the most memorable, of the architect's overall participation in public celebrations. As his biographer aprovingly notes, Billings was part of, not set apart from, the general public at a time when artists were beginning to scorn the middle class and its values.

If Billings remains all but forgotten, it will not be through any fault of his current chronicler. O'Gorman

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has used his fine abilities as an art historian to recreate the life and world of a lesser but still noteworthy mid-nineteenth-century American artist. Drawing on an impressive array of primary materials and consistently rendering balanced judgments, his study does not disappoint.

ROBERT MUCCIGROSSO
EMERITUS
Brooklyn College

MICHAEL HOLLERAN. *Boston's "Changeful Times": Origins of Preservation and Planning in America*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 337. $39.95.

Boston is an excellent venue in which to study the development and growth of a self-conscious drive to control the forces of urban change. Bostonians were never far from some fragment of their colonial and revolutionary history. Throughout the nineteenth century, the city prided itself on cultural institutions of national significance, like the Athenaeum, that preserved its glorious past. So, between 1860 and 1930—years of commercial growth and rapid expansion—this old New England seaport became the focus of an intense debate on the control of laissez-faire redevelopment.

Michael Holleran's fine book is about how conservative pressures to preserve the landmarks of the past shaded, by degrees, into what we now call urban planning, or how a concern for the past served to arouse interest in the future. But fundamentally, this is a book about what change means. After the Civil War, for example, most Bostonians (and, one suspects, most Americans) approved of the wholesale destruction of old Georgian houses to make room for new business enterprises and speculative housing. Viewing the past with some distaste—weren't old houses firetraps?—they were confident that whatever commercial interests threw up would be a vast improvement upon the existing building stock.

It was in this atmosphere that the John Hancock House was wantonly torn down. A mansion whose architectural importance was recognized by artists and architects of the day, the Hancock House was also a relic of the heroic era of the Founding Fathers. Its demolition in 1863, as the women of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association were sitting out the Civil War on neutral ground in Washington's recently preserved home, was one of the galvanizing events in the historic preservation movement. Having lost the Hancock House, the forces of preservation—often led by old-money elites, often the only urbanites who lived in the same neighborhoods long enough to see change-for-profit as a pernicious thing—redoubled their efforts to save Old South Meetinghouse, the Old State House, and, inspired by the Transcendentalists, the green spaces of the Public Garden and the Boston Common.

Holleran draws a neat distinction between sites of historic significance and landmarks, or buildings of aesthetic and spatial significance within the urban fabric. In the late nineteenth century, when the Commonwealth of Massachusetts actually recreated the Hancock House as its state pavilion at the 1893 Chicago Fair, the focus shifted to creating a workable and a legible city out of a combination of old and new materials. Charles Bulfinch's gold-domed statehouse on Beacon Street was spared the fate of the Hancock House by virtue of its familiar place on the skyline; instead of being torn down, it was variously enlarged, added to, and improved. In the same spirit, the old Athenaeum was gutted and reconstructed in its interior, leaving the facade intact. The Victorians, it seems, had discovered the Colonial Revival, a style of contemporary building that found in Bulfinch and his generation an antidote to the fusty grandeur of its own living rooms.

The cultural heart of the city in the 1870s was Copley Square, where the neo-Romanesque Trinity Church faced the palazzo front of the Boston Public Library. They formed an intimate outdoor space, a room with dimensions calibrated to the human scale of old, colonial Boston. When a tall apartment building threatened to destroy the character of that space, the public outcry demanded regulation of the brash exuberance of the nascent skyscraper. The extra stories were taken down, brick by brick, under new regulations governing the civility of the skyline. (It is ironic that the site is occupied today by the John Hancock Tower, which is 700 feet taller than its offending predecessor.)

If nothing was permanent in a restless America addicted to change, perhaps some reminders of the past could reinforce a subtle sense of order, of the steadiness of human purpose over time. By pointing out how planners, preservationists, and environmentalists responded to the mushroom growth of cities like Boston, Holleran spotlights the competing interests at stake in any intrusions into the urban environment. That Boston managed to survive, flourish, and build a modern city around its historic core is a tribute to the tug of war that brought down the John Hancock House but created Copley Square, Quincy Market, and the Freedom Trail.

KARAL ANN MARLING
University of Minnesota

MARK DYRESON. *Making the American Team: Sport, Culture, and the Olympic Experience*. (Sport and Society.) Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 269. Cloth $44.95, paper $18.95.

This volume analyzes two related topics in the history of American sports during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The first is the rise of a philosophy of sport that championed athletics as a vital institution for promoting both democratic values and nationalism in the United States. The second subject is American participation in the early modern Olympic

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Games, as medal-winning U. S. athletes gained glory for their nation and its ideals in the arena of international competition.

Mark Dyreson's central thesis is that a group of American intellectuals and writers believed that modern sport would "reconstitute popular representative government, restore equity in American society, and rejuvenate public virtue" (p. 3). He argues that statesmen, social activists, philosophers, athletic administrators, journalists, and other molders of public opinion (including Theodore Roosevelt, Jane Addams, William James, Walter Camp, Albert G. Spalding, and Price Collier, among others) viewed sport as a social technology that would build a strong sense of community in the United States as Americans struggled to cope with the stresses of industrialization and modernization. Specifically, sport could teach Americans the value of both competition and cooperation, maintain order, and also help to assimilate immigrants, reduce racial and class tensions, and even address gender differences. In short, sport could and should be a powerful tool to help the nation adjust to the challenges of increasing class conflicts, economic dislocations, cultural pluralism, and scientific and technological change.

Dyreson also shows how American participation in the modern Olympic Games from 1896 to 1912 provided the nation and its sportsmen opportunities to demonstrate the superiority of the American way of life. After the French aristocrat Pierre de Coubertin successfully launched the movement to revive the Olympic Games in the modern world, several propagandists and administrators of athletics in the United States (especially the journalist Casper Whitney and American Athletic Union bureaucrat James E. Sullivan) seized on these sporting spectacles as perfect vehicles to further their goals of amateurism and nationalism in American sports. As America's athletic missionaries dominated track and field competition in the Olympics throughout this era, the leaders of the U.S. Olympic movement and the popular press gloated over their victories. But they also ignored the lack of participation or the poor showing of U.S. competitors in sports they viewed as minor and inconsequential in ranking the nations of the world.

Sportswriters and other journalists frequently noted the democratic character of American teams, especially after 1900, when several men qualified who were not recruited from elite private Eastern colleges or upper-class clubs. The press applauded the participation and triumphs of men from working-class backgrounds and immigrant groups: especially Irish, Jews, and even a few African Americans and American Indians (notably Jim Thorpe). But Dyreson also includes a valuable chapter on "The Limits of Universal Claims," in which he shows the obstacles facing lower-class men, immigrants, African Americans, and American Indians who sought equal opportunity in the sporting republic, despite the fact that a few from their ranks competed and even shone in the early Olympic Games. During this era, writers also debated the value of sports for females, but before 1920, American women were barred from U.S. Olympic teams.

This book offers a provocative, convincing, and illuminating interpretation of an ideology of sports that had a profound impact on the early involvement of the United States in the modern Olympic Games. Dyreson has combed the periodical literature of this period with great care, and he has included many informative anecdotes and well-chosen quotations. Readers who seek a detailed narrative of the Olympics prior to World War I might be disappointed, because although Dyreson covers the major incidents and controversies of each of the Olympic Games very well, he does not present a comprehensive narrative of the competitions. He might also be faulted for not expanding his discussion of the reasons for the decline of the philosophy of the sporting republic in the United States after World War I. In his final chapter, Dyreson does point out that the war severely reduced public confidence in the power of sport as an agent of social change. He also maintains that the expanding commercialization and professionalization of sports in the 1920s undermined the older ideology of amateur athletics and the belief that sport could serve as a moral equivalent for war. But Dyreson passes too quickly over these trends, and he might also have noted that a few of the ideas about sport that were so popular in the early 1900s are still around at the end of the century. Some contemporary writers still believe that sport can be an instrument for social change in the United States, especially for the democratization of society as African Americans, new immigrants, and women seek equal access to athletic, political, economic, and social arenas in the United States.

GEORGE B. KIRSCH
Manhattan College

DAVID DELANEY. *Race, Place, and the Law, 1836–1948*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1998. Pp. x, 229. Cloth $35.00, paper $17.95.

This volume posits the melding of two seemingly incongruous concepts, geography and law, in shaping social relations in the United States. Geography occupied a central position in the history of black-white interaction because much of the nation's racial tension has stemmed from conflict over space. In what he terms geographies of race and racism, David Delaney argues the importance of spatial control in the nineteenth-century debate over fugitive slave laws and in the twentieth-century conflict over racially segregated urban neighborhoods. Each is an example of "the politics of black mobility" wherein the conflict over race revolved around African-American people challenging spatial restrictions imposed on them.

Relatedly, Delaney illustrates the prominent role of the legal system in maintaining racial subordination by controlling space. Here he analyzes the complex legal arguments that evolved in a series of court cases,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

focusing on the legal reasoning in these cases rather than their outcomes or interpretation. Drawing on the work of critical legal scholars such as Robert Gordon and Gary Peller, Delaney argues persuasively that legal discourse, the constellation of social relations conceptualized in the language of law, is not simply, as conventional legal theorists would suggest, neutral, objective, and non-political. It is instead a rendering of judgement and justice grounded in accepted understandings about meaning and language advanced by social elites, and it is inherently political. Moreover, legal discourse suppresses other modes of discourse and distorts representations of social life by imposing sterile legal descriptions. If legal discourse translates into social reality, then, according to Delaney, much is lost in translation.

Delaney advances his analysis of legal discourse in a series of U.S. and state Supreme Court cases beginning with *Aves v. Commonwealth* (1836), which involved Med, a six-year-old slave girl brought to Massachusetts by her owner, and ending with *Mays v. Burgess* (1945) in the District of Columbia, where Clara Mays and her family challenged their eviction from a home they had purchased in a racially restricted neighborhood. In each case, Delaney analyzes the legal arguments advanced by the respective attorneys while illustrating how their narrow approaches transformed "larger social and political conflict into narrow legal dispute[s] that turned on the specialized skills of lawyers" (p. 68).

Nowhere is this more evident than in *Buchanan v. Warley* (1917), the U.S. Supreme Court case widely touted by civil rights historians because it struck down city ordinances mandating racially segregated housing. The argument that persuaded the court, however, had little to do with the injustice of racial segregation and instead supported white realtor Charles Buchanan's right to sue black postal employee William Warley, who had used Louisville's newly enacted ordinance to invoke the escape clause of his real estate contract. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld Buchanan's claim against Warley and invalidated the Louisville ordinance because it violated private property rights, not because it mandated racial segregation.

Delaney convincingly argues that the segregation and racialization of American society from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries flowed from judicial decisions shaped by legal reasoning that held slavery, segregation, and racial exclusion to be right, reasonable, and preferable to other arrangements. Challenging the widely held view among historians that the campaign to undermine segregation and discrimination evolved from the first years of the twentieth century, Delaney argues that legal discourse through 1948 failed to challenge the racial subordination then supported by the courts. Moreover, he pessimistically concludes that the post-World War II civil rights movement and suburbanization of the United States, arguably the two most important social transformations of the last half of the twentieth century, have offset one another's impact on race relations, the former eliminating most legal barriers to space and the latter simultaneously generating a spatial separation of the races "unimaginable to the architects of the municipal segregation ordinances of the early part of the century" (p. 182). Since the author's analysis of court cases ends in 1948, before the advent of the modern civil rights era, it is unclear if Delaney's thesis holds for the last fifty years of the twentieth century. Nonetheless, this volume suggests that historians need to look beyond the courts to locate the most significant generators of social progress.

QUINTARD TAYLOR
University of Oregon

LEON F. LITWACK. *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow*. (A Borzoi Book.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1998. Pp. xxi, 599. $35.00.

Fact by fact, quote by quote, story by story, Leon F. Litwack has built a monumental history of black southerners' survival and spiritual strength during the most intense years of Jim Crow, the period roughly between 1890 and 1915. Drawing on 102 archival collections and a vast array of published sources, Litwack describes a part of the American past that most contemporary white Americans refuse to acknowledge, or cannot imagine, or have reinvented to suit present needs. With unblinking eye, Litwack painstakingly shows southern whites unrelenting in their attention to the persecution and immiseration of black southerners. Drawing on the words of the most eloquent and the most plain spoken, the famous and the obscure, Litwack gives voice to black southerners' response to this campaign of destruction. He portrays their frustration and rage, their hopes and aspirations, and their struggles to make sense of lives so rigidly cast by the color line. Describing a world turned upside down, in which black achievers, not black slackers, were far more likely to be singled out by hawk-eyed white supremacists for violent castigation, Litwack has written a masterpiece of historical imagination.

For scholars, much of what Litwack describes about the making and maintaining of Jim Crow is, in its general outline, not new. Experts among us will know most of the cruel and barbaric stories of white violence: the torture, mutilation, and burning alive of the innocent Sam Hose; the destruction of black Atlanta in 1906; the cruel beating and lynching of the successful Anthony P. Crawford. Similarly, Litwack breaks no new ground in his treatment of the use of economic coercion by whites to hold blacks down, or of the way in which the southern white criminal justice system in many states functioned to assure black peonage. What Litwack has done, in an unprecedented way, is to link economics, politics, and culture together in one volume to describe a system of racial subjugation crafted by numerous individuals dedicated to white supremacy. The complexity of that system and the culpability of individuals is described by Litwack in plain language that hides nothing. Roughly half of this book describes

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the means by which whites created, refined, and defended the specific structures, acts, and ideology of white supremacy in the South.

Even more powerful in its originality is Litwack's recreation of black southerners' epic struggle to endure the poverty, the cruelty, and the mean-spiritedness that their white neighbors, employers, and political rulers visited upon them. Running throughout the text are the voices of black men and women who understood what was being done to them by whites and who sought, somehow, to gain just treatment, or failing that, dignity in the face of brutality. Alabama sharecropper Ned Cobb analyzed the sharecropping system and insisted: "You got a right to your part—rent; and I got a right to mine" (p. 123). Author Richard Wright, whose words run throughout the book, probes at the psychology of oppression: "Indeed the white brutality that I had not seen was a more effective control of my behavior than that which I knew" (p. 416). Christia Adair, daughter of a successful small-town Texas businessman, proudly remembered that her father, "He didn't act like he was better . . . he respected whites, but at the same time he demanded respect for himself" (363). Litwack has uncovered, recovered, and collected hundreds of accounts of how black southerners crafted lives in the age of Jim Crow.

While Litwack very much focuses on black southerners' courage and decency, he reckons, too, with the soul-crushing power of systemic repression. Unable to live with their near social impotence, some black men, Litwack shows, turned a hard hand on their own families. Having learned that a dignified manner often resulted in mistreatment or worse by whites, some black men and women learned to play the clown to survive. Criminality and brutality among black southerners, caught as they were in a vicious realm, were not uncommon. Sarah Fitzpatrick, one of the many poor folks Litwack quotes, explains the psychological tension black southerners endured: "De Nigger ain't got no law, no flags, no nothin. He lives under de white man's law, dat's whut keeps him dis'sad'isfied, an' nuverous all de time" (p. 328). Litwack does not look away from the human costs white supremacy wrought.

Litwack, better than any other historian, has brought the world of Jim Crow to life. The book is prodigiously researched; as a result, Litwack can be counted on to deliver the telling detail, the clarifying anecdote, and the pithy quote. And of perhaps even more importance in driving home his hard tale, Litwack knows how to write. Here is how he starts his first chapter: "The pine-board shack in which Charlie Holcombe spent his childhood in the late nineteenth century rested on top of a red clay hill about a quarter of a mile from the main road in Sampson County, North Carolina" (p. 3). Without compromising in any way its scholarly rigor or sophistication, this book is written to reach a general public, and judging by his past success, Litwack should find a large readership. Although too long to assign in its entirety to most undergraduates (hopefully, Litwack will create an abridged version for course use), anyone who teaches American history courses on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries should read this book and figure out how to have their students in surveys and upper-level courses read at least a chapter or two of what is certain to become a classic.

DAVID FARBER
University of New Mexico

W. FITZHUGH BRUNDAGE. *A Socialist Utopia in the New South: The Ruskin Colonies in Tennessee and Georgia, 1894–1901*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 263. Cloth $38.95, paper $16.95.

W. Fitzhugh Brundage's first work, *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880–1930* (1993), won the Merle Curti Award from the Organization of American Historians for the best book in American social history in 1994. In his latest work, he has turned away from that dark subject to examine a progressive colony, the Ruskin Colony, that was planted in Tennessee in the 1890s. Ruskin has had its historians before (Howard H. Quint) and a notable place in radical and labor history, but Brundage is the first to explore the details of its inner life, the intellectual forces that shaped its founders and the deeper reasons for its failure to establish a lasting community or to influence the course of American socialism.

The Ruskin Colony's origins are found in the socialist movement of the early 1890s that tried to reverse the tide of American industrial development and replace it with a social program based on a political and social ethic that brought riches to the many rather than the few. The spearhead behind the colony project was the publicist/journalist Julius Augustus Wayland, who promoted it in the pages of his paper, *The Coming Nation*. The scheme attracted settlers who had been hard hit by the 1893 depression. Ruskin's location in the South (first in Tennessee, then in Georgia) set it apart from earlier utopian colonies established in the North and Midwest. The vision of a utopia drenched in sun (so they imagined) proved a lure to northern workers left out in the cold.

Called Ruskin in honor of the British aesthete and art critic, John Ruskin, it offered an alternative vision of a political economy where "practical socialism" could be put to work. The building plans for the colony were imbued with a concern for the environment and embodied design elements similar to those that shaped the Columbian Exposition of 1893. The colony was to be orderly, rational, and serve the needs of its inhabitants rather than its owners. Cheap land in the South convinced the original planners that the utopia should be located in Tennessee rather than Indiana, and the predominantly northeastern and midwestern colonists came away from the blighted industrial landscape to Ruskin in 1894. Many were artisans captivated by the promise of dignified labor and the cooperative life, but there were a few, like Isaac Broome, who had been privately educated, studied abroad, and, prior to his joining, had been on the faculty of the Philadelphia

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Academy of Fine Arts. Not surprising he found the workmen crude, "hog like," and rough socialist companions.

Brundage discusses the careers of several important ideological figures who came to Ruskin such as Herbert Casson, that indefatigable Christian Socialist whose vision of a better world was shaped, contradictorily enough, both by W. D. Bliss and by the political squabbles Casson experienced while a member of the Socialist Labor Party of Massachusetts. He offered an American version of British Fabianism as a way forward for the strife-torn American socialist movement. There were a few anarchists who wanted to use the colony as a vehicle for stretching the boundaries of conventional morality, but they were in a distinct minority—even though the colony was derided in press as a hotbed of sexual radicalism.

Brundage also gives us the fullest discussion available of women's work at Ruskin (there was a regular women's column in the colony newspaper) and the result was mixed : full equality was the stated ideal, yet social practices were often conventional. In short, many of the women felt they were second-class citizens in the new utopia. When some of the women began wearing "bloomers," however, the men supported their decision while their neighbors in the rural New South were aghast.

As is often the case in utopian ventures, the prospectus and the first architectural renderings about the paradise in progress outran the colonists capacity to create one. They were living in rough Tennessee country and, for a time, conducted some of their businesses in an enormous cave. Like many other colonists before them, they could never make their cooperative economic scheme a success. A series of bad marketing decisions (the Ruskin Stump Puller, Ruskin Chewing Gum), the failure of Wayland's *Coming Nation* to throw off enough excess capital to sustain their business losses, and a testy relationship between its patron (Wayland) and the colony led to a decision in 1899 to reincorporate and move to Georgia. Two hundred and forty members moved further south but were never able to make a go of it. Ruskin was an important development in the radicalism of the 1890s. It was spawned by and helped to sustain an important periodical, *The Coming Nation*; it gave hope to reformers of varied backgrounds that community was possible. Brundage has gone well beyond any earlier historian in detailing its history (records for some aspects such as the economic development are meager) and has provided a careful and balanced view of both the collective experience and individual aspirations. It is hard to imagine that a better book could have been written.

ROBERT S. FOGARTY
Antioch College

WILLIAM E. ELLIS. *Robert Worth Bingham and the Southern Mystique: From the Old South to the New South and Beyond*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 258. $24.00.

Since the sale of the Bingham newspapers in 1986, four largely anti-Bingham books have appeared relating the story of the Binghams of Louisville, a family sometimes viewed in power, prestige, and scandal as the southern Kennedys. This book by William E. Ellis is the first treatment of the family patriarch by a working historian. Based on manuscripts, newspaper files, interviews, and current scholarship, Ellis's study is a judicious summary of Bingham's public career spanning the early progressive years until his death in 1937 while serving as ambassador to the Court of St. James.

The son of a Confederate veteran and Klansman, Robert Worth Bingham grew up in a New South environment structured more by "Presbyterian industriousness, self-assurance, and morality" (p. 3) than by devotion to the Lost Cause. Educated at his father's progressive private school in piedmont North Carolina, the University of North Carolina, and the University of Virginia law school, Bingham married a well-to-do Louisville socialite and soon joined an elite group of professional men rising in Louisville. As an aspiring politician, interim mayor of Louisville, and state judge on the court of appeals, Bingham placed himself in the vanguard of progressivism, waging battles for the public service concept of the state and against the liquor interests, bossism, and corrupt election practices. Bingham's principled political views and maverick tendency in local and state politics created powerful enemies and brought a succession of defeats. After 1917, he never again sought elective office.

In 1916, three years after the death of his first wife, Bingham married Mary Lily Kenan Flagler, widow of multimillionaire Henry M. Flagler. With her rather mysterious death within the first year of their marriage, and his receipt of a five million dollar bequest from her estate, he became one of the wealthiest and most influential men in Kentucky and the subject of nasty rumors that would follow him for the rest of his life. The rumors of complicity in her death, the author concludes, were baseless, the product of greedy heirs and political opponents.

In 1918 Bingham purchased the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, a leading southern paper made famous by Henry Watterson, and the *Louisville Times*. His papers supported prohibition, women's suffrage, and the Versailles Treaty, pursued paternalistic, "benign" racial policies that protected the status quo, and fought anti-evolution legislation and the Klan, but Bingham made an even greater commitment to the crusade for farmers' cooperative marketing programs. Although the crusade failed, it made him during the twenties one of the most popular leaders in the state. In national politics his newspaper support and generous cash gifts helped Franklin Roosevelt to the presidency and in turn resulted in his appointment as ambassador to Great Britain. As a friend of FDR but never a significant foreign policy maker, Bingham worked to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

increase understanding between the United States and Great Britain and alert the Western world to the German menace. Bingham, who was always an Anglophile, made the isolationists apoplectic on more than one occasion.

While Ellis presents a clear overview of Bingham's public career, he is less successful in exploring the total man or linking him to the southern mystique, which remains undefined but apparently serves as shorthand for southern racism. Key issues are raised but not pursued. Ellis refers to Bingham's singular philosophy but fails to discuss it; he cites his firm guidelines for philanthropic stewardship but neglects to summarize them. Ellis presents tantalizing glimpses of personality and motivation but only glimpses: competitive drive for success in all endeavors, icy determination and self-confidence, independence of action protected by his wealth and newspaper forum, and principled devotion to public service and philanthropy. In the end, Bingham emerges as a constructive public servant and influential advocate of Wilsonian progressivism, Democratic liberalism, and internationalism. Scandal-seeking readers will be disappointed in this good man who used resources "wisely and for the benefit of the public" (p. 200).

CARL R. OSTHAUS
Oakland University

LEROY DAVIS. *A Clashing of the Soul: John Hope and the Dilemma of African American Leadership and Black Higher Education in the Early Twentieth Century*. Foreword by JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1998. Pp. xxviii, 440. $50.00.

John Hope (1868–1936) was born and reared as a Negro in Augusta, Georgia, but educated at predominantly white schools in New England. The son of a wealthy white businessman and a quadroon mother, Hope could have passed for white but chose to be black because his identity was formed as a child growing up in the South. After graduating from Brown University in 1894, Hope went to work for the American Baptist Home Mission Society as a teacher at the black Roger Williams University in Nashville. In 1898, Hope moved to Atlanta Baptist (now Morehouse) College and was president of the institution from 1906 to 1936. In addition to being the nation's most prominent president of a black liberal arts college, Hope was also active and influential in the Niagara Movement and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and was a close friend of W. E. B. Du Bois.

Leroy Davis's outstanding biography focuses on the conflicting requirements of Hope's dual roles as race leader and college president. As a race leader, Hope could be outspoken and combative. Several years before Du Bois published *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), Hope took exception to Booker T. Washington's Atlanta Exposition address of 1895, saying, "I regard it as cowardly and dishonest for any of our colored men to tell white people or colored people that we are not struggling for equality" (p. 87). Challenging the assumption that industrial education was especially suitable for black people, Hope also anticipated Du Bois's concept of the "talented tenth," asserting in 1896 that "we ourselves will never be possessed of conscious self-respect, until we can point to men in our own ranks who are easily the equal of any race" (p. 91). Hope's speeches on the need for black higher education and full equality "epitomized radical black leadership in the South during the age of Booker T. Washington" (pp. xxiv-xxv).

As president of Morehouse College, however, Hope eventually toned down his protests. Although he continued to associate with the NAACP, Hope became more active with the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Hope also mended fences with Washington, and in time the two men and their families exchanged visits and enjoyed the rivalry between their schools' football teams. Hope also maintained excellent relations with Washington's successor, Robert R. Moton. With assistance from Washington and Moton, Morehouse eventually received large grants from Andrew Carnegie and from the Rockefeller-backed General Education Board.

The title of this biography refers to the "inner turmoil" and "great travail of mind and spirit" that Hope allegedly suffered, because, as president of Morehouse, he could not always speak forthrightly as a militant race leader (pp. 193–94). One wonders, however, if this tension really was central to Hope's life, for he seems not to have focused on this in his copious correspondence, and when offered the opportunity to become executive secretary of the NAACP in 1916, Hope chose to stay at Morehouse. Hope wanted to be both an educator and a race leader. He "enjoyed his dual roles and was not about to give up either" (p. 215).

Hope stayed at Morehouse because he was committed to building institutions in the black community. Although he protested against the injustice of racial segregation, Hope recognized that, since segregation was the order of the day, blacks should make their separate institutions as good as possible. While waiting for the walls of discrimination to fall, Hope thought black leaders should provide the institutions that black people needed. He took pride in Morehouse College, in his black fraternity, Alpha Phi Alpha, and in his black church, Friendship Baptist.

In emphasizing the importance of institution-building in the black community, Davis departs from August Meier's separation of "African American leaders in the era of Booker T. Washington into those who accommodated to the system and those who protested against it" (p. 377, n. 54). Instead, Davis shows that that accommodation and protest were entwined with one another, and that, in the prevailing circumstances, building black institutions was a form of racial self-assertion.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In personal style, Hope was "slow and deliberate in speech, conciliatory in tone, and mild in temperament" (p. 160). He was a devout Christian and an able administrator, with a "formal manner" and an "aristocratic bearing" (p. 107). His style differed markedly from that of Davis, who tells readers that as a teenager he lived in a black working-class project, hung out with pimps and drug dealers, and showed up at local nightspots wearing platform shoes, a wide-brimmed hat, a bloused silk shirt, and bell-bottom pants. Nevertheless, this is a case where "opposites attract," for one can hardly imagine a better biography. The book is deeply researched, written with style, subtle and sophisticated in its judgments, and a contribution to historiography as well as biography.

RAYMOND WOLTERS
University of Delaware

JOELLEN MCNERGNEY VINYARD. *For Faith and Fortune: The Education of Catholic Immigrants in Detroit, 1805–1925*. (Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial Series.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1998. Pp. xviii, 310. Cloth $49.95, paper $18.95.

The last twenty-five years have witnessed the flourishing of historical studies on Catholic schooling in America. Boston, Chicago, and Milwaukee have all been subjects of critical histories aimed at illuminating the formation and development of parochial education. JoEllen McNergney Vinyard's study of Detroit from 1805 to 1925 is a welcome addition to this literature.

For Vinyard, the story of Catholic education is rooted in the immigrants who created Detroit Catholicism during this period. Early beginnings appeared to offer the irenic hope of genuinely common educational arrangements. By century's end, however, controversies over use of the King James Bible, which demarcated the public schools as evangelically Protestant in tone, together with rising nativism convinced Catholics that preservation of their culture necessitated parish schools. Thus, "by the 1880s a generation of Detroit Catholics had pieced together the reasons, form, and funds for educating their children separately" (p. 85).

Vinyard comprehensively chronicles these stories of institutional formation. Her book is especially rich in its detailed exposition of the individual immigrant groups that sought to sustain and advance their heritages and provide for their children's upward mobility. The book is strongest in the attention paid to communities of religious sisters who staffed the schools. Vinyard rightly recognizes these women, largely ignored in comparable studies, as key because they made such schools economically feasible and became major agents of cultural transmission to their pupils.

Especially illuminating are the histories provided for the Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary and Felicians. The former, a locally organized community largely German and Irish in membership, was successful because of its ability to provide teachers who met the particular needs of differing ethnic parishes. The latter, founded in Poland but extensively involved in the United States, became special guardians of diaspora Polish language and culture. Although such communities had a common Catholic educational mission, they differed widely in educational philosophy, ethnic identity, and ultimate goals. The study illustrates, too, how pressing staffing needs compromised both the religious and educational formation of community members. The story of an aspirant who entered one sisterhood on Saturday and was in front of sixty children wearing a borrowed habit on Monday morning is atypical, but it signals the difficulties created by a rapidly expanding school network.

Another strength of Vinyard's work is the manner in which she situates the creation of Catholic schooling within the broader ecology of Detroit's educational development. Avoiding the tendency to treat parochial education in isolation, she links stories of parochial school formation to parallel events taking place within the rapidly developing public educational sector.

It is in such examination of the wider structures of schooling, however, that Vinyard's interpretations become more problematic. This book seems to argue that chance accounted for many of the eventual arrangements that came to characterize Detroit's educational structures and that, given different circumstances, separate parochial and public accommodations might not have proven necessary. Such an interpretation initially appears plausible, given the demonstrable influence of specific individuals and forces at important junctures. That attempts by particular Protestant leaders to standardize the King James Bible as a public school text, for example, promoted the formation of Catholic schools seems clear. The fact that comparable controversies over the use of the King James Bible had similar results in Cincinnati, Chicago, and other cities, however, suggests that broad cultural forces rather than random chance made the creation of separate systems utterly inevitable.

Vinyard's success in dealing with explicitly religious phenomena is likewise somewhat mixed. On the one hand, she insists correctly that "liberal," "conservative," and "Americanist" rarely are meaningful categories for assessing U.S. Catholicism. On the other, she underestimates the force of religion, as distinct from ethnicity, in driving parochial school formation. She forcefully makes the argument that public religious ideological controversies sometimes masked important internal ethnic considerations that encouraged various groups to create their own schools. Her own research, however, demonstrates that explicit religious beliefs and a desire to preserve traditional faith were also important motivators for institution building. Less importantly, minor factual errors (e.g. referring to the "Sisters of Charity" of Emmitsburg, Maryland as the "Daughters of Christian Charity" and situating the 1884 Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in the mid-1870s) detract from the work's considerable merits.

Such deficiencies, however, are mostly minor. Vin-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

yard's book, with its sensitivity to individual ethnic sagas, comprehensive exposition of the formation and development of both sisterhoods and schools, and awareness of broader educational contexts, represents an important addition to the burgeoning literature of Catholic parochial education on the urban frontier.

F. Michael Perko, S.J.
Loyola University of Chicago

Elizabeth York Enstam. *Women and the Creation of Urban Life: Dallas, Texas, 1843–1920.* (Centennial Series of the Association of Former Students, Texas A&M University, number 72.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1998. Pp. xx, 284. $39.95.

Roger Williams, in an account of the Narragansett Indians published in 1636, reported that in Narragansett society, "The women bring in all the increase of the field, etc. the Husband only fisheth, hunteth, etc." That women's labor creates wealth was news to this scholarly Englishman, and Elizabeth York Enstam finds that it is still news to some today. Her work, addressed primarily to urban historians, sets out to demonstrate how women contributed to the development of American urban society using Dallas, Texas as a case study. The case-study approach, with its rhetoric of replicability, holds some traps. Dallas is sometimes described as typical of other cities and participating in national trends (p. 64), but at other times Enstam suggests that Dallas was not typical. This is a minor and seemingly unavoidable dilemma of community studies.

Enstam's book belongs to that group of works by practitioners of women's history who have labored over the last decades to identify female contributions that went unrecognized by contemporaries and subsequently by historians as well. Enstam painstakingly documents women's work in the frontier households of the 1840s and 1850s, the paid workforce of the "young commercial city" of the late nineteenth century, and the service and manufacturing economy of the early twentieth century. In the process, she uncovers the activities of women's clubs and reform organizations, finding a rich associational history of women's voluntary organizations at the turn of the century that performed another kind of "work": that of community-building. Along the way, there are some interesting portraits of individual women whose careers shaped Dallas history, such as Carrie Marcus Neiman, co-founder of the firm Neiman-Marcus, and journalist Isadore Callaway ("Pauline Periwinkle").

Enstam's study is based on exhaustive research in census records, local histories, and city directories, and it is supplemented with oral interviews. Although the text focuses on Dallas, extensive endnotes allow the author to link her local study to many broader historiographical debates. Here readers will find up-to-date bibliographic references galore.

I found myself wondering about the connection between the two themes of the book: the history of women's work and their emergence into public arenas. Enstam's evidence suggests that it was not women's economic contribution that persuaded men to yield responsibility over various areas of urban life. Instead, women's gains came through political struggle, broadly defined, and in areas that men did not particularly care about, such as school playgrounds, or that fitted women's "peculiar sensibilities," like the care of orphans. New powers and responsibilities were won by women—but also yielded by men.

Enstam's theme is how European-American women advanced into areas of concern previously off limits, notably civic affairs, and, little by little, overcame the prohibitions placed on their activities by convention and law. This theme gives her book a progressive tone and a forward momentum. The history of how organized women in Dallas moved into civic life is a fascinating one: in one area of the city's life after another, women identified a problem, organized to solve it, and then persuaded the city fathers to take it over as a public charge. For example, Enstam notes the founding of the Dallas Art Association, later the Dallas Art Museum, born from the merger of the Art Committee of the Dallas Public Library with the Public School Art League in 1903. "Again an organization founded and run by women had become a permanent municipal institution, located on public property and supported by tax money" (p. 105).

A serious drawback is that this history of Dallas women, confined to the history of European-American women, is less inclusive than it could have been. African-American women are present in Enstam's narrative but they remain interpretively unintegrated and in the background, acted upon rather than agents. As for Hispanic women, Enstam announces in the introduction that she has decided to omit them for the curious reason that, "Understanding their experience required more than analysis of city directories and manuscript censuses or perusal of news stories and the records of voluntary associations" (p. xvii).

Although limited mainly to European-American women, this urban history makes a useful contribution. As long as "mainstream" urban history continues to overlook the roles of women, there will be a need for studies in which different groups of women receive their due as creators of wealth and builders of communities.

Ruth Crocker
Auburn University

Judith N. McArthur. *Creating the New Woman: The Rise of Southern Women's Progressive Culture in Texas, 1893–1918.* (Women in American History.) Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1998. Pp. x, 199. Cloth $39.95, paper $17.95.

"They dislike anything that savors of suffrage," a temperance worker wrote of Texas women in 1892 (p. 8). Yet by 1918, suffrage leaders were able—in four days—to gather signatures from ten thousand Dallas

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

women who wanted the vote. In this well-researched and readable study, Judith N. McArthur traces the rise of Texas women's public culture from the first stirrings of the Women's Christian Temperance Union to full suffrage in the aftermath of World War I.

McArthur argues that religious motives were not the source of women's public activism. Rather, political change came accidentally through the burgeoning, secular women's clubs. McArthur charts the rise of these clubs and their gradual focus on education, sanitation, and the new "science" of home economics. She shows how politicians' tight-fistedness and neglect of public services offered women substantial room to design and implement programs at the local level—as long as they raised funds themselves and worked without pay. Female voluntary associations undertook every sort of public project, from sanitation surveys to library buildings; women in some Texas cities became volunteer factory inspectors, food inspectors, and infant-care advisors. A few secured paid positions, their salaries raised, in turn, by female volunteers. Tracking these diverse activities, McArthur documents white women's increasing claim on public space in Texas cities—an advance that depended, she notes, on new Jim Crow restrictions that made streetcars and sidewalks "safer" for white southern ladies.

Although a tiny Texas suffrage movement fizzled in the 1890s, McArthur argues that it reemerged powerfully in the 1910s because of the new context provided by voluntary associations. School suffrage, for example, was no longer a "political abstraction" (p. 101) after years of Mother's Club meetings and better-school campaigns. Changing attitudes at the grassroots matched those of prominent women like Anna J. Pennybacker, the Texas club leader who became president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs of the U.S. After lengthy internal debates, the Texas federation followed the national lead by endorsing votes for women in 1915.

This book identifies two forces outside women's associations as central to their victories in the 1910s. First, McArthur takes into account the vagaries of partisan politics, showing how bitter divisions among Texas Democrats prompted the prohibitionist faction to give women voting rights in white primaries. Second, she shows how World War I legitimized federal aid to the South in ways unthinkable in prior decades. As war mobilization made clear the damage wrought by every social problem—from infant disease to food contamination to prostitution—women won both legitimacy and financial support from federal sources. The war softened Texans' commitments to states' rights and male political control, helping maternalists win new victories in the public sphere.

The book focuses heavily on middle-class and elite reformers in the cities and larger towns. The experiences of rural and working-class women are neglected by comparison; labor unions get relatively brief attention as sources of female public agency, and the Farmer's Alliance—so vibrant in Texas—gets hardly a mention. But McArthur documents the activities of African-American women and offers an even-handed assessment of white Progressives' racial attitudes. The white women in McArthur's study were hardly race radicals, but she notes that they never stooped to the vicious race-baiting of conservatives. Unlike their counterparts elsewhere in the South, Texas suffragists seldom argued for white female suffrage as an antidote to black men's votes. Instead, they sought to shift the ground to issues such as prohibition—in support of which, ironically, they deployed ethnic stereotypes against German-American voters and brewers. McArthur recovers the radicalism of many of these women's aims. She shows how, in one key state, women fought persistently for "innovations that contradicted the southern traditions of low taxes, limited government, and local control" (p. 144).

REBECCA EDWARDS
Vassar College

ELLEN CAROL DUBOIS. *Harriot Stanton Blatch and the Winning of Woman Suffrage*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 353. $35.00.

"The interconnectedness of history was built into her life" (p. 260), Ellen Carol DuBois writes of Harriot Stanton Blatch in this superb biography of an underappreciated champion of women's rights. Stanton Blatch was the daughter of suffrage pioneer Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Harriot's activism and reputation were inextricably connected to those of her famous forebear. On one level, DuBois's biography is the story of a daughter's quest to come out from the shadow of her mother. Stanton Blatch was connected not only to the first generation of suffragists but also to the celebrated figures credited with guiding the movement to victory in 1920: Carrie Chapman Catt and Alice Paul. On a second level, DuBois's book is an argument that Stanton Blatch deserves a place alongside Catt and Paul in the women's rights pantheon. Modernizing the ambitious program for women's liberation pioneered by her mother, rejecting the more narrow strategic choices of Catt and Paul, Stanton Blatch envisioned a democratic women's movement dedicated to "liberating women's untapped possibilities" (p. 277).

Stanton was born in the birthplace of feminism, Seneca Falls, New York, in 1856. From the start she was implicated in the women's rights struggle: her mother intended hers to be a model of enlightened girlhood, physically vital and intellectually confident. Although the young Stanton identified strongly with her mother's passion for reform causes, she also felt drawn to the world of partisan politics, as embodied by her staunchly Democratic father. She would eventually combine these interests in reform and partisanship into a program for women's uplift, but not before receiving new forms of inspiration from the outside world. Ater an unhappy college career at Vassar, the young woman set sail for Europe in 1880.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stanton settled in England, where she married Englishman Harry Blatch, started a family, and forged new political affiliations. Under the influence of British Fabian socialism, Stanton Blatch repudiated the elitism of those American activists—her mother included—who supported the principle of "educated" suffrage (enfranchising only white, well-to-do women). She came to the realization that the woman's rights movement needed to build a following among wage-earning women, and she sought to forge cross-class alliances by emphasizing women's shared need for financial autonomy from men and shared struggle to balance the demands of work and family.

Stanton Blatch returned to the United States in 1902, after her mother's death, to find the suffrage movement in her home state of New York beset by inertia. Through the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women, which she founded in 1907, Stanton Blatch initiated measures that revitalized the women's rights campaign: open-air meetings meant to attract both working-class listeners and press coverage, and the recruitment of wealthy women who could add "respectability" to the movement and bankroll ambitious projects (such as the establishment of suffrage newspapers and the hiring of professional lobbyists).

In 1910, Stanton Blatch turned her attention and that of her organization (renamed the Women's Political Union) to the world of electoral politics; she would lead the referendum campaign for women's suffrage in New York from 1913 to 1915, working all the while to remake the public image of suffragists. She wanted legislators to see her as she saw herself: as a savvy politician, adept at deal-making in the electoral arena. She wanted the world to see suffragists as diverse and yet united, as attractive, even playful, human beings rather than "strong-minded" stereotypes. To that end, she tapped into commercial culture, sponsoring "suffrage shops" where people could buy memorabilia of the cause and suffrage movies, featuring romantic plot lines. "The enemy must be converted through his eyes," Stanton Blatch wrote (p. 141).

The 1915 campaign ended in defeat, and for the next five years Stanton Blatch was overshadowed by Catt and Paul. These two figures, with their starkly dichotomous views, have come to dominate the historiography of the period: Catt sought to "woo" the political party in power (Woodrow Wilson's Democrats) and Paul to "punish" it; together these alternative strategies won women the vote in 1920—or so the story goes. The reasons Stanton Blatch—who did more than any other individual to pioneer both the kind of lobbying associated with Catt and the militant tactics associated with Paul—has been left out of the narrative are complicated. As DuBois explains, in some sense Blatch marginalized herself, just as Elizabeth Cady Stanton had distanced herself from the earlier incarnation of the movement. Both women rejected the "single-issue" approach to women's rights—be the issue suffrage or Paul's Equal Rights Amendment—in favor of a "many ideal" movement that sought to connect women's emancipation with other causes of social justice. This posed a problem for Stanton Blatch's contemporaries, who did not share her abiding interest in the issue of labor relations. And it has posed a problem for historians, for Stanton Blatch's many ideas are not easily summarized.

Like any biographer who seeks to bring a marginalized figure back to center stage, DuBois has to grapple with Stanton Blatch's limitations: an emotional reserve, a certain high-handedness, and, most important, a profound nativism. DuBois regards Stanton Blatch's anti-immigrant prejudice as a kind of ideological "weak spot" (p. 134) inherited from Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and has a tendency to put Stanton Blatch's pro-working-class and anti-immigrant sentiments into different analytical categories; DuBois could have done more to historicize Blatch's nativism within the currents of Gilded Age politics.

On the whole, DuBois's book is an impressive achievement. It not only demands the attention of historians, who will have to reckon with DuBois's reinterpretation of the suffrage struggle, but also deserves a wide readership among undergraduates, who will find Stanton Blatch to be a compelling and thought-provoking figure.

ELIZABETH R. VARON
Wellesley College

SUSAN E. MARSHALL. *Splintered Sisterhood: Gender and Class in the Campaign against Woman Suffrage*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 347. Cloth $55.00, paper $21.95.

One of the distinctive attributes of historical writing is a comradeship that is shared with those who have gone before us: those who identified issues, uncovered manuscript sources, and laid an interpretive groundwork. Susan E. Marshall's book builds upon the work of Anne M. Benjamin, Jane Jerome Camhi, and this reviewer, as well as on James J. Kenneally's pioneering dissertation from 1963. For example, Marshall accepts the premise that while some of the female antisuffragists may have been bejeweled, plume-hatted aristocrats, others were hard-working professionals, occasionally careerists, who realized their achievements in venues such as journalism, higher education, and social welfare. Marshall also appreciates how some "antis" were drawn to the struggle by what they perceived as threats to the unique socioeconomic hierarchy that provided a female elite with access to spheres of civic influence, if not outright political power. Marshall's articulation of this point underscores that it was self-interest rather than cultural traditionalism that motivated so many antisuffragists, especially in the late nineteenth century. Finally, her book reinforces earlier arguments that an energetic opposition to suffrage drew women into a public activism that mirrored the decidedly nontraditional strategies of suffragists. Mass meetings instead of delicate teas, parades instead of parlor meetings, and in-person legislative testimony

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

instead of male-delivered written representations became the mainstays of antisuffrage campaigns by the second decade of this century.

Marshall brings originality to this discussion by investigating with more precision the lives of leading remonstrants (a post-Civil War term for antisuffragists), especially the Brahmins from Massachusetts who developed the most thoroughly organized state association. She makes skillful use of biographical encyclopedias, blue books, local genealogies, and the U.S. Census to place a textured face over the stereotypical caricature of remonstrants. The author is particularly successful in demonstrating the familial and professional linkages among the leading antisuffragists, both in Massachusetts and elsewhere. Her employment of regression analysis to interpret polling behaviors on state-level suffrage measures is a source of valuable insight. Marshall makes a persuasive case for the inclusion of town and county characteristics in the prediction of voting tendencies vis-à-vis women's enfranchisement. Her effort (in chapter four) to bring content analysis to bear upon the rhetoric of antisuffragism is less successful but still represents a positive step, as our understanding of these "losers" moves forward with more nuanced interpretations.

Marshall successfully incorporates feminist scholarship from the social sciences. These perspectives, particularly drawn from sociology and political science, strengthen her contentions regarding the sociopolitical underpinnings of the struggle over the franchise in the context of power, authority, and influence. In addition, Marshall takes advantage of underutilized archival materials on the Maine remonstrants and thereby is able to present a fuller picture of New England antisuffragism, a mode of protest that was noticeably more sedate than that of its brasher practitioners in New York. She employs materials from the Alabama Department of Archives and History to buttress an extended discussion of antisuffragism in the South, especially as the final battlefront over enfranchisement developed in Tennessee during the summer of 1920.

A modest collection of contemporary illustrations gathered near the middle of the book adds a visual representation of the sharp, at times personal, edge that the suffrage debate carried with it. After all, the struggle for electoral equality was a battle among women over the definition of twentieth-century womanhood as well as a challenge to male privileges carried over from earlier centuries.

THOMAS J. JABLONSKY
Marquette University

RALPH P. LOCKE and CYRILLA BARR, editors. *Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons and Activists since 1860*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 357. $45.00.

This book, edited by Ralph P. Locke and Cyrilla Barr, provides a wealth of fascinating information on the roles that women have played as musical patrons since 1860, mostly in the decades just before and after 1900. The tendency among scholars has been to deprecate women patrons, treating them as untutored society ladies who have done art more harm than good. Here we find the strong articulation of quite a different opinion: that American music would have had a very hard time had these women not done what they did. What is particularly significant is the perspective the book gives that they were responsible not only for establishing conservatories and concert societies, but also for nurturing the lives of American composers in extremely important ways.

The work is imaginative in its design. It offers not only the standard papers on major patrons but also includes short vignettes in most of the ten chapters that are either contemporary sources or interviews. It is intriguing to read Aaron Copland's guest list for a postconcert reception given by his friend Blanche Walton, or to hear reminiscences of musical parties at the home of Sophie Drinker, author of the remarkable *Music and Women* (1948). The most timely of the vignettes is an interview with Betty Freeman, a Los Angeles native who has served as colleague to many of America's avant-garde composers in the last thirty years, from John Cage to Philip Glass to John Adams. She has recently become the most important patron of the modernistic new Salzburg Festival.

The introduction by Locke and Barr is an excellent example of what is now called the New Musicology—an attempt to connect music history with social and cultural context. The two editors relate their subject substantively and interestingly with areas of recent literature on women's history. They explore how studying patronage connects with domestic values, women's careers, women musicians, and philanthropy in the arts. Locke's conclusion is needlessly polemical in attacking prejudices about women patrons, since the book makes its case just fine. Social historians will feel comfortable with the way he and his contributors work on their subjects at the grass roots.

The early chapters take one deep into the daily life of local culture—women raising money for church organs and setting up music clubs and concert societies, and in so doing building vigorous roles for themselves in public life. Linda Whitesitt's chapter on "Women as 'Keepers of Culture' " shows them serving as impresarios in the social units peculiar to society as small towns grew into cities. It is especially interesting to read an analysis of how the work done by individual women in musical life led into institutional philanthropy later in the twentieth century.

The major patrons for whom there are individual chapters are Isabella Stewart Gardner of Boston, Jeannette Meyer Thurber of New York, and Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge of Chicago and the District of Columbia. Barr's chapter on Coolidge shows how widely and steadily she aided both composers and performers and also set up concert institutions (one still in existence in Washington) that had major importance in developing American music. Carol J. Oja's

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

contribution on New York in the 1920s depicts a less wealthy and more diverse group of women who played important roles in making that city a major center for contemporary music. Doris Evens McGinty likewise shows how many black women served as activitists in promoting musical life in their community.

What stands out in these chronicles is how different a fabric musical life had in that period, focused much more in the home than today. As Ruth Solie suggests, we need to ask why we find it quaint to read about the amateur performances at Sophie Drinker's mansion in Philadelphia because that seems so foreign to our institutionalized cultural ways. (Solie, by the way, stands among the most important commentators on music and gender; see her collaborative volume *Music and Difference* [1992].)

What makes this book so significant is that it goes a long way toward showing in concrete and sophisticated social terms how American musical life emerged as a major force in Western culture. Biographies of major composers tend to be cloying in their idiosyncratic depiction of greatness; this one looks much more broadly at social contexts, showing convincingly how women shaped the worlds within which Copland and Cage emerged. One recognizes how passion for high-level musical experience motivated Gardner and Coolidge while seeing realistically the social networks within which that happened. The book is indeed a good place for American historians to start learning about our country's recent avant-garde music. Few members of our field have become acquainted with the powerful leadership exerted by the composers in this book—men helped by women in putting American music on a plane equal to that of any other country.

William Weber
California State University, Long Beach

June Sochen. *From Mae to Madonna: Women Entertainers in Twentieth-Century America*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999. Pp. 240. $25.00.

June Sochen opines that, as an entity, female entertainers were the first women to capture the public eye. On stage, screen, and television, they redefined their place in twentieth-century society and, in the process, attained a level of financial security virtually unachievable by the rest of the sisterhood. She views the lives of her chosen subjects as multiple, integrated texts whose most important elements are biography, the genre in which they worked, and the societal milieu of the time. They mostly led lives atypical of American women inasmuch as they lived and worked in the public eye, not in the anonymity of home, store, or factory.

These interesting, if not particularly profound, observations are, alas, poorly developed when Sochen gets down to case studies. Her book could have been especially useful had it presented, through juxtaposition, the experiences of female entertainers in fields as diverse as turn-of-the-century vaudeville and contemporary television sitcoms. Instead, she chooses to compartmentalize and isolate her subjects with a heavy emphasis on visual media. Four of the eight chapters are devoted to six women, with Shirley Temple and Mae West meriting one apiece. The attention devoted to West is, perhaps, not surprising, given Sochen's biography of that subject, *She Who Laughs Last* (1992), but it is little short of mind-boggling to assign her a major, feminist, revolutionary role as one who successfully challenged the status quo and caused a generation of moviegoers to question "dominant values in sex relations" as their idol "became a one-woman campaign for free expression and an uninhibited view of women's nature" (p. 74). In truth, West's outrageousness on screen lasted barely three years before it was effectively muted by the Hays Office and the Legion of Decency.

Equally unsatisfactory is Sochen's examination of female movie stars of the 1930s and 1940s as role models. She selects Katharine Hepburn, Barbara Stanwyck, Joan Crawford, Rosalind Russell, and Bette Davis as a quintet who overcame blighted childhoods to achieve stardom, all the while asserting their individuality against megalomaniac studio heads and bullying producers. Although this is undoubtedly true, contemporary audiences were mostly unaware of these intramural feuds. What they saw on screen were career girls who habitually surrendered their independence for the promise of a wedding ring. The writing in this chapter is particularly slipshod. Elizabeth Taylor and Ava Gardner did not begin their careers in the 1950s (p. 84); Carole Lombard continued to make screwball comedies until her untimely death in 1942 (p. 103); and Hepburn was not the only one of the five to appear in motion pictures into old age (p. 104). Sochen's perspective on Taylor and Gardner comes perilously close to fan magazine adulation as she lauds the one's inspirational fight against "serious illness, the trauma of widowhood and the loss of lovers" and the other's "continued searching for personal happiness" (pp. 88–89). When it comes to dealing with child stars, Sochen dismisses Bret Wood's "Lolita syndrome," with its thesis of calculated child sexuality as screen entertainment, as a judgment more reflective of a 1990s mentality than a 1930s world view. The latter is exactly what we get. Thus Shirley Temple was just a brave little trooper (sporting exactly fifty-six curls!) with a sweet yet strong personality who forced Depression-weary Americans to get with it.

What might have been the most incisive segment of the book, "Minority Women in Popular Culture," is vitiated by Sochen's peculiar choice of subject. Not many will recognize Pam Grier, whose James Bond-style antics were the centerpiece of several blaxploitation action movies of the early 1970s, and fewer still will recollect Lupe Velez, billed as "The Mexican Spitfire" and known mostly for her malapropisms in a series of instantly forgettable comedies. From those sad experiences, Sochen makes a sweeping but surely

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unwarranted generalization that such was the fate of most non-WASP women in the media.

This small volume is not the best place to learn about the impact of women performers on pop culture. One must question the utility of an approach that presents only one dynamic: that of the strong, plucky woman making it to the top. A thoughtful analysis of the relationship between female stars and their North American audiences still awaits.

JAMES M. SKINNER
University of Victoria

KATHLEEN WEILER. *Country Schoolwomen: Teaching in Rural California, 1850–1950.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998. Pp. ix, 339. $49.50.

As a beginning secondary school teacher in Toronto in 1955, I worked with a woman who had taught in rural Ontario in the 1930s. Perhaps to make me feel better about the present, Miss G. told me stories about those earlier days. The one that I remember after all these years is about having to lock herself in the boarding house bathroom with the window wide open when she wanted to smoke. Of course, the story was not just about community control of this teacher's life but also about her resistance and survival.

Reading Kathleen Weiler's book brought this tale back to me. There are wonderful stories here, vividly told and drawn from a wide variety of sources. At the same time, Weiler's construction of the history of California school teachers is also theoretically sophisticated and well grounded, both in the burgeoning literature on teachers' history and the wider contexts that framed California teachers' lives.

Weiler's study, she tells us, had its origins in the death of her school teacher mother in the middle 1980s. Her desire to understand her mother's life, coupled with a belief in our collective need to know more about the everyday worlds of women who taught, resulted in a complex and multilayered rendering of the history of teaching in California during a period of fascinating change in both schooling and the ways in which society constructed the "woman teacher." One of the strengths of Weiler's study is her reading of these shifting images of women in the teaching role, especially when such women became convenient scapegoats for the ills of society. Strong women teachers first seemed to threaten the masculinity of school boys, who were too much under their control; later on, older, unmarried women teachers were held to have an unhealthy effect on both girls *and* boys, perhaps threatening their heterosexuality.

But Weiler's eye for shifting characterization is not her only strength as a historian of teachers. After a brief introduction of her topic, we are treated to an extremely useful historiographical chapter on women's history and the history of women teachers. Here changing images are embedded in a discussion of the scholarly literature on women in teaching, analysis that persuades us to go beyond the stereotypes to the complex histories behind them. To achieve this, the author takes us through the multifaceted development of the educational state in California, with a special focus on Tulare and Kings counties. She shows us how a gendered educational state could and did empower rural women teachers in California. That power, however, was largely lost in the period after 1940.

All of this is densely documented and intelligently argued. Women teachers come alive as people who struggled against often intractable problems, took pleasure in children's learning, and saw themselves as conquering heroines. One will hardly forget the teacher who jumped over the rattlesnake she found curled up at the outhouse door, or the young women who defied authority and bobbed their hair or achieved their independence when they bought cars.

Weiler does not allow her admiration for the women teachers of the past to blind her to their frailties, however. Over and over, she documents the racism of her subjects and the school systems within which they worked. Individual women teachers may have sorrowed over the Japanese Americans who were interned in the 1940s, but they raised no outcry when Japanese-American children disappeared from their schools. Their whiteness, their class status, and the ways in which California schools discriminated against children, parents, and teachers who were working class or not white were hidden by accounts that ignored this discrimination. Weiler's study brings to light the unacknowledged racism and class bias of these teachers, as well as their own hidden history as gendered subjects. Women teachers were implicated, as well, in the unacknowledged homophobia that characterized the final period of this study. Married women were more welcome in schools during the shortages of the 1940s than before, but this gain came at the expense of the single woman teacher. So often a powerful figure in the past, the spinster teacher was now reviled.

Weiler's book is unashamedly a local study. But it is one that takes us beyond local history to a history that has broad implications for students of the educational state in any region. Weiler has much to teach us about teachers.

ALISON PRENTICE
University of Victoria

LEILA ZENDERLAND. *Measuring Minds: Henry Herbert Goddard and the Origins of American Intelligence Testing.* (Cambridge Studies in the History of Psychology.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. ix, 466. $64.95.

Three-time killer Clarence Victor was recently taken off death row in Nebraska, his life spared by a state law prohibiting the execution of anyone with an IQ below 70. Henry Herbert Goddard would have cheered. Remembered chiefly for bringing Alfred Binet's scale to the United States and for making the name Kallikak synonymous with unchecked, defective heredity, Goddard was also the first American psychologist to testify

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in court that mental subnormality ought to limit criminal responsibility. In the 1914 murder trial of Jean Giannini, Goddard employed mental tests to prove that the defendant was an imbecile. Eighty-five years before Victor, Giannini was also sentenced to life instead of death. It mattered that these two men both deviated from the mental norm by falling substantially below it. But what mattered most was that they did so during a century when new technologies subjected ancient moral dilemmas to the reassuringly modern scrutiny of factual measurement.

In both of these murder cases, a vengeful public was disgusted by the outcome, demonstrating one curious parallel between Goddard's time and our own. Policies championed by professionals in the name of enlightenment often violate everyday notions of justice and morality. Leila Zenderland's impressive book concentrates not primarily on continuities but on the chasm separating Goddard's early twentieth-century world from the one forged later on, in the aftermath of Nazism and in the crucible of the civil rights revolution that followed World War II. Like the term "moron," which Goddard proudly coined as an example of refinement in mental classification, virtually everything associated with Goddard has become a retroactive insult.

Zenderland aims to resurrect Goddard's conception of intelligence and describe the social policies he advocated because, she argues, they were grossly distorted by events Goddard could not have anticipated before World War I, when he made his most enduring contributions. The result is at once a fascinating biography of a difficult subject and a study indispensable for anyone interested in the origin of controversies associated with individual and group mentality: in criminal justice, education, immigration, race relations, and all fields of social welfare.

This book tells several important, interrelated stories. To begin, there is the story of Goddard himself. Shaped by nineteenth-century currents—his mother's Quaker zeal, Darwinism, and the style of benevolence characteristic of New England elites—Goddard was applauded for revolutionizing the theory and practice of mental classification. Yet he lived to see his legacy bitterly attacked, his motives suspected, and his brilliant career reviled as the quintessence of bad science. There is the story of the Training School for Feeble-Minded Girls and Boys, an obscure institution in Vineland, New Jersey until Goddard turned it into a famous social laboratory and a national hub for scientific and social welfare professionals concerned with all aspects of mental retardation. There is the story of how mental measurement boosted the status of new and untested experts—psychologists—by facilitating both cooperation and competition with established professionals, especially in education and medicine. There are the stories of the tests themselves, whose seductive ideological promise was to produce the kind of merit-based inequality that would be legitimate in an egalitarian, democratic culture. Because tests proliferated after 1920, Zenderland's account of their early critics, and the uneven campaign to sell them to school and other institutional administrators, is especially instructive.

Finally, there is the story of the relationship among Goddard, testing, and the eugenics movement. The book is boldest here, for Zenderland suggests that Goddard and some of his colleagues operated within a framework quite unlike the crude biologism often attributed to partisans of "nature" in the war between heredity and environment. Whatever his flaws, Goddard cannot be lumped with the racists and nativists who embraced intelligence testing as a means of maligning the immigrant masses and racialized others who supposedly comprised the moronic American majority.

This book's "protest against presentism" (p. 6) assumes that temporality makes all the difference but ends by assimilating at least one crucial aspect of its subject. A hallmark of Goddard's orientation, and of Progressive reform generally, was the conviction that science required sympathetic understanding rather than stern judgment. In Zenderland's hands, historical consciousness similarly elevates comprehension over criticism. It is an ironic mark of the book's success that readers may not fully appreciate how morally demanding the practice of "sympathetic history" is or how closely it resembles the treacherous complexity of human experience itself rather than the soothing lessons we have been taught to extract from the past.

ELLEN HERMAN
University of Oregon

CHARLES H. MCCORMICK. *Seeing Reds: Federal Surveillance of Radicals in the Pittsburgh Mill District, 1917–1921*. (A John D. S. and Aida C. Truxall Book.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1997. Pp. x, 244. $37.50.

Charles H. McCormick's broadly researched, meticulously documented, yet compact monograph analyzes federal "efforts to define, understand and suppress leftists" (p. x) during World War I and the Red Scare. The author's focus on western Pennsylvania is not random, nor does it suggest simply a convenient local setting. Rather, Pittsburgh stood as arguably "the exemplar and seat of power of industrial capitalism in the United States." The city's elites summoned federal sleuths to "make the actions and intentions of foreign radical workers intelligible" and "thereby manageable" (p. 4). Throughout American history, frequently "the quest for order and national unity and the desire of the privileged to protect their interests have collided over and over with deeply ingrained individualism and fear of big government." Seldom has the clash displayed "such force as from 1917–1921" (p. 5), an era of massive civil liberties violations.

McCormick, tapping previously neglected files of the Bureau of Investigation (BI, predecessor to the FBI), Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI), and Military Intel-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ligence Division (MID), easily animates Pittsburgh's colorful radicals. More impressively, he characterizes many heretofore faceless federal agents and informers, grey ranks whom confidentiality policies, clauses, and statutes have long protected.

National investigative arms lengthened dramatically during Europe's Great War. A burgeoning private detective industry supplied field personnel, but the new federal undercover hierarchy's base contained a "heterogeneous lot of amateurs." Some "volunteered; others, members of suspect organizations, were 'hooked,' that is, forced to inform because BI agents had something on them" (p. 21).

Pittsburgh's left seemed tame compared to that of New York, Chicago, or even Cleveland. Yet the steel city's "huge, exploited, and culturally unassimilated" (p. 27) labor force from southern and eastern Europe rendered industry vulnerable to production interruptions. The leading radical organization, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), displayed a different weakness: its members' "gregariousness, openness to strangers and itinerancy" (p. 36) made penetration simple. By August 1917, the recording and financial secretary for the region's native IWW recruiting branch was Louis M. Wendell, a.k.a. Walsh, alias federal agent 836 (p. 52).

Congress's April 1917 war declaration brought federal censorship and waves of additional infiltrators. Initially, "foreign-speaking leftists" enjoyed relatively greater liberty; few "informers could understand them" (p. 68). Nevertheless, all radicals seemed "slow to grasp" that the Justice Department would not treat them "evenhandedly" (p. 74).

Peacetime did not bring tranquility. Russia's successful Bolshevik Revolution brought the March 1919 creation of the Communist International, dedicated to overthrowing all capitalist governments. Stateside that year, a series of terrorist bombings spread hysteria. Meanwhile, monster strikes crippled the steel and coal industries, centered in Pittsburgh and nearby West Virginia, respectively. Attorney General (and presidential aspirant) A. Mitchell Palmer jailed hundreds of suspected subversives. Aliens, unlike citizens, faced easy deportation for political beliefs. The first target, the Union of Russian Workers (UORW), "was philosophically anarchist," but, given its ethnicity, "certainly *sounded* Bolshevik to nervous Americans" (p. 147). The Palmer Raids' second phase, early the following year, hit an infant Communist Party and a smaller Communist Labor Party. In 1920, these groups constituted "more of a threat to other left-wing organizations than to American capitalism and democracy" (p. 167). The Pittsburgh radical squad's reports "show that a narrow, countersubversive, 100 percent Americanism informed [its] work" (p. 184).

McCormick places the era in larger historical context. "The experience of 1917–1921 institutionalized the nature, assumptions, and rules of government's war against the Left as it would be waged in succeeding generations" (p. 204). Appraising early twentieth-century radicalism's decline, "one should not inflate the part played by the surveillance agencies" (p. 203). Yet clearly they imprinted the public mind with "the image of socialism as dangerously subversive, un-American, and, perhaps, unworthy of equal protection of the laws" (p. 6).

This fine book fills a significant void in the historiography of U. S. governmental suppression. It should attract readers within and outside the field and stimulate further research.

JAMES G. RYAN
Texas A&M University, Galveston

JEANNIE M. WHAYNE. *A New Plantation South: Land, Labor, and Federal Favor in Twentieth-Century Arkansas*. (Carter G. Woodson Institute Series in Black Studies.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1996. Pp. xvi, 324. $39.50.

In 1934, Poinsett County, Arkansas became the birthplace of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU), the most visible rural protest movement to emerge from the turmoil of the Great Depression. Previous accounts of the STFU have shed much light on rural life in northeastern Arkansas, but until now no historian has situated the STFU story within the surprisingly complex political and economic history of Poinsett County itself. Jeannie M. Whayne approaches Poinsett County's history with a sophisticated grasp of the external forces shaping southern agriculture before and after the New Deal. By design, however, her narrative concentrates on local people and events in a effort to recover an "inside view" of economic change as it unfolded in the lives of "small farmers trying to make a living off the land and . . . entrepreneurs who turned lumber, land, and labor into commodities" (p. 5).

Like a latter-day version of William Faulkner's fictional Yoknapatawpha, Poinsett County passed in a single generation from a sparsely settled frontier region to a land of plantations and cotton. But instead of mirroring the power relations of slavery, the plantation system of Poinsett County was an early twentieth-century phenomenon that owed more to outside capital and federal intervention than to the lingering shadow of an Old Regime. In its broad outlines, the story is a familiar tale of conflict between embattled family farmers and large commercial producers that ended in the eventual triumph of modern agribusiness. But close examination reveals that struggles over Poinsett County's social destiny involved three distinct communities set apart from each other by geographic isolation, crop specialization, differing sources of agricultural credit, and contrasting patterns of land tenure. From the 1860s onward, political control of the county rested with residents of Crowley's Ridge, a slender strip of hills bisecting the county on a north-south axis from Missouri to the Arkansas delta. Initially, most Ridge residents were small landowners

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who engaged in general farming. In this respect, they resembled the Midwestern immigrants who settled in the prairie regions to the west of Crowley's Ridge. After 1900, prairie farmers turned increasingly to rice planting, while Ridge dwellers combined small-scale cotton production with livestock grazing and the cultivation of fruit and vegetables in a generally unsuccessful effort to stave off debt and downward mobility.

Poinsett County's third culture centered around the "businessmen-planters" (p. 2) of the eastern delta, a group of local merchants and mill owners who introduced a full-blown system of cotton tenancy as they amassed plantation-sized holdings through the purchase of cutover lands and the preemption of newly drained swamps and marshes that had previously been part of the public domain. For the new landlords, plantations were more an investment than a way of life, and their unbridled pursuit of profit became a formula for pulverizing social cohesion. Unable to wrest political control of the county away from Crowley's Ridge, they relied on state and federal political connections to promote ambitious levee and drainage schemes and to prevail against small homesteaders in protracted struggles over riparian rights. Anxious to minimize labor costs, they selectively ignored the ground rules of white supremacy by protecting black tenants against whitecapping and other forms of vigilante intimidation, at one point even acquiescing in the prosecution of white nightriders for violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1866!

Ultimately, Whayne believes, it was the planters' lack of a traditional power base together with the transient sharecroppers' desire to preserve community ties "within a culture which they cherished" (p. 217) that fueled the growth of the STFU after New Deal acreage restrictions triggered large-scale evictions of both black and white tenants. Following hard on the heels of a failed Homesteaders Union in the 1920s, the STFU attracted recruits who wanted to see themselves not as proletarians but as independent producers working in partnership with planters. Whether such self-delusory ideas contained the seeds of a viable radicalism seems open to question. Given the rapidity with which rural families exchanged farming for factory and office work after 1945, one is left to wonder whether the sharecroppers revolt of 1934 represented an alternative vision or simply a desire for inclusion in the mainstream of American life.

CLARENCE L. MOHR
University of South Alabama

BARBARA H. FRIED. *The Progressive Assault in Laissez Faire: Robert Hale and the First Law and Economics Movement*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998. Pp. x, 338. $55.00.

Robert Hale has always been something of an enigma to legal and policy historians of the first half of the twentieth century. Although he lived through the entire Legal Realism period, he did much of his most provocative work in the 1920s, just before Legal Realism became a "household word." Perhaps for that reason, the earlier historians of the Legal Realist movement tended to ignore him or minimize his influence. But he was also less eclectic than the more prominent Legal Realists and more explicitly concerned with economics than most of them were. He has mainly been found standing rather ill at ease between the Progressive liberalism of the early century and the Legal Realist/New Deal 1930s. His greatly increased popularity in the last decade undoubtedly owes to the recent trend to regard the period from the rise of Progressivism to the end of the New Deal as continuous and of an ideological piece. That view permits Hale to be seen as much more than a transitional character.

Barbara H. Fried's book is an attempt to place Hale within this important movement. She is at least partially successful in that attempt, but in the process, and perhaps not intentionally, she creates the impression that Hale was really a less important character than we had once thought him to be. He served the "transitional" role very well. Unlike some other long-lived Progressives, he embraced Legal Realism rather than abhorring it. He did not suffer the fate of a Progressive liberal legal theorist such as Roscoe Pound, of becoming almost immediately obsolete once the Legal Realist movement got under way.

The task of placing Hale into this revised legal framework is large, probably not one to be accomplished in the space of 300 pages. Too much of this book is dedicated to explaining Progressive political, philosophical, and economic concepts that have been explained numerous times by other historians. As a result, too little space is left for Hale himself, and one is hard pressed to draw a picture of a coherent ideology based on what Fried says about him.

Fried's book does a more than adequate job of assessing Hale's two most lasting contributions to legal theory. The first is his highly creative and influential notion of "coercion" as something that can result from private as well as public social orderings. The second is his significant contribution to the theory of public utility regulation.

Hale's important essay on "Coercion and Distribution in a Supposedly Non-Coercive State" (1923) disputed the traditional liberal view that legal coercion is the result of public but not market forces. Even purely voluntary market exchanges could be coercive in the presence of disparities in bargaining power, knowledge, or resources. As a result, coercion was a fact of life, and one could not escape from it by having a smaller or less regulatory state. At most, the state changed the terms of coercion, and it could change them for better or worse. The problem with classical liberal doctrines such as liberty of contract is that they attacked state interference merely because it was coercive, not realizing that the choice was not between coercion and non-coercion but rather between coercion on two different sets of terms.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The best chapter in this book is the one where Hale probably made his longest-lasting technical contribution. That was his attack on the "fair value" conceptions of public utility regulation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. As Hale showed, in *Smyth v. Ames* (1898), the Supreme Court insisted that railroads and other price-regulated enterprises be given "fair value," which they generally measured by considering what the market would yield. That led to the completely antiregulatory result that a rate was unconstitutionally confiscatory if it produced a lower return than the firm could have received in the absence of regulation. Rather, Hale developed an extended argument for rates of return based on historical investment, something close to what many utility regimes assess today.

Fried's presentation of Hale is a realistic one that seems to do justice to his rightful place as an important but not leading theorist of Progressive legal theory and its relentless assault on laissez-faire.

HERBERT HOVENKAMP
Iowa City, Iowa

THEODORE ROSENOF. *Economics in the Long Run: New Deal Theorists and Their Legacies, 1933–1993*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. 223. $34.95.

John Maynard Keynes once famously observed that the world is ruled to a surprising degree by the ideas of defunct economists and academic scribblers. This superb book lends notable support to the view that ideas matter and that they often have practical consequences. In impressively brief compass and in straightforward, accessible prose, Theodore Rosenof explicates the most significant economic analyses that attempted in the 1930s to explain a Depression whose severity seemed to defy the explanatory power of the reigning economic orthodoxy, and he further demonstrates how those powerful analyses continued to influence public policy debates through the early 1990s.

Rosenof contends that, during the 1930s, a handful of influential economists developed "evolutionary" or "long-run" or "historical" approaches to help explain the economic developments that had eventuated in the Great Depression. Gardiner Means pointed to the growing ability of large corporations to administer prices as the reason for the severity of the 1930s downturn; Keynes looked to changes in the economic environment and in "the psychological propensities of the modern world" (p. 22) to explain lagging investment; and Alvin Hansen, who came to be known as "the American Keynes," stressed the exogenous forces of geography, population, technology, and public investment as the key variables that had brought on a terrible secular stagnation. Meanwhile, another evolutionary theorist, Joseph Schumpeter, continued to advance his earlier ideas emphasizing the importance of entrepreneurship under capitalism. All these thinkers vied for acceptance and influence. Means's emphasis on price inflexibility suggested that economic recovery required structural reform and some sort of corrective planning, and, indeed, that approach dominated early New Deal policy making. In time, Means's structural approach was eclipsed by the investment-centered fiscal alternatives of Keynes and Hansen. But the fundamental division among the challengers to orthodoxy between structuralists and fiscalists never closed. By the war years, Hansen had supplanted Means as the economist of influence in New Deal circles, and the Keynesian era was underway. But in its triumph, Keynesianism was weakened, Rosenof argues, by its lack of attention to structural, microeconomic realities and by its increasing attention to the short run rather than the long and to the management of consumption and aggregate demand rather than the provision of public investment. In short, the contest between the Depression decade's competing schools of heterodox economic thought helped define the postwar American political economy in ways both good and bad, in terms of both what was gained and what was left behind.

The debates of the New Deal era came alive again in the 1970s when the regnant demand-management Keynesian model proved incapable of either explaining or successfully addressing the deadly combination of inflation and stagnation commonly called "stagflation." As economists and policy makers have scrambled in the decades since to reconstruct Keynesianism or to replace it entirely, Meansian ideas about structural microeconomics have inspired proposals for an American industrial policy, and Hansenian long-run, secular perspectives have stimulated renewed interest in public investment. The continued resonance of those approaches suggests to Rosenof that the United States paid a high economic price for the failure of the heterodox, New Deal-era theorists to effect some sort of evolutionary micro and macroeconomic synthesis including such elements.

Rosenof is masterly in explicating the intellectual theories of his protagonists and in tracing the evolution of their ideas. He is fully conversant with the literature of economics and also makes good use of the unpublished papers of Means, Hansen, and Schumpeter. It is his great strength that he is able to track essential continuities without losing sight of the subtle but noteworthy changes that so often color idea systems as they move through time. To my mind, no scholar of economic thought writing today does this better. Rosenof is somewhat less surefooted, and less successful, as he pushes his analysis into the very recent past. To some degree, this is to be expected. Events move quickly as one approaches the present, and it becomes more difficult for the historian to secure a purchase. For example, it appears that the Clinton boom owes less to industrial policy and public investment than Rosenof leads one to predict. But this is a mere quibble. We should be thankful for this truly

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

first-rate study of economic thought in the modern era.

ROBERT M. COLLINS
University of Missouri, Columbia

SANFORD M. JACOBY. *Modern Manors: Welfare Capitalism since the New Deal*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 345. $35.00.

STEVEN A. SASS. *The Promise of Private Pensions: The First Hundred Years*. (A Pension Research Council Book.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 332. $39.95.

The Social Security Act (1935), with its economic provisions for a majority of aged workers, legitimated the system of U.S. entitlements for Americans at mid-century. The size, scope, and federalization of the program drew the attention of scholars and left a gap in the analysis of private forms of retirement. As Congress and aging baby boomers scrutinize the federal retirement program and question the economic feasibility of providing retirement and medical benefits over the next three decades, these two books remind us that retirement funding is not static but a complex mix of public and private sources forged by a diverse group of actors.

Sanford M. Jacoby reinterprets the trajectory of corporate-sponsored worker benefits in a detailed yet accessible study of welfare capitalism. Rather than expiring at mid-century, when federal entitlements and newly empowered unions displaced it, welfare capitalism reinvented itself to emerge as a vital alternative in the 1970s. How, he asks, did U.S. businesses avoid widespread unionization, and why would American workers prefer a system that placed employee benefits at the discretion of corporate employers? The book spans the period before New Deal programs through the Cold War with a postscript that brings the book's central themes up to the present. Three individual companies—Sears, Kodak, and Thompson Products (renamed TRW)—offer well-chosen case studies that Jacoby examines with great precision and detail. In brief, Jacoby's answer to the questions above is that corporations and workers found mutually beneficial solutions through welfare capitalist policies. He recognizes that labor relations changed in the postwar era and that corporations used anti-union tactics, but elements resembling preindustrial manorial relations remained. No longer using coercive measures to control the workforce, modern corporations reinvented power relationships. Managers trained in personnel relations persuaded workers of the benefits of a nonunion workplace. Federal social security programs gave employers greater flexibility to shape designated (rather than universal) benefit policies. Welfare capitalism, Jacoby argues, persevered with the *consent* of the employees.

Jacoby's research addresses broader questions about the formation of welfare states and the balance of power among business, government, and society-centered groups. Scholarly comparisons of public provision in the United States and Western Europe produced new interpretations about the timing and development of U.S. programs. In particular, these studies emphasize the strength (or weakness) of unions, state structures, and gender mobilization within a framework of labor-management conflict. Jacoby finds many of these works flawed on two counts. They exaggerate the influence of unions on the development of worker benefits, and they rely upon conflict models to explain changes in industrial relationships. He substantiates the first criticism with the reminder that most workplaces remained non-union, and those that were unionized could be consolidated into just three industries. His second point claims that U.S. corporations maintained private and managerial control over employee benefits, in contrast to European programs, because American workers found beneficial aspects in corporate plans.

The resiliency of welfare capitalism does not obscure its limits in Jacoby's analysis. It thrives in a healthy economy. Governments intervene less, firms consolidate operations, and unions have less power. Conversely, when the economy weakens or individual companies experience declining profits, the benefits of welfare capitalism decline and workers are forced to rely more heavily on individual resources or government plans. Recent history offers an example. The "new economy" of information technologies consists of rapidly growing companies in highly competitive markets. They have little incentive to embrace either union or state-mandated systems. In this environment, workers' benefits are relative to their position within the workplace. Young, highly educated professional workers may prefer corporate profit sharing to unionization and job mobility to job security. By contrast, corporate restructuring during the 1980s and 1990s created the greatest job growth in low wage or temporary jobs. These workers receive minimal benefits from that system.

Jacoby persuasively argues his case for the resurgence of welfare capitalism relative to cycles of growth and decline in the economy. The three companies played important roles in the larger transformation of industrial labor relations. Nevertheless, it is not clear that they are representative of businesses generally. Nor does it clarify what becomes of worker security during economic declines. Then as now, most business benefit programs cover far less than the cases discussed. The book concludes with unanswered questions about the responsibility for economic security and the consequences of multiple-track systems.

Steven A. Sass traces the history of private pensions from nineteenth-century prototypes through revisions created by the federal government, organized labor, and corporations. Anyone who believes a simpler system of retirement benefits may be found in a return to corporate-funded programs will be disabused of that idea quickly. Sass makes it clear at the beginning that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

public and private roles cannot be separated out neatly. Government, business, and labor have clear interests and create their own subsystems within the larger private pension network.

Private pensions evolved during the period of industrialization when wage-labor replaced family economies and displaced aged workers. A society of small producers, such as the United States during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, utilized the labor of family members regardless of age. Unless illness or disability prevented an aged parent's activity, he or she contributed in some manner to the work of the household. In return, aged relatives expected the family to care for them. Industrialization changed those economic relations. The value of work became directly related to the cash it produced in a wage economy. Competitive capital markets reorganized the size and operations of business. These and other factors resulted in the reduction of employed aged people by the early twentieth century.

The railroad initiated the first large-scale pension program when management recognized the benefits of a loyal and trained workforce. By 1920, the private pension idea had spread widely through American businesses. These early plans had weaknesses that became evident during financial downturns as pension plans collapsed and left retirees without benefits. A new set of actors—actuarial analysts, investment managers, and program designers—joined labor and management to revise the pension ideal. The Great Depression brought another round of reform and New Deal plans for social insurance. This publicly funded program did not replace private plans, but it did change them.

The initiation and expansion of social security benefits during the postwar years created a foundation for retirement. Private pensions became supplemental to it. During those years, Sass argues, private pension plans assumed class characteristics. Management plans featured tax-sheltered benefits and the accumulation of assets, while unions negotiated for adequate retirement benefits for their members. Federal regulation of private pension plans came to a peak in 1974 with the passage of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA). Congress passed the measure to secure corporate responsibility for private pension systems. Countervailing trends in the federal government, unions and American business limited ERISA's impact, however. The retrenchment of government spending initiated during the Reagan administration resulted in fewer assurances for workers. The proportion of workers who enrolled in unions continued to decline. Corporations changed their pension outlook as business structures flattened and their workforce favored mobility. The constant of change had reshaped the promise of pensions.

Regardless of how the baby boom generation finances its retirement, these readings make two points clear. Retirement incomes will most likely continue to include different sources of benefits. No one plan will fit the variety of economic conditions that continue to change what workers and employers want.

JOANNE L. GOODWIN
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

ROBERT E. WEEMS, JR. *Desegregating the Dollar: African American Consumerism in the Twentieth Century*. New York: New York University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 195. Cloth $45.00, paper $18.95.

Robert E. Weems, Jr., has written a concise, interesting, and important book, one that should interest a fairly broad range of individuals. It focuses on a relatively ignored phenomenon, the African-American consumer. Although he covers the period from 1900 to the present, only one chapter covers the important forty-year span to 1940. The main thrust of the book is on the period after 1941. Chapter two examines the period from 1941 to 1960: a time of greatly increased black migration to urban areas, when white businesses attempted to garner an increasing share of the developing market. This was done primarily through "Negro-appeal" radio stations and by hiring African Americans to serve as "Negro market specialists."

Chapters three and four, the most provocative and controversial in the book, present the thesis that the great transformation in civil rights during the 1960s had more to do with a conservative white business response to black spending power than to liberal white and black initiatives focusing on a moral transformation.

Chapter five shifts the focus to Hollywood and its "blaxploitation" films of the 1970s, as well as attempts by white personal care products firms and insurance companies to enter a market formerly reserved for African-American business enterprise. Chapter six carries this analysis into the 1980s, clearly differentiating the developing class distinctions within the African-American community. While up-market firms focused their attention on the burgeoning black middle class, liquor and tobacco companies devised campaigns to appeal to what appeared to be a growing African-American "underclass."

Finally, chapter seven traces the fate of African-American consumerism in the 1990s. Weems graphically captures the tragic irony of black America at the end of the millennium. Transformed from a desperately poor, predominantly rural group in 1900, with little in the way of disposable income, African Americans today are an overwhelmingly urban people with over $500 billion in buying power. Yet, as he notes, this has not resulted in perceived economic betterment for the black community.

All of this is interesting and provocative, but little in Weems's slim volume will be new to those who have read fairly broadly in African-American literature. Despite some useful research in trade journals and other sources, much of the book depends upon secondary materials that will be familiar to scholars, if not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the broader public. This is particularly true of chapter one, on the period before 1940, as well as chapter three, dealing with the role of consumer boycotts in the civil rights movement, and chapter five on the role of Hollywood in the 1970s. Yet the fact that he has brought both primary and secondary materials together into a convenient and well-written whole is in itself an important contribution.

More problematic is Weems's assertion that the civil rights revolution of the 1960s was more a victory for white corporate marketers than for African Americans generally. Although there is much truth to this, Weems's evidence for his broader assertion is woefully slim—chapter four is just ten pages long—and he does little to develop a broader perspective on the civil rights crusade. He has offered an important corrective to the dominant, "liberal" interpretation of the "Second Reconstruction," but it falls well short of being convincing. It is hardly enough to validate his thesis that "the decade featured pragmatic white conservatism rather than altruistic white liberalism" (p. 4).

Then, too, some arguments are simply left hanging and never connected to earlier or later developments. To cite just one example, Weems quite rightly makes much of the significance of the growing African-American urban market in bringing about the integration of major league baseball in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Yet many major league teams tried to abandon that market in later years. The situation of Washington, D.C. is a case in point, as is George Steinbrenner's attempts to move the Yankees out of the South Bronx in recent years. There is a complex, important story waiting to be told here, but Weems chose not to pursue it.

JOHN N. INGHAM
University of Toronto

NINA MJAGKIJ. *Light in the Darkness: African Americans and the YMCA, 1852–1946*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1994. Pp. x, 198.

This book focuses on the history of interactions between African Americans and the international Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) from the founding of the first associations in the United States through the dismantling of the segregated structure that required separate "Colored Associations." Nina Mjagkij explores both the complex history of race relations within the movement and the vibrant and, in some respects, autonomous world of the African-American YMCAs. The book provides a useful overview of major figures, events, and significant themes in the largely ignored story of black men's work in this enduring organization. In introducing readers to this neglected area, Mjagkij points scholars interested in African-American religious life in fruitful directions. In recent years, scholars of African-American religious history have produced a number of important biographies of clergymen who were significant figures in the political, social, economic, and religious life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. James Walker Hood, Benjamin Tucker Tanner, Henry McNeal Turner, Alexander Crummell, and Theophilus Gould Steward have all received attention. Certainly such a focus on this group of ordained men has added considerable complexity to our understanding of the place of the black church in American life. Mjagkij's work turns our attention to men such as William A. Hunton, Jesse E. Moorland, and Channing H. Tobias who were not ordained but whose interest in the YMCA stemmed from a combination of commitment to Protestantism and to the advancement of the race.

Mjagkij discusses the origins of the YMCA in London, its beginnings in the United States in 1852, and its development as an institution principally concerned with the impact of urban life on young white men. She argues that even though black men were not included in this early work, race became a crucial issue in the formative period as the YMCA's position on slavery fractured the alliance formed among northern and southern associations in the United States and between the U.S. and Canadian YMCAs. During Reconstruction, a new alliance between white YMCAs in the North and in the Canadian British Provinces laid the groundwork for the expansion of YMCA work into black communities.

Despite interest in including African-American men, white YMCAs did little to encourage black men to join the organization and provided no material support to aid in the formation of black associations. At the core of Mjagkij's story sits the work of a small group of men who fostered the establishment of YMCAs in cities and in colleges, hired and trained leaders, created bonds between the leaders of the local associations by sponsoring national conventions, and helped to raise money to aid in the construction of new facilities that stood as symbols in black communities and provided services for growing urban populations. Mjagkij argues that black and white men envisioned different purposes for the YMCA, with white men seeking primarily to safeguard the morals of young white men in the city. Black men, she asserts, were committed to this same goal but saw the YMCA as having significance beyond the development of individual character and focused on the possibilities of utilizing the YMCA as an avenue to the advancement of the race. Mjagkij also spends considerable time tracing how the participation of white philanthropists, particularly Julius Rosenwald, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and George Foster Peabody, made possible the construction of a significant number of buildings for black YMCA work that would not have been possible without their aid. In this context, she explores the problematic position of black YMCA leaders in this cooperative endeavor. On the one hand, they valued the support of white philanthropists and, on the other hand, they understood that such support perpetuated segregation within the YMCA.

The book does an especially good job of tracing the national story of African-American men in the YMCA

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

across almost a century and of presenting accounts of local associations that provide insight into the ways in which differences in local contexts, particularly with respect to region, class, denominational presence, and relationship with white communities, shaped the possibitities and problems of the black YMCAs. Mjagkij is also attentive to conflicts within African-American communities and devotes particular attention to clashes between YMCA workers and local ministers (some of whom felt the YMCA competed with churches for membership), frictions over the elite leanings of the black YMCAs, and disagreements with the accommodationist stance of many of the leaders. Despite the various conflicts, Mjagkij insists, the YMCA served as an influential arena in which "African-American men could be men and African-American boys could become men" (p. 7). Although she makes convincing arguments about the importance of the YMCA in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century African American history, Mjagkij does not interrogate the category of manhood as a changing, culturally influenced entity. Nevertheless, this is a useful work that points to the YMCA as a rich arena for scholarship in the field of African-American history.

JUDITH WEISENFELD
Barnard College

JOHN DONALD GUSTAV-WRATHALL. *Take the Young Stranger by the Hand: Same-Sex Relations and the YMCA*. (The Chicago Series on Sexuality, History, and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 267. $23.00.

Americans in the late twentieth century ordinarily view the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) as a place to exercise or, alternatively, to obtain family-oriented services like day care, adult education, or baby swim classes. Today's YMCA would likely be unrecognizable to nineteenth-century YMCA leaders, however; the latter gave little thought to physical training, secular education, or family living. John Donald Gustav-Wrathall asks how and why the YMCA evolved ftom its origins as a Christian men's movement committed to building male character by fostering men's love of God through love for each other into the mixed-sex, family-oriented organization it became. In answering this question, Gustav-Wrathall has unearthed and analyzed a fascinating history of same-sex male love, both expressed and denied.

The YMCA originated in England in 1848 as a Christian support group for largely single, middle-class young men searching for practical assistance and emotional community in the topsy-turvy white-collar world of rapidly modernizing cities. Members understood the binding force of the organization to rest in men's love for each other; through passionate attachments, young men would strengthen their characters, adhere to a religious and virtuous life, and prepare themselves for lives as the heads of businesses and families. Led by paid "general secretaries" who typically married late in life or not at all, the YMCA fostered an intensely homosocial world that provided an alternative to Victorian norms of heterosexual marriage, even as it upheld marriage and family as proper duties of Christian manhood. Gustav-Wrathall argues that the ideal of "brotherly love" created space for an unstigmatized same-sex love that included eroticism—as long as it was cast in spiritual terms. Physical beauty and "magnetic" love sublimated in intensely spiritual friendships produced a charged environment that balanced "homoerotic attraction against the virtues of self-control" (p. 60).

By the late 1880s and 1890s, this culture began to erode. To increase membership without duplicating the efforts of allied Protestant churches, YMCA leaders moved away from an earlier evangelical asceticism toward programs that placed the physical body at the apex of the organization's triangular ideal of mind, body, and spirit. Exercise classes, swimming, and basketball proved tremendously appealing to new members as well as to a new generation of leaders who touted "muscular Christianity" as a masculine ideal capable of reinvigorating middle-class white manhood. Turn-of-the-century leaders, concerned as always with men's virtue, also integrated a bold program of sex education into the YMCA's general programming.

As Christian manhood became associated with the well-developed, sexually aware, and physically disciplined body, the spiritual resonance of men's romantic attachments faded. Such relationships appeared increasingly suspect in the context of secular, embodied, and erotic understandings of love emergent in the sensibility of sexual modernism. By the 1920s and 1930s, the YMCA's official program had come to condemn intense same-sex male attraction and promote heterosexual love and marriage through a curriculum designed to bring women and men together in "normal" relationships.

Gustav-Wrathall does not, however, present these transformations as an exclusively top-down process. He brilliantly develops the irony that while YMCA leaders assumed an increasingly homophobic stance toward same-sex relationships, ordinary male patrons of the "Y" began to develop a new homoerotic culture nurtured in the gyms, locker rooms, and dormitories of urban YMCAs across the nation. In chapters on the culture of cruising and homoerotic physicality that emerged in the less-patrolled spaces of YMCA life, Gustav-Wrathall demonstrates that, by mid-century, men who were either exploring the edges of—or already fully entered into—urban "gay life" had made the YMCA a prime site of same-gender sexual activity, in direct contradiction to the organization's expressed intentions and policies.

A well-researched and incisively argued monograph, this study makes a vital contribution to gender and sexuality studies. Gustav-Wrathall does for men's history what earlier scholars have done for women's and lesbian history, tracing the morbidification of same-sex

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

love as the Victorian rhetoric of spiritual union gave way to modern notions of sexual love cast as the physical expression of individual ("hetero" or "homo") sexual identities. Historians generally have treated this change as a product of scientific and literary discourse and/or emerging homosexual communities. However, Gustav-Wrathall locates the process within an institution not primarily concerned with sex—the YMCA—through which we can see scientific discourses, popular beliefs, religious leaders, and ordinary men with and without strong, same-sex attractions interacting to create a new sexual paradigm that enhanced some possibilities for same-sex love as it eliminated others.

The tragic element of this story, to Gustav-Wrathall, is that YMCA leaders who once venerated same-sex romantic passions later sacrificed such relationships as they succumbed to both practical and ideological pressures of their time. It seems doubtful, no matter what the YMCA advocated, that the sublimated sexual intimacy of spiritual brotherhood could have survived under a new sexual paradigm that placed physical intimacy at the core of love. Similarly, it is doubtful that many men would have remained satisfied with this option, had it continued to exist, given that post-Victorian "desire" has largely cohered around notions of pleasure, intimacy, and fulfillment—not distance and sublimation. A less nostalgic approach to this transformation would be for Gustav-Wrathall to situate his study more explicitly within the history of sexuality, discussing how this change in male culture extends, challenges, or modifies existing scholarship about homosocial relations, homosexual identities, and constructions of masculinity.

Precisely because it is such a richly detailed and cogently argued book, these connections call for further exploration and elaboration. For example, although historians have theorized that scientific notions of sexual deviance not only stigmatized "homosexuals" but produced as well a new concept of the "normal heterosexual," Gustav-Wrathall demonstrates—but could more fully articulate—how this reflexive process occurred. He shows that, as an unintended consequence of the YMCA's new focus on physical and sexual education, homoerotic attachments assumed a deviant cast, inducing YMCA leaders further to emphasize the relation of physical masculinity to heterosexual normalcy. Ironically, the male physique culture exalted by YMCA educators spawned an oppositional homosexual underground of same-sex cruising and erotica. Yet the YMCA physical program also cemented the familiar cultural matrix uniting physical masculinity with sport and normative heterosexuality—the very vantage point from which homosexual manhood has for more than a century been demeaned and judged inferior. Such insights present a wealth of ideas and richly textured evidence for historians of sexuality, gender, religion, sport, and culture to contemplate.

SUSAN K. CAHN
State University of New York, Buffalo

LEWIS A. ERENBERG. *Swingin' the Dream: Big Band Jazz and the Rebirth of American Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1998. Pp. xxi, 320. $28.00.

Big-band jazz, and the adolescent exuberance it inspired from 1935 to 1945, has typically been treated by historians as a sideshow to the more serious business of war, economic depression, and politics. Lewis A. Erenberg has entered "territory long claimed by musicologists and music critics" (p. xvi) to assert the centrality of the popular culture of the Swing Era to any clear understanding of New Deal America.

Erenberg's claims are sweeping. As the book's subtitle indicates, he sees swing as nothing less than a "rebirth of American culture." Improvisatory, informal, and indisputably American, the music of the Swing Era exemplified a "new optimism about democratic culture" and "a delight in the utopian promise of urban life" (p. xvi). Its confident, life-affirming physicality helped draw the country out of the Depression, while its embodiment of distinctively American principles of egalitarianism and pluralism made it an ideal banner to be carried into a war against fascism.

Like other historians participating in what he calls a "new jazz history" (p. xvi) grounded in primary sources and historical context, Erenberg buttresses his claims with professional thoroughness. His account draws on articles in the contemporary trade press and black newspapers, on materials in oral history archives and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) files, and most impressively, on the recounting of personal experiences by hundreds of swing fans who responded to his research queries. As with David Stowe's *Swing Changes* (1994), a book that Erenberg acknowledges as similarly arguing for the Swing Era as "the cultural expression of the New Deal era in music" (p. 257), the only resource consistently underutilized is musical sound itself—an approach that may comfort those put off by the technical language of music theory, but one that postpones the broader task of bridging the gulf between jazz musicology and American history.

No one could accuse Erenberg of avoiding the deeper issues of the social meanings of music, however. His reading of swing hinges on a view of music as a kind of ritual evocation of an ideal society: in Christopher Small's words, as the "acting-out of desired relationships and thus of identity" (*Music of the Common Tongue* [1987], p. 77). Such a utopian vision (the "dream," literally, of the book's title) can only be realized imperfectly in the messy world of politics and commerce in which the expressive arts are produced, disseminated, and consumed. Nevertheless, Erenberg consistently sees the proverbial glass as half-full rather than half-empty. Swing was less an ephemeral form of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

commercial entertainment than a "public, democratic art" (p. 251) serving as a powerful force for "personal freedom as well as cultural regeneration" (p. 250). Such affirmative rhetoric dominates the book: words like "democratic" and "freedom" are repeated to the point of incantation.

The commercial nature of swing occupies an ambivalent place in this argument. On the one hand, Erenberg attributes much of the transformative power of swing to capitalism. Radio and recording made music widely accessible to audiences across boundaries of race, class, and gender, while large dance halls offered new and open spaces for socializing. Dismissing the Frankfurt School model of passive consumers gulled by hegemonic mass culture, Erenberg argues forcefully that swing was attractive to its youthful audiences precisely because it allowed them the freedom to construct a consumer culture independent from adult control.

On the other hand, Erenberg's swing derives its cultural authenticity by contrast with "sweet" dance music—vilified here with Adorno-like vigor as irremediably effeminate and inauthentic. If "sweet" is commercial, swing was created by "musicians . . . fighting commercial pressures in order to play what they wanted" (p. 79). "Sweet" is the province of white culture, while swing—even as played by whites—is grounded in African-American culture (Benny Goodman is described as "revived" through "renewed contact with black jazz" [p. 73]). "Sweet" is symbolic of "male weakness and passivity" (p. 69), while swing is refreshingly and reassuringly virile. The habitual invoking of such powerful binaries reinscribes cultural categories that instead ought to be thoroughly reexamined.

The best passages in the book embrace rather than flee from contradiction and compromise. This is particularly true of the excellent chapter "Swing Goes to War," which focuses on Glenn Miller's shrewd adaptation of his "sweet swing" style to the wartime exigencies of the Army Air Force Orchestra. Miller's updating a Sousa march had enough of an African-American flair for *Time* to comment archly that there was "obviously . . . an Afro-Saxon in the woodpile" (p. 190). And yet, his " 'ethnic platoon' writ large" (p. 189) nevertheless excluded blacks and women. (Erenberg dryly notes that "men remained the arbiters and creators of the 'democratic' art of swing" (p. 199)—the only time in the book that the word is qualified by quotation marks.) Out of such cultural tensions does the full meaning of swing for American historians arise.

SCOTT DEVEAUX
University of Virginia

DANIEL BELGRAD. *The Culture of Spontaneity: Improvisation and the Arts in Postwar America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 343. $29.00.

In 1943, Edmund Wilson borrowed Herman Melville's term "shock of recognition" to describe the period beginning in the 1840s when "genius becomes aware of its kin," as writers recognized that they were jointly creating an American literature. Although Daniel Belgrad does not use Melville's term, in this illuminating study he documents similar, less nationalistic shocks of recognition in the 1940s and 1950s encompassing a wider range of arts. Painters such as Willem de Kooning and Grace Hartigan, ceramist Peter Voulkos, and writers Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg found passions similar to their own in the jazz experiments of such bebop musicians as Charlie Parker and Thelonius Monk. In Belgrad's words, "the long thread through the cultural fabric of the period" that connected the efforts of these artists with one another—and with many others, including dancer Merce Cunningham, poet Charles Olson, and social critic Paul Goodman—was "the will to explore and record the spontaneous creative act" (p. 1).

Others have noticed this, but none has offered as thorough and focused an account of the "culture of spontaneity" as Belgrad. In contrast to stances that emphasized intellectually detached objectivity, "spontaneity posed intersubjectivity, in which 'reality' was understood to emerge through a conversational dynamic" grounded in "the interaction of body, emotions, and intellect" (pp. 5–6). Belgrad develops the meaning of these general terms through discussion of the lives and work of dozens of adherents. Giving credit to recent scholarship, he discusses influences on this aesthetic including Zen Buddhism and Carl Jung. Belgrad also traces changes over time within the culture of spontaneity, as when, during the 1950s, the "'energy field' model of human experience," as articulated by Alfred North Whitehead and others, replaced "earlier surrealist and Jungian notions" (p. 142).

In response to scholars such as Serge Guilbaut, Belgrad argues that abstract expressionism and related movements represented a fundamental challenge to prevailing ideologies rather than a retreat from social engagement. Neither Guilbaut nor Belgrad uncovered much direct evidence of the social and political consequences of these movements, but Belgrad's interpretation is more consistent with what the artists thought they were doing, and he offers some convincing examples of their impact. Most of these are art-related, as in his astute explanations of how the culture of spontaneity brought painting closer to theater and dance and elevated pottery to fine art status. He also shows how it allowed a dialogue between abstract expressionist and Native American artists such as Joe Herrara that had significance for the American Indian Movement. More generally, he argues that it made cultural authority "more accessible to aspirants from immigrant, working-class and minority backgrounds" (p. 16).

Less convincing is Belgrad's characterization of postwar culture as entailing two establishments, with the culture of spontaneity as the main locus of dissent.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The establishments are formalist high art and corporate liberalism, along with the mass culture it sustained. Belgrad presents his scheme as an alternative to Guilbaut's more monolithic one and includes an informative explication of the split between high-brows and middle-brows. Among the many who find no place in his categories are culturally conservative but politically militant activists, widely respected but independent painters such as Fairfield Porter, or writers such as Aldo Leopold and Rachel Carson who challenged scientific orthodoxies. He greatly circumscribes the role of religion, asserting that to most Americans of the period "'belonging' was more important than believing" (p. 144). Charlie Parker's death from heroin addiction in 1955 did indeed show the difficulty of being "a black musician in a racist society" (p. 194), but the similar death of Hank Williams two years earlier suggests the limitations of the book's tidy classifications, as do other unmentioned and untidy facts. Jackson Pollack liked the swing music that Belgrad sets in contrast to the culture of spontaneity. Redeemingly, Belgrad does not ignore contradictions within the culture of spontaneity (e.g. contrast between Pollock's ideals and actions), some of which become clearest as he brilliantly describes its mixed legacy to cultural and political dissidents in the 1960s. The book's ambitious scope forces some lapses, as when the only institutional affiliation that Belgrad assigns to John Dewey is "Harvard philosopher." Dewey's non-Ivy League training, his early work at upstart midwestern universities, and his long tenure at Columbia University with its proximity to key sites of the culture of spontaneity help explain the attraction Dewey's ideas had to some participants in that culture. Such occasional missteps subtract little from the enlightenment that readers will get from shocks of recognition they receive throughout this challenging, cautionary, yet often joyous book.

GEORGE H. ROEDER, JR.
School of the Art Institute of Chicago

BRIAN WARD. *Just My Soul Responding: Rhythm and Blues, Black Consciousness, and Race Relations*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 600. Cloth $60.00, paper $24.95.

In March 1954, the Chords, a black rhythm and blues (R&B) band, recorded "Sh-boom." By early July, the song, already a hit on the R&B charts, also made it onto *Billboard*'s white bestseller list. Midway between these two events, the Supreme Court handed down its landmark decision in *Brown vs. the Board of Education* (1954). While Brian Ward does not equate the importance of these events, he does argue that "Sh-boom" signaled the beginning of a new era in American popular music in which young whites increasingly became fans of black music and black musicians. More importantly, he clearly links developments in black music to developments in the struggle for black liberation from the emergence of the modern civil rights movement in the mid 1950s through the black power movement of the late 1960s and 1970s. Ward insists that there was a "striking historical parallel between the evolution of the black freedom struggle and the various transformations of black Rhythm and Blues, as art and industry, process and product" (p. 2).

Ward provides compelling evidence in support of his argument. He notes that the enthusiasm of white youth for black music not only involved listening to black music and buying records by black artists but also led to integrated concerts and biracial dancing. To some it seemed that by embracing black music American youth would bring down the walls of segregation. In the heady months following the *Brown* decision, some blacks believed that white acceptance of black music would be a major force in promoting racial understanding. This optimism was misplaced. Instead, as white citizens councils mobilized to resist desegregation, a backlash rose up against rhythm and blues and its white counterpart, rock and roll, as well as against integrated concerts. This backlash was more than just a reaction against the thinly veiled sexuality of the music. As the 1956 assault on mainstream performer Nat King Cole during his concert in Birmingham illustrated, the resistance to black music was linked directly to race and the determination of whites to suppress any black challenge to the racial status quo.

The connection between the politics of the struggle for racial justice and developments in black music continued through the 1960s and into the 1970s. As the civil rights movement's focus on integration gave way to black power and a more nationalistic black political ideology, black music turned inward and soul emerged as the dominant African-American musical style. Unlike rhythm and blues, which had attracted a significant market among whites, soul was more closely connected to the black experience and much less appealing to whites. Although black music reflected the shift in black political ideology, and many black performers, black recording studios, and black radio stations supported the struggle for racial justice, Ward maintains that black musicians and the black music industry were never as politicized as black power advocates wished they would be.

Ward does an effective job of analyzing the racial complexity of the music industry. He is especially adept at describing the often ambiguous relationships between black and white music, black and white performers, and the role of blacks and whites in the broadcast and recording industries. He also rejects the concept that any one form of black music is less authentic than another, or that there is some litmus test of racial purity that black music must meet before it is legitimate. He contends, for example, that the popularity of the black pop music that dominated between the 1950s rhythm and blues era and the soul music of the 1970s indicates that it was just as legitimate an expression of black consciousness as were the more critically acclaimed black musical styles. Ward also rejects as unrealistic the demand that black re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cording companies and radio stations subordinate business to politics, citing the fate of Stax, the black recording company that fell victim to the gangsterism of militant black power.

This is a book rich in detail and meticulously researched. Ward makes effective use of collections of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, and other civil rights organizations, as well as papers and oral histories of civil rights leaders, musicians, and persons connected to the music industry. The flaws are minor. In spite of the book's length and its breadth and detail, specialists occasionally will be disappointed that this musician or that recording studio is given short shrift. In spite of its comprehensive nature, the book does not address regional and community differences well. Instead, it focuses on the centers of black music and civil rights, while doing less with the fringes. This does not detract from the significance of this work. Ward has produced a convincing and ground-breaking study that discusses black music within its political and social context, and places the civil rights struggle within the framework of African-American cultural history.

CARY D. WINTZ
Texas Southern University

WILLIAM H. WILSON. *Hamilton Park: A Planned Black Community in Dallas*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 256. $39.95.

William H. Wilson's fine study traces a post-World War II African-American suburb from its creation to the present. The book extends our knowledge in at least two respects. First, it complements works such as Andrew Wiese's "The Other Suburbanites: African American Suburbanization in the North Before 1950" (*Journal of American History* [1999]) and Linda Simmons-Henry and Linda Harris Edmisten's *Culture Town: Life in Raleigh's African American Communities* (1993) by moving the study of black suburban neighborhoods into the decades following World War II. Second, it provides a rich perspective on the African-American side of the vaunted U.S. suburban ideal, joining studies of white districts such as Barbara M. Kelly's *Expanding the American Dream: Building and Rebuilding Levittown* (1993) and Zane L. Miller's *Suburb: Neighborhood and Community in Forest Park, Ohio, 1935–1976* (1981). With thorough research ranging from oral histories to voter analysis to exploration of schoolboard archives and Federal Housing Administration (FHA) files in Washington, Wilson produces a fully rounded account of a community.

The thing that may surprise many readers is how hard it was to create such a suburb. Hamilton Park looks unremarkable: neat little middle-class ranch houses on winding streets around a school and a park, similar to thousands of FHA/VA assisted subdivisions that sprouted outside U.S. cities after World War II. But here developers could not simply buy a farm and start building. It took over a decade of concerted struggle: crisis-level overcrowding in old black districts, bombings of blacks who tried to buy in blue-collar South Dallas, half a dozen proposals by white developers torpedoed by adjacent whites or refused mortgage aid by the FHA, and, finally, intervention by newspapers and Dallas's white elite. Ultimately a local foundation bought the land and then sold lots to a special consortium of white contractors, who were finally able to offer houses for sale in 1953. To see such roadblocks thrown up, robbing indisputably solid African-American citizens of years of time and energy, makes the reader angry anew at the world of Jim Crow.

Once built, Hamilton Park matured over the years as a black enclave, and Wilson makes its history come alive. We see the robust civic and social organizations, the candidate forums and voter drives, and the efforts of parents working multiple jobs to create a vibrant (although underfunded by white officials) neighborhood school. A poignant chapter explores the transformation of that school in the face of federally mandated desegregation after 1964. It is a story of statistical improvement yet loss of neighborhood control and involvement similar to that recorded in David S. Cecelski's *Along Freedom Road: Hyde County, North Carolina, and the Fate of Black Schools in the South* (1994).

In the 1980s, the suburb faced challenges of a very different sort. Initial residents were reaching the ends of their lives. Rising access by blacks to better jobs and bigger houses made Hamilton Park's two-bedroom models less desirable for new home buyers. And thirty years of booming Dallas suburbanization put Hamilton Park in the midst of a landscape of expressways and "edge city" office/commercial sprawl. In 1985, a realtor attempted to get all residents to sell as a single tract so that the land could be redeveloped. The proposal collapsed when Dallas's economy hit a slump, but the idea may still come to fruition.

Readers might wish for fuller depiction of the suburb's built environment. Only one photo affords a small glimpse of an unmodified original house, and neither square footages nor floorplans are given. No photographs show the shopping center developed as part of the project: a regular requirement for FHA financing in the 1940s and 1950s. Also, surprisingly given the title's emphasis, Wilson never says exactly who planned the street layout.

This book should find much use by scholars interested in race and in urban history, and it would make an engaging course assignment, especially when paired with broad overviews such as Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton's *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (1993) or Kenneth T. Jackson's *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (1985). Most importantly, Wilson's book well serves the suburb's residents and Dallas

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

citizens at large, for it eloquently records a vital chapter in the history of the New South metropolis.

TOM HANCHETT
Cornell University

REGINALD KEARNEY. *African American Views of the Japanese: Solidarity or Sedition?* (SUNY Series, Global Conflict and Peace Education.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1998. Pp. xxxiv, 201. Cloth $59.50, paper $19.95.

Reginald Kearney's interesting book examines how African Americans viewed Japan and the Japanese during the twentieth century. The strength of his work deals with the 1900 to 1945 period. Kearney explains that the black press is his richest source, but he does use some Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) files, books by key black leaders, materials by blacks in the white press, and the results of the Office of War Information (OWI) polls. His attention is centered on editorials and opinion pieces by African-American writers. The use of such material enables him to cover a wide range of black opinion because many influential African Americans, not only journalists, frequently wrote for the black press. In the end, Kearney relies on the black elite, but he makes a good case for doing so. It would have helped his argument if he told the reader the size of the circulation of black newspapers, which ones were most important, and what they represented to the African-American community.

In this well-documented book, one learns that African Americans became aware of Japan around the turn of the century, mostly commenting on Japanese culture and Japan's progress toward modernization. The Russo-Japanese War triggered greater interest, especially in the issue of race. Japan became an underdog in a strugggle against white racism and imperialism; Japan's victory over Russia represented a defeat for white supremacy. Kearney's African Americans also commented on the diplomacy of the peace conference and the 1920s. Japan's quest, though unsuccessful for the racial equality clause in the treaty was admired by American blacks. Some blacks, such as W. E. B. Du Bois, visited Japan in the interwar period and sent back favorable comments about Japan and the Japanese view of racial issues. A few Japanese officials and non-government officials in the United States also made efforts to cultivate black leaders, and these efforts did not go unnoticed. When Japan struck against China during the 1930s, some blacks looked the other way. They were impressed by the fact that Japan took Ethiopia's side when Italy invaded that country and the Western powers did nothing to stop Italian imperialism. Defense of Ethiopia was an important foreign policy issue for African Americans.

Thus, when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor Japan had a considerable amount of good will within the black community, and the war created a difficulty. The OWI polls revealed that many blacks did not think they would be worse off under Japanese domination. Some black groups and radicals, such as Robert Jordan, "the Harlem Fuhrer," were pro-Japan during the war, but Kearney notes that these organizations were small, and pro-Japanese spokesmen were not numerous. For the most part, black leadership supported the war, but at the same time called for an end to racism at home. Black leaders were also well aware of the racial nature of the war in the Pacific. As for the internment of Japanese Americans, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) made only a mild protest, but several black journalists closer to the actual removal criticized the American government and pointed to the obvious racial nature of the relocation policy. Black writers saw Japanese Americans as victims of white America's racism. Kearney also informs us that a number of African American leaders believed that, on the whole, Japanese Americans and blacks had good relations at home. He discusses how black prisoners of war were treated by Japan, but he does not indicate in any detail what the black press said about the Japanese occupation of the former European colonies or how the Japanese treated these newly conquered peoples. Either black leaders and journalists did not comment about this aspect of the war, or Kearney did not discuss it.

In the last chapter, Kearney tries to cover the postwar period, but this discussion is sketchy and not as informative as the early chapters. He does say that many newspapers lost interest in Japan as the civil rights movement emerged in the United States. Japan was no longer seen as a buffer against Western racism, and as the Japanese recovered from the war and their economy expanded, Japan was no longer seen as the underdog. For such conclusions, a detailed analysis of the type Kearney used for the 1900–1945 era would be needed to discuss the recent period.

DAVID M. REIMERS
New York University

BRENDA GAYLE PLUMMER. *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935–1960.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 423. Cloth $39.95, paper $17.95.

Despite some weaknesses, this book makes an impressive and much-needed contribution to scholarship not only in the fields of twentieth-century African-American and domestic U.S. history but also in the study of public influences on U.S. foreign policy and of transnational contacts among activists opposed to colonialism and racial discrimination.

The quantity and quality of Brenda Gayle Plummer's research and the sophistication and detail of her argument are especially impressive. Examining a wide variety of primary and secondary sources on both U.S. domestic and foreign policy over three decades, she has done as much research as is usually reflected not in a single monograph but in several. And because she pays close and respectful attention to the opinions

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

expressed in her sources rather than trying to impose a thesis on them, her argument reflects African Americans' diverse and changing viewpoints on foreign affairs. It also reflects the frequent links between domestic and foreign-policy goals in their thoughts and actions.

Prior to this book, most research on blacks' involvement in U.S. foreign policy has either been narrowly focused by topic (interest in Africa) or by sources (responses to questions in public opinion polls). As a result of these narrow approaches, scholars frequently have argued either that blacks' foreign policy interests centered on Africa or that most blacks (the black "mass public") were even more uninformed about and uninterested in foreign-policy issues than most whites. Even the educated elite (the black "attentive public" and "opinion makers"), many have argued, may have concentrated on such domestic issues as equal rights and neglected foreign affairs.

Plummer's major achievement is to refute most of this conventional wisdom. Focusing primarily on members of the educated, articulate elite, she demonstrates its interest in a wide range of issues, from America's stance toward the Spanish Civil War in the late 1930s to how the United States should react to the Soviet Union and its allies after 1945. She documents its effectiveness in using the United Nations, international declarations on human rights, and especially white officials' need for black support in the ongoing U.S. confrontation with the Soviet Union and its allies after World War II to pressure U.S. policy makers to work to end discrimination at home and colonialism abroad. Indeed, if there is one theme that runs throughout the book, it is that many African Americans, both among the elite and the masses, saw strong connections between racism at home and Europeans' treatment of people of color in their colonies, and they believed that persistent protests were required on both fronts to achieve progress on either one.

In addition to demonstrating the elite's interest in many issues, Plummer shows that ordinary blacks became highly interested in a few, notably the Italian-Ethiopian conflict of the mid-1930s. In August 1935, for example, a demonstration in Harlem against Italian aggression in Africa attracted more than twenty thousand people.

What the author fails to refute, in my judgment, is the scholarship in the social sciences that argues that, apart from special cases like Ethiopia, most ordinary blacks during these years normally had little interest in, or knowledge of, foreign policy issues—at least those mainstream foreign policy issues like lend-lease and the Marshall Plan that stirred white policy makers and led to specific questions in opinion polls. Perhaps because most blacks voted for Democrats in these years regardless of whether they agreed with the Democratic candidates' stands on foreign policy, she also makes almost no effort to link blacks' views on foreign affairs to how they voted in particular elections. Her failure systematically to analyze blacks' responses in public opinion polls and the foreign policy influences, if any, on their votes in elections leaves doors open for future scholars of this subject.

Two other shortcomings stand out. The first is the author's unwillingness to acknowledge the danger that the Soviet-controlled American Communist Party posed to free institutions in the United States, including labor unions and civil rights organizations. If respected leaders including Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers Union and Walter White of the NAACP could recognize this truth in the late 1940s, why do many scholars have such difficulty in seeing it today? The other weakness is that the argument is sometimes hard to follow because numerous, diverse topics are covered in most chapters with no breaks in the text. But for anyone interested in what African Americans have thought about world affairs and how they have sought to influence U.S. foreign policy, making the effort to read this book carefully will be most worthwhile.

RALPH B. LEVERING
Davidson College

ELLEN SCHRECKER. *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America*. Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown. 1998. Pp. xviii, 573. $29.95.

Having taken a numbing look at McCarthyism rampant in American higher education with *No Ivory Tower* (1986), Ellen Schrecker now turns to that "ism" amuck in the entire land. The story opens in 1953, when Schrecker's own sixth-grade teacher at the Oak Lane Day School mysteriously disappeared. Forty-three years later, she discovered that he had been swept out sans fanfare in the great purge—no doubt part of a covert Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) dragnet nobly known as the Responsibilities Program. To understand McCarthyism's complexities, one should keep in mind that several years earlier Adlai E. Stevenson brought the idea for a formal teacher blacklist to the FBI. The Illinois governor asked J. Edgar Hoover for his personal touch in helping rid the professoriat of the Red and semi-Red menace. Once he got the Responsibilities Program up and running, the FBI director needed no prodding from a liberal's liberal to meander down to the public schools' K-12 crew.

This book's dustjacket billing as "the first complete post–Cold War account of McCarthyism" is something of a stretch. Organization is more topical than chronological, with a series of chapters that resemble case studies. The most important of these analyze the nature of the communist threat and the particular contributions of Joseph R. McCarthy and (apologies to Stephen King) "the fearless minions of the Effa Bee Eye." If the specialist fails to find much new here, the book should be bought by every school library and well read by teachers (who are no longer being blacklisted for reading such things) and school boards (who are no

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

longer cooperating with the FBI to blacklist teachers for reading such things).

Schrecker's strength lies in showing how McCarthyism worked and how its various constituencies sometimes cooperated and sometimes battled one another. Nonetheless, she repeatedly goes to great pains to demonstrate balance. If the Red-hunters were evil, their victims were not political innocents: "A few had passed information to the Russians; others had not told the truth about their relationship to the Communist party" (p. xi). An anticommunist consensus developed "because it was plausible. Many of its underlying assumptions were grounded in what real Communists said and did" (p. xii). A perfunctory and possibly mandatory *mea culpa* also surfaces: "And, yes, of course, Joseph Stalin was far more repressive than Joseph McCarthy" (p. xviii). Thirty-four years after McCarthy's censure by the United States Senate, Schrecker still feels compelled to throw in that one. That the Soviet Joe was worse than the American Joe needs to be said no more than, say, David Halberstam needs to make sure up front that his readers understand this about the sports figure he recently profiled: "Of course, Michael can play basketball better than I."

Quibbles about such things aside, this is a wonderful book (however odd to use that word given the subject) with no real weaknesses. If thin on the question of where McCarthyism came from, that topic is mostly outside the scope of what Schrecker set out to accomplish. If equally thin on McCarthyism's impact, Schrecker has set herself up for what could be her final tome on the purge. Probably no working scholar has a greater overall knowledge of the subject, and a book here could yet push Schrecker into the ranks of her generation's greatest historians.

Such a book is outlined in a single concluding chapter dividing McCarthyism's legacy into two spheres: human wreckage suffered by individual citizens and their families; and political, social, and cultural pollution suffered by the nation as a whole. At the least, Schrecker makes a convincing case that historians need a better understanding of McCarthyism to explain adequately the nihilistic response to Martin Luther King, Jr., and the modern civil rights movement. Or the implosion of left-wing labor unions in particular and an American left in general. Or the United States' decision to intervene in Vietnam. Or "the contempt for constitutional limitations" (p. 414) that characterized so much of the 1970s and 1980s with the Richard M. Nixon administration's Watergate adventures and the Ronald Reagan administration's Iran-Contra mess.

Schrecker also makes clear that McCarthyism cannot be dismissed as a mere appendage to the Cold War cloud that hung over the United States (and the world) for nearly all of the twentieth century's second half. If it is too much to say that without McCarthyism the Cold War would not have occurred, we might not have skipped a national debate on the primary questions Henry Wallace tried to raise before the Harry S. Truman administration employed the McCarthyite style to crush anyone who doubted the efficacy of containment: namely, whether the United States should wage Cold War at all and whether Cold War could be reasonably located anywhere within the national interest. What we got at the time was a Democrat versus Republican debate on the narrow secondary questions of what sort of Cold War our nation ought to wage abroad and what sort of Red hunt our nation ought to launch at home. McCarthyism made sure not only that such secondary questions would rule but also that the primary questions would be debated only by scholars around the time Schrecker found out what happened to her sixth-grade teacher.

KENNETH O'REILLY
University of Alaska, Anchorage

RICHARD J. ELLIS. *The Dark Side of the Left: Illiberal Egalitarianism in America*. (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1998. Pp. xiii, 426. $35.00.

Not so long ago, the weakness of the U.S. left was a perennial and provocative question that engaged a talented array of historians and social scientists. The debate tended to focus on whether the main problem was external or internal to radical movements themselves. Partisans of the former stance emphasized such elements as the "free gift" of the ballot, the hegemony of liberal ideology, the weakness of class consciousness, and the strength of ethnic and racial identities. The internalists, while not dismissing such factors, argued that radicals had seldom made the best of their opportunities: dogmatism and factionalism crippled movements just when they seemed about to prosper. The debate has been joined only infrequently since the decline of American exceptionalism and the rise of cultural studies.

Richard J. Ellis attempts to revive it with a vigorous indictment of how radical activists and intellectuals since the heyday of immediate abolitionism viewed the world and their own role in changing it. According to Ellis, the pursuit of absolute equality led to intolerance and a contempt for legislative democracy, and such "illiberalism" only confirmed the marginality of the left. This grim description fits Populist writer and orator Ignatius Donnelly and the pioneers of the feminist awakening of the late 1960s as much as it does more obvious candidates like John Brown and Mike Gold, unofficial literary commissar of the American Communist Party. All were disgusted with the compromises endemic to the U.S. political system, and, despite their professed regard for mass democracy, all disdained ordinary people for pursuing their own individual and quite unradical paths to happiness.

Ellis is a political scientist and, perhaps inevitably, cares more about developing a single, powerful theme than he does about exploring the ambiguities of historical context. But he has accumulated an impressive

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

store of quotations from movements and intellectuals who are seldom grouped together: abolitionists, feminists, New Leftists, and radical environmentalists jostle for space alongside the likes of Walt Whitman, Edward Bellamy, and Waldo Frank. Ellis has a knack for summarizing the most unattractive features of his subjects in a taut, animated style. The book is essentially a learned polemic by an author who describes himself as "a lifelong Democrat" and "card-carrying member" of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) who aims "to toughen the liberal reform tradition, not to discredit or reject it" (pp. ix, x).

The fundamentals of his case against left-wing intolerance are hard to dispute. Like premillenialist theologians, American radicals have always preached that doom awaits a sinful society—and few have been able to avoid blaming their fellow citizens for letting the evildoers proceed. The apocalyptic world view is an explosive one that usually leads to bitterness and, on occasion, to violence. And secular radicals, unlike their Christian counterparts, cannot find shelter within a legitimized cosmology. "Illiberalism" is hardly unique to the American radical tradition, as Ellis acknowledges. But it has often added to the woes of a left widely suspected of being out of step with hegemonic civic values.

Yet the argument Ellis makes is more vigorous than original. The author is fond of quoting Isaiah Berlin, Raymond Aron, and Richard Hofstadter to support his viewpoint, and, indeed, these chastened liberals warned decades ago against the desire to purify the body politic by any means necessary. Ellis's real, if unacknowledged, villain is the American version of a totalitarian mindset that the likes of Hannah Arendt and James Billington have dissected quite brilliantly. He is the first to apply the critique of left intolerance to so broad a variety of American subjects. But, because the indictment is so familiar, I found myself getting weary as the author fed yet another document into his relentless narrative. The final third of the book—about the "political correctness" of certain feminists and the Luddite fantasies of Earth First! and similar groups—is little more than a rehash of material that conservative journalists and academics have been publishing since the 1980s. Hitting easy targets dilutes the power of his argument. At times, Ellis's own singlemindedness causes him to miss significant ambiguities in the history of the American left. He fails, on several occasions, to distinguish between rhetoric and practice. Following Hofstadter, Ellis flails Donnelly's lurid novel, *Caesar's Column* (1891), which predicted a bloody revolution against the international plutocracy. But Donnelly himself battled only through the electoral process and ended up supporting a Democrat for president in 1896. Four decades later, Gold, that stalwart party liner, backed the New Deal he had once accused of "fascism." Even devotees of apocalypse can recognize the need for powerful allies.

And did illiberal talk invariably harm the left? From William Lloyd Garrison to Robin Morgan to David Brower, radicals who voiced the moral absolute helped to inspire new kinds of mass movements that were the catalysts of social and political change. That such exhorters would not have made good executives or party leaders does not devalue their historical role. Ellis has driven home an important, if somewhat derivative, point. But the meaning of radical history cannot be reduced to the horizons of his judgment.

MICHAEL KAZIN
Georgetown University

JACK IRBY HAYES, JR. *Dan Daniel and the Persistence of Conservatism in Virginia*. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 258. $35.00.

RONALD L. HEINEMANN. *Harry Byrd of Virginia*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1996. Pp. x, 511.

Virginia, wrote V. O. Key fifty years ago, was a "political museum piece." Dominated by an oligarchy that operated efficiently, honestly, and with some "feeling of social responsibility," the state's political system remained remarkably undemocratic (*Southern Politics in State and Nation* [1949], p. 19). Without too much exaggeration, Key compared Virginia's political system to England's prior to the passage of the Reform Act of 1832. At the head of Virginia's system was Harry Flood Byrd, whose finely honed but autocratic machine defined one-party politics in Virginia. The Byrd Machine and its legacy after the civil rights revolution is the subject of biographies by Ronald L. Heinemann and Jack Irby Hayes, Jr. In many ways, these two accounts fill major gaps in the history of the twentieth-century South, for we know little about the actual functioning of politics after disfranchisement and even less about the repercussions of the partial breakup of one-party politics after the late 1960s.

Byrd, a descendant of the eighteenth-century planter, diarist, and political figure William Byrd, grew up in modest circumstances near Winchester, Virginia. As a newspaper editor and Shenandoah Valley entrepreneur (he later became one of the valley's most successful apple growers), Byrd was exposed to politics through his father, Richard Byrd, who served as Democratic legislator and speaker of the House of Delegates, and his maternal uncle, Appomattox County lawyer and congressman Hal Flood. Both his father and uncle were loyal to the state Democratic organization, which had helped to push through, in the state constitutional convention of 1901–1902, the exclusion of African-American voters. Harry Byrd was elected to the state senate in 1915, serving for several legislative sessions thereafter, and in 1922 he became state Democratic chairman, a move that Heinemann describes as "pivotal" (p. 32). Elected governor in 1926, Byrd soon occupied an impregnable political position. He had long advocated good roads as a legislator, and road-building continued apace during his administration. But Byrd also endorsed "business government":

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the application of fiscal conservatism and efficiency to state governmental management, combined with limits on the expansion of governmental services and reduced taxes.

Although Byrd solidified his political hold on the state by constructing a system relying on extensive patronage and low voter turnout, during his governorship his machine gained a well-deserved reputation for ruthless efficiency. As United States senator—a position that he held from 1933 to his retirement in 1965—Byrd became a presence in Washington. Almost immediately, following a brief flirtation with Franklin D. Roosevelt, Byrd bitterly opposed the New Deal, and he resisted the growth of federal power that it represented. Despite the changing character of the national Democratic Party from the 1930s to the 1950s—as the party became more liberal and increasingly committed to a civil rights agenda—Byrd maintained a staunch conservatism. He was a strict segregationist, though not a rabid racist. Although he formed a working alliance with Republicans during the Eisenhower administration, Byrd rallied the forces of massive resistance in Virginia in the aftermath of the *Brown* decision's insistence on school desegregation. Byrd also became the Senate's most important opponent of John Kennedy's New Frontier and Lyndon Johnson's Great Society.

This is a carefully written, fully documented study of a major figure in the history of Virginia and of the South that will, no doubt, remain the standard work on its subject. Heinemann offers terse, well-considered, and balanced judgments. There is much about Byrd that is unappealing: his rigid, thoroughly ideological conservatism, which often impeded essential change in Virginia and the nation, was most apparent in his stolid rejection of the end of the Jim Crow system. There can be little doubt that politics and government also ossified under Byrd's rule, and dissent and diversity of opinion were quashed, despite several challenges in the mid-twentieth century. But Byrd was also honest, hard-working, loyal, and persistent—qualities that all emerge in this study.

Hayes's study of Wilbur Clarence "Dan" Daniel, providing a complement to Heinemann's biography, describes organization politics in post-Byrd Virginia. Daniel represents an important example of the newly powerful conservative politics of the last half of the twentieth century. Born in rural Pittsylvania County, Virginia, to acute poverty, Daniel became a successful baseball player and then spokesman for Dan River Mills, the largest cotton mill in Danville. In the 1950s, Daniel achieved national recognition as national commander of the American Legion, and he became an inveterate anticommunist. Serving in the House of Delegates from 1960 to 1968, Daniel remained a loyal member of Harry Byrd's machine. But as the civil rights revolution radically altered electoral politics in the South, Daniel adapted his conservatism with a modern face. The expansion of the electorate fractured the oligarchic control of the organization, but Daniel fashioned a successful appeal to voters in Southside Virginia composed of opposition to civil rights, fiscal conservatism, and resistance to federal government expansion. Elected to Congress in 1968, Daniel remained a Democrat who usually voted with Republicans, a sympathetic listener to Richard Nixon's "Southern Strategy" and a southern "Boll Weevil" supporter of the Reagan Revolution.

Few historians probably have heard of Daniel, a mid-level state politician and a congressman from the late 1960s to his death in 1988. In contrast to Byrd, whose importance is more immediately apparent, little about Daniel's career would attract attention outside Virginia. One certainly might question whether he deserves a full-length biography. In fact, this is a commissioned biography: Hayes is the Dan Daniel Professor of History at Averett College in Danville. But Hayes overcomes the pitfalls of authorized history, and the result is a clearly constructed, solidly researched, dispassionately assessed biography. Despite the absence of Daniel's correspondence, which was destroyed, Hayes makes ample use of the sources of the public Daniel, and as a study of post-organization Virginia politics at the state and national level—and of the path that southern politics took after the Voting Rights Act in 1965—this book makes an important contribution.

Although many historians are averse to the rock-ribbed conservatism of both Byrd and Daniel, these biographies tell us much that we might prefer not to hear about the modern South. Neither Byrd nor Daniel embraced the winds of change; both actively resisted the end of segregation and were reluctant partners in the welfare state. Although personally honest and honorable, both participated in and, in a sense, pioneered, the negative politics of late twentieth-century conservatism. In a broader sense, these biographies explore some of the implications of post-disfranchisement southern politics, the functioning of politics under one-party, oligarchic rule, and the consequences of its demise.

WILLIAM A. LINK
University of North Carolina, Greensboro

CLARENCE G. LASBY. *Eisenhower's Heart Attack: How Ike Beat Heart Disease and Held on to the Presidency*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1997. Pp. xiii, 384.

What if Richard Nixon had been president during the 1956 Suez crisis, or when the Soviets launched Sputnik in 1957? What if Nixon had run for president in 1960 as an incumbent?

Clarence G. Lasby avoids such counterfactual questions, no doubt wisely. Yet the issues he does cover cannot but bring such hypotheticals to mind. For he demonstrates—convincingly to this reader—that in the near aftermath of President Dwight D. Eisenhower's September 1955 heart attack, the attending physician

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had no idea for nearly ten hours that the president was suffering anything worse than indigestion. Documents to the contrary—including letters and memoranda written by the doctor, Howard Snyder—were nothing more than efforts to cover up this egregious lapse in diagnosis. It hardly stretches the imagination to conceive of Eisenhower dying while Snyder prepared to warn him once again to lay off the onions at lunch.

Lasby is hard on Snyder but not unfair. Although he takes advantage of forty years of subsequent progress in the diagnosis and treatment of cardiac disease, he is careful not to criticize the medical establishment of the 1950s for not knowing what nobody knew then. Lasby is equally hard on some of his fellow historians. He especially criticizes those who have inferred—from insufficient evidence, in Lasby's view (and mine)—that an April 1949 indisposition was also a heart attack, rather than the gastrointestinal upset it was portrayed at the time to be.

The book's title singles out Eisenhower's heart attack; in fact, Lasby probes more broadly into Eisenhower's health history. Although observers then, and historians since, have been well aware of Eisenhower's various medical problems, one cannot read this book without being struck by how serious those problems were: his chronic, and occasionally debilitating, gastrointestinal disturbances, one of which nearly prevented the delivery of his "Chance for Peace" speech in April 1953; his cardiac condition, which produced the heart attack in 1955, and ultimately killed him; and his November 1957 stroke, which temporarily rendered him unable to speak anything but gibberish.

And then there was his temper. Other authors have interpreted Eisenhower's outbursts as essentially normal venting by an intense man in a tough job. Lasby notes Eisenhower's anger chiefly in the context of his physician's and friends' efforts to keep his blood pressure down; but the cataloguing of Eisenhower's eruptions (on the golf course, at the bridge table, at the dinner table, in the Oval Office) makes one wonder just what was going on inside the presidential psyche.

Lasby has written a first-rate detective story, delving into previously untapped sources to piece together what Eisenhower, his physicians, and his political handlers preferred to keep secret. The book is also a touching character study of a man whose sense of self—as an athlete when young, as a soldier when adult—was intimately tied to conceptions of robust health, and who suddenly had to confront the specter of debilitating illness. (This was part of what made Eisenhower mad, but hardly all of it.) Some readers might question Lasby's subtitle; in the end, heart disease beat Eisenhower. Yet the struggle is a tale that well bears telling and reading.

Lasby is obviously close to his subject; the dustjacket identifies him as a fellow heart patient and the recipient of two coronary bypass surgeries. The author's interest and empathy show. Some readers, however, might wish for occasional distancing. Lasby describes the consequences of Eisenhower's heart troubles in terms of a decline in energy in the second-term president. This is no small matter. But Lasby could have gone further in assessing what the combination of illness, fatigue, and intensified feelings of mortality meant for public policy. After all, among the millions of heart patients during the second half of the 1950s, Eisenhower attracted (and attracts) such attention because he was the only one who occupied the White House. In his first term, Eisenhower devoted much time and effort to reorienting American national security policy; during his second term, his accomplishments in this area largely unraveled. Before his heart attack, Eisenhower had big plans for modernizing the Republican Party; by 1960, the best he could do was half-heartedly endorse Richard Nixon. How much of this was simply the normal, second-term blues? How much the consequence of Eisenhower's health problems? Few historians are better positioned to speculate than Lasby; one wishes that he would.

But this is a matter of taste. Lasby chose a different emphasis, and the result is most impressive. Henceforth no one will be able credibly to interpret the Eisenhower presidency without reference to Lasby's work—and anyone seeking a model for medical histories of public figures will be well advised to start here.

H. W. Brands
Texas A&M University

James W. Hilty. *Robert Kennedy: Brother Protector.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 642. $34.95.

The imperatives of historical distance have never been more evident than in studies of the Kennedy family. The glamorous lives and brutal deaths of John and Robert Kennedy evoked first reverence, as in Arthur M. Schlesinger's *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House* (1965) and *Robert Kennedy and His Times* (1978), and then revisionism, as in Garry Wills's *The Kennedy Imprisonment* (1982) and Peter Collier and David Horowitz's *The Kennedys: An American Drama* (1984). It took almost two decades, with the publication of Herbert S. Parmet's *Jack: The Struggles of John F. Kennedy* (1980) and *JFK: The Presidency of John F. Kennedy* (1983), to produce a truly balanced biography of the former president. It has taken another decade to do the same for Robert Kennedy. James W. Hilty's superb book is such a biography.

Hilty explores "Act One" of Robert Kennedy's life, from his birth in 1925 to John's death in 1963. As the seventh of nine children and the third son of an overbearing father and a pliant mother, Bobby reconciled himself early to living in the shadows of his older brothers. "A personal understanding of Robert Kennedy," Hilty argues, "begins with the realization that most of his life was dictated by his place within the Kennedy family, his obeisance to its rules and rituals, and his resolute loyalty to John Kennedy" (p. ix).

The book's greatest strength is its straightforward, thorough examination of the major controversies sur-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rounding John and Robert Kennedy. Unlike some of his later supporters, Robert "never disavowed his belief in a Communist conspiracy and never disassociated himself from Joe McCarthy" (p. 77). To Robert's recollection that he was "not aware of the bugging practices of the FBI during my term as Attorney General," Hilty responds that Kennedy "reportedly authorized more than six hundred FBI telephone wiretaps" and "never questioned the seven hundred thirty-eight" cases of microphone surveillance ordered by Federal Bureau of Investigation Director J. Edgar Hoover (pp. 233, 236). To the assertions that Kennedy only wiretapped Martin Luther King, Jr. to protect King, the president, and the impending civil rights bill, Hilty counters that the attorney general shared with the FBI director a genuine fear of a Communist presence (however minimal) within the civil rights movement, and a deep resentment of King's refusal to disassociate himself from it (p. 398). To questions of the involvement of the Kennedy brothers in the assassination of Dominican Republic president Rafael Trujillo and the attempted assassination of Cuban leader Fidel Castro, Hilty answers that "the history of the concept of 'plausible deniability' in the intelligence community" and "the Kennedys' penchant to follow their father's admonition ('don't put it in writing')" mitigate the "lack of a paper trail" (p. 427).

The book is not without its flaws, however. Hilty's identification of December 1961 as the date of Castro's public conversion to Marxism-Leninism (p. 425) corrects his earlier reference to December 1959 (p. 209). He writes that President Kennedy "succeeded in facing down the hierarchy of the Catholic Church" in advancing his 1961 elementary and secondary education legislation (p. 279), whereas Kennedy twice unsuccessfully compromised with the bishops. He employs the anachronism "Negro" (without quotation marks) throughout his narrative. Most importantly, the longest part of the book, its discussion of civil rights during the Kennedy administration (pp. 289–404), is also the least consistent in its analysis of the attorney general's attitudes and actions. Hilty alternately depicts Robert Kennedy as passionate and dispassionate, moralistic and pragmatic, naively apolitical and intensely political, pressured by civil rights groups and unaffected by them, leading and following. The result is that at times the author, like his subject, offers "a virtual bundle of contradictions" (p. ix).

If Robert Kennedy's motivations remain murky, however, his contributions become clear. Though he breaks little new ground, Hilty masterfully blends secondary sources with archival resources, memoirs, personal accounts, and interviews in persuasively presenting Robert as an expert campaign manager, effective Congressional counsel, and aggressive attorney general who acted successfully against organized crime and racial segregation. More powerfully, Hilty captures the turbulent times that helped to define the domestic and foreign policies of the Kennedy administration. If Robert Kennedy seemed everywhere, as Hilty depicts him, so too did his enemies: Fidel Castro, Nikita Khrushchev, Jimmy Hoffa, and Eugene "Bull" Connor. So when Robert bent the rules to achieve his objectives, as Hilty amply documents, he believed he had just cause. He was protecting his country—and his brother.

LAWRENCE J. MCANDREWS
St. Norbert College

TAYLOR BRANCH. *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years, 1963–65*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1998. Pp. xiv, 746. $30.00.

The second volume of Taylor Branch's ambitious history of Martin Luther King, Jr. and his times begins, approximately, in the spring of 1963 and ends two years later with the assassination of Malcolm X and the first events that culminated in the massive marches in Selma, Alabama in the early spring of 1965. This is narrative history in the grand style. As the author explains, "I have tried to make biography and history reinforce each other by knitting together a number of personal stories along the main seam of an American epoch" (p. xiv). In the first volume of the series, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–63* (1988), Branch succeeded admirably in his efforts, in part because the narrative could focus on dramatic events like the Montgomery bus boycott, the Birmingham demonstrations, and the March on Washington, where King was at center stage. That volume also revealed to many readers for the first time the still largely hidden yet intense public-private struggle between King and the Kennedy administration over the general direction and control of the civil rights movement. All of this material offered a sharp focus and high historical drama, which the author laid out for a national reading audience; in the process he also revealed his great gifts as a writer and as a historian.

Many of the signature characteristics of the first volume appear again, to good effect, in this book. One notices the vivid metaphors ("King and [J. Edgar] Hoover looked at each other through opposite ends of a powerful telescope," p. 249), the biblical cadence to much of the writing, bits and pieces of perceptive analysis scattered throughout the manuscript (Branch's brief unpacking of the uneasy King-Kennedy relationships, based on crucial oral memoirs, is a good example: pp. 248–49). The same wide-ranging research base is there. A glance or two at "Source Notes" and "Major Works Cited," and close attention to the detailed "Notes," provide convincing evidence of the immense research effort that undergirds this work. There are new wrinkles, including more oral history interviews with participants and fuller exploitation of presidential libraries, including recently opened taped telephone conversations and other non-written forms of documentation. All of this results in a rich mix of intimate historical detail that Branch exploits with great verve and effectiveness.

The author also has responded well to recent histo-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

riographical developments. There are flashes of commentary about recently uncovered figures like Bob Beech and Robert Spike, white ministers who played small but important roles in the work of the mainline Protestant National Council of Churches and its subsidiaries in Mississippi and elsewhere. Branch also recognizes the important role of black women through extended commentary about people like Victoria Gray and Fannie Lou Hamer in Mississippi and Septima Clark in Georgia; he reflects the growing understanding of the complexity of the black freedom movement by providing detailed accounts of the struggle in lesser-known spots in the south such as Savannah, Georgia, and especially St. Augustine, Florida. Finally, he has sketched out the larger historical context of national events running parallel to the civil rights movement more fully than in his first volume. Indeed, Branch's frequent references to the burgeoning war in Vietnam may be *too much* of a diversion from his principal concerns, but one senses that these remarks are perhaps preparing the reader for the grand themes of volume three, in which Vietnam surely will become a crucial topic for discussion.

Unfortunately, the author's narrative history cannot sustain itself quite as well in the much shorter time span covered by the second volume. One senses that Branch is having problems of focus in the book's opening chapters. He begins with a dramatic recounting of a moment on the streets of Los Angeles in 1962 that introduces Malcolm X to the reader, then recapitulates in succeeding sections portions of King's and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's desegregation efforts in Birmingham in 1963, events discussed in some detail in volume one. The historical portraits that Branch sketches of Lyndon B. Johnson, of J. Edgar Hoover the consummate bureaucrat and wiretapper, of Robert Moses in Mississippi, and of lesser figures like Allard Lowenstein or Vernon Dahmer are vividly realized, but the figure of King often slips from the center of the narrative because the historical canvas has become so broad and all-encompassing. The "times" have taken over and have all but engulfed the "life" of Reverend King. Indeed, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and even Malcolm X sometimes seem as important as King and his supporters.

Branch's narrative reflects a complicated, often confusing swirl of historical events that suggests well the complexity and variety of the "movement" at its peak from 1963 to 1965. But a synthesis of this scope also requires that the author step back occasionally from day-to-day happenings and reflect on the larger implications of his study, and I find that kind of analysis too much lacking. All of us who admire greatly Branch's scholarship would be the benefactors of such reflections, hopefully a part of the yet-to-be final volume of this important historical undertaking.

JAMES FINDLAY
University of Rhode Island

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

HERBERT S. KLEIN. *The American Finances of the Spanish Empire: Royal Income and Expenditures in Colonial Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia, 1680–1809*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 221. $55.00.

Over the past three decades, Herbert S. Klein and his collaborator John J. TePaske have assembled and published six volumes of data extracted from the summary reports of fiscal income and expenditure produced by royal treasury offices (*cajas reales*) throughout New Spain and much of South America (see *The Royal Treasuries of the Spanish Empire in America*; 4 vols. [1982–1990] and *Ingresos y egresos de la Real Hacienda de Nueva España*; 2 vols. [1986]). TePaske, now retired, is at work on a new volume that will include most of the Spanish Caribbean. This valuable project has provided a new quantitative base for analyzing many aspects of colonial society and governance from the mid-sixteenth to the early nineteenth century.

In their helpful introductions to the published volumes, the compilers cautioned against hasty or careless use of this data. With some minor alterations for consistency, they published the numbers exactly as the treasury clerks wrote them down. Changes in tax laws, collection practices, accounting rules, and tax and expenditure categories as well as the opening and closing of treasury offices, transfers between offices, and variations in the competence and honesty of treasury officials and their employees make it impossible to use the published data for any purpose without many caveats and adjustments.

Additional problems arise in using the fiscal data in these volumes to assess economic trends, as Klein does in the volume under review. Estimates of trends in population and price levels for both Mexico and the Andes, even for the eighteenth century, are fairly crude and fragmentary. What data there are show that population rose in both colonies, but price trends diverged. For most of the century, price levels appear to have been falling in the Andes and stable or rising gently in New Spain. Modest price inflation characterized the last quarter century in both regions, punctuated in Mexico by sharp short-term increases due to recurring harvest failures and in both colonies by wartime spikes in import prices.

Klein confronts all these difficulties bravely. He limits himself to data on Mexico, Peru and Bolivia (called "Charcas" or "Upper Peru" in the colonial era) from 1680 to 1809. He extracts a list of over 3,000 taxes and 2,500 expenditure categories as they appear in the documents (many of which overlap or amount to different names for the same item). The list is printed on pages 121–85. The list of taxes is then grouped under eighteen headings that mostly correspond to the object or activity taxed, such as "Mining and Minting," "Trade, Commerce, and Agriculture," and "Taxes on Indians." The list of expenditures is similarly aggre-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gated into twenty categories (some of which include the costs of collecting the taxes in the first list) such as "Mining and Minting," "Commercial and Agricultural Activity," "War and Defense," and "Administrative Expenses." The data for each category are then further aggregated into ten-year totals, filling in the occasional missing years by using the mean of the years for which there are data. The resulting numbers appear in thirty-three tables and fourteen figures and are used as the basis for a short narrative of 113 pages.

Klein's narrative exploits his broad knowledge of the economic historiography of colonial Latin America to argue that trends in his doubly aggregated data are consistent with larger trends in colonial economic activity, sector by sector. He does not attempt to produce per capita figures, argues against the need to deflate any of the series in a one-page appendix, and believes that "the use of an average estimate of income and expenditure by decade . . . helps to smooth out some of the more specific local variations" (p. 5).

As Klein acknowledges, the relationship between economic activity and many specific tax and expenditure items is questionable. He points out, for example, that the reliability of the fiscal data declines for the closing decades of the seventeenth century and from 1790 to the end of his period (four of his thirteen decades). He notes that the mining tax dropped from a royal fifth to a tenth while the crown reduced the silver content of the peso during the eighteenth century but does not adjust his tables or his narrative on mining trends. Indian tribute (head tax) revenues increased seven-fold in the Andes and six times in Mexico in the eighteenth century, due partly to changes in collection practices and in reporting from net (of collection costs) to gross figures, but indigenous populations did not multiply at such rates. Trends in trade taxes were affected by similar changes in rates and collection methods. The gap between trends in many of Klein's fiscal indicators and what is known (or plausible to imagine) about economic and demographic trends makes the narrative somewhat difficult to follow and his argument nearly impossible to assess.

JOHN H. COATSWORTH
Harvard University

WILL FOWLER. *Mexico in the Age of Proposals, 1821–1853.* (Contributions in Latin American Studies, number 12.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1998. Pp. xiii, 328. $69.50.

Until recently, the historiography of early republican Mexico neatly divided the political factions of the time in two inflexible and diametrically opposed camps, the liberal and the conservative. During the 1990s, however, scholars such as Donald F. Stevens and Michael P. Costeloe began to elaborate a more precise categorization of nineteenth-century Mexican political groups and their position on the issues of the day. The work under review builds on this trend and rejects the notion that Mexican politics developed along two contrary lines of thought. Will Fowler argues that the Mexican political class, after absorbing the main liberal precepts advocated by the Enlightenment and the 1812 Cádiz Constitution, splintered between 1821 and 1853 and put forth competing proposals and movements. He intends to provide "a concise analysis" of these ideologies and explain how they "were implemented, ignored, or even betrayed in practice by those factions who claimed to represent them" (p. 3).

Fowler examines the political evolution and development of the major political groups and ideologues. Traditionalists (as he labels those heretofore known as conservatives), moderates (*moderados*), radicals (*puros*), *santanistas* (advocates of General Antonio López de Santa Anna), and the prolific journalist Carlos María Bustamante all engaged in acrimonious debate over several questions critical to the establishment of a viable nation. These issues included the relationship between the state, the church, and the military; methods of social control; what form of government Mexico should adopt; and economic policy.

Fowler's analysis of the proposals made by these blocs makes evident the malleability of political labels in the three decades after independence. For example, he shows that Bustamante's political convictions—previously believed to be strictly traditionalist—encompassed an array of principles common to the other factions. Likewise, Fowler demonstrates that *moderado* ideology represented a blend of traditionalist and radical thought. He also establishes that the *puros*' ideological leaders—José María Luis Mora, Lorenzo de Zavala, and Valentín Gómez Farías—did not always agree with each other or support all the tenets that radicalism stood for.

In addition, Fowler sheds new light on the various political blocs. His explanation of why the *moderados*' policy of conciliation failed to attract widespread support and enable them to govern more effectively will be of interest to scholars. Fowler also increases our knowledge of the *santanistas* and their main spokesman, General José María Tornel y Mendívil. Rejecting the traditional categorization of this group as nothing more than political opportunists, he instead characterizes it as an ideologically cohesive bloc that could list among its achievements the implementation of "truly extraordinary" educational reforms during the 1840s (p. 238).

Fowler also makes two broad suggestions that historians should consider in future appraisals of early republican Mexico. First, he introduces a new chronology for the years 1821–1853. Instead of labeling this period as the "age of chaos" or the "age of Santa Anna," Fowler suggests that the era will be more accurately assessed if dissected into several stages: hope (1821–1828), disenchantment (1828–1835), profound disillusion (1836–1847), and despair (1847–1855). Second, he highlights the steadfastness of independent Mexico's first political elite. Rather than labeling this generation a failure because it could not consolidate a strong and effective government, one

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

should admire the fact that these men did not despair when faced with adversity but instead "moved on to refine their ideas further" (p. 267).

Some of Fowler's assessments will surely engage specialists in a spirited debate. I, for one, question his insistence that by the 1840s Gómez Farías intended to replace the regular army with the civic militia. An alternative explanation might be that Gómez Farías wanted to use the civic militia as a counterweight to the army in order to implement his political agenda. Others could dispute Fowler's assertion that the 1830–1832 regime masterminded by Lucas Alamán was not as absolutist as previously suggested.

In the end, however, Fowler's well-researched volume makes a significant contribution to the historiography of early nineteenth-century Mexico by rejecting the idea that there were two clearly identifiable political blocs and by revising the era's chronology. Nonspecialists will appreciate the volume's four appendixes: a chronology of major events, a list of the main revolts between 1821–1853, a glossary of terms, and brief biographical sketches of the era's key individuals. The book also contains numerous suggestions for further research that will prove useful to graduate students and specialists. This monograph, in short, helps explain why Mexican political society struggled to set up a long-lasting constitutional framework in the thirty years that followed independence.

PEDRO SANTONI
California State University, San Bernardino

EUGENIA RODRÍGUEZ SÁENZ, editor. *Entre silencios y voces: Género e historia en América Central (1750–1990)*. San José, Costa Rica: Centro Nacional Para el Desarrollo de la Mujer y la Familia. 1998. Pp. xvi, 254.

The publication of this volume is a landmark in Costa Rican and Central American scholarship. The book is a wide-ranging and intriguing collection of essays that grew out of a section on gender history at the Third Congress on Central American History, held at the University of Costa Rica in 1996. The result is a work that lays the foundation for two lines of contemporary historical inquiry that are new to Central America: women's history and gender history.

As editor Eugenia Rodríguez Saénz points out in her introduction, the 1980s and 1990s saw a surge in sociological studies of Central American women as they confronted civil war and structural adjustment. Historical studies lagged behind, however. Two tasks present themselves, then, to those interested in overcoming this lack of historical knowledge. One is more proper to women's history: restoring a past, a memory, a voice—and thus an identity—to the women of Central America. The other belongs to the field of gender history: uncovering the way that relations of power were established and apportioned in Central America according to the dual categories of maleness and femaleness. In this second perspective, studying the history of machismo, or of codes of masculinity in the military and the police, is equally or more significant than "rescuing" the biography of an unjustly forgotten woman activist or poet.

There are elements of both approaches in this excellent and carefully tended collection and, given the state of research in Central America, Rodríguez's decision to include both was a sound one. The volume contains nine contributions from established Costa Rican, Central American, English, and North American women scholars (the other essay comes from a group of male and female graduate students at the University of Costa Rica). The quality ranges from good to superb.

The book begins with a sound historiographical and theoretical grounding prior to moving on to case studies. The exhaustive bibliography cited in Rodríguez's introduction alone will give anyone interested in the field an excellent idea of the state of research in Costa Rica and in Latin America more generally. The introduction is combined with an informed exploration of trends in women's and gender history by Virginia Mora.

On Costa Rica, Yamileth González and María Pérez provide a thoughtful adaptation of their work on Palmares by looking at the role of women in the community between 1880 and 1950, particularly as with regard to religious institutions. Carmen Murillo revisits her prize-winning work on the culture of railroad workers to reflect on the masculine codes that were so important to the railroad enterprise. She suggests that the railroad, initially conceived as the "National Railroad" but completed only after it came under the control of foreign capital, may have damaged the sense of patriotic potency among Costa Rican males. Although her argument would have been better served with an exploration of the existing theory on the overlap between sexual identities and nationalism, this article suggests many avenues for future study.

Sylvia Chant offers an intriguing comparison of female-headed households in Costa Rica and Mexico in the 1980s and 1990s. Her findings will be controversial, particularly her assertion that women in both countries are making decisions to become single mothers and household heads and to remain so. She also affirms that the children of female-headed households (and particularly girls) will have greater life chances than those from male-dominated households. Ideologues preaching a return to traditional family values will be upset to hear this!

Rodríguez, for her part, presents a study of marital disputes played out before religious and civil institutions in Costa Rica's heartland between 1732 and 1850. The extraordinary analysis is based on the evaluation of almost 300 trials, which allows the author to make some surprising claims about the changing nature of domestic life, family values, and romantic ideals in Costa Rica as the country entered the republican era. She argues that domestic violence against women was present among all social sectors, not just in the popular

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

quarters, and that women of all circumstances found ways to battle back, increasingly through legal means.

As for the rest of Central America, Elizabeth Dore's brilliant analysis of the change in household composition and economy in Diriomo, Nicaragua between 1840 and 1880 is an artful display of gender history by an accomplished scholar. Dore turns stereotypical assumptions on their head. She demonstrates that the privatization of common lands beginning in 1860 did not destroy a peasantry: it created one. Moreover, many Indian women, who had not been able to own land under the codes of the *comunidades indígenas*, became property owners for the first time once Nicaraguan civil law was imposed on their communities. Although Dore remains acutely aware of the vulnerability of Indian women, and of the multiple layers of persecution they faced, she rediscovers them as protagonists in the making of their communities. She also explores the way that gender codes and the regulation of sexual mores shaped local politics and the stuggle over male leadership. This is a truly wonderful piece of scholarship.

Yolanda Marco's study of Panamanian feminism in the 1920s is an insightful and mature study that will interest Costa Rican readers because the links and parallels between the feminist movements of the two countries were very close. Rocío Tábora contributes a suggestive study of the linkage of violence and masculinity in the political discourse of Honduras since the middle of the nineteenth century. Finally, Victoria González contributes an engaging study of *Somocista* women, *la pechuga y el corazón de la dictadura* (literally, "the breast and the heart" of the dictatorship, as they were dubbed by the second of three Somozas in this dynastic regime that lasted from 1936 to 1979). Beyond providing more evidence about how *Somocismo* mobilized popular support (including a paramilitary women's group), her work illuminates the manner in which even exemplary patriarchal institutions such as military dictatorships rely on complementary feminine imagery to define and legitimize their power. González offers a refreshing new take on the social and political history of twentieth-century Nicaragua.

This is a rich and substantial collection of pioneering historical work. Apart from anything else, it leaves the reader with a strong sense that the new wave of women historians in Central America, already making a significant impact on the burgeoning historiography of the region, will soon take the leading role in defining its new directions. The book is an indispensable resource for any scholar of women's and gender history, as well as for historians interested in the role of gender and the law in changing nineteenth-century agrarian societies.

STEVEN PALMER
St. John's, Newfoundland

MARY MCCORMICK MAAGA. *Hearing the Voices of Jonestown*. Foreword by CATHERINE WESSINGER. (Religion and Politics.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1998. Pp. xx, 187. $29.95.

Twenty years after the mass suicide/murder of over 920 people in the remote jungles of Guyana, the image of Jonestown remains a powerful symbol of the self-destructive potential of religious and ideological radicalism. But although most Americans have tended to see Jonestown through negative lenses, to the members of the Peoples Temple, Jonestown represented the culmination of the utopian vision of Jim Jones. Twenty-five years ago, Jones and his growing number of followers set out to change the world, with Jonestown becoming the laboratory for Jones's own peculiar vision of "apostolic socialism." How, one might ask, did such a strong, this-worldly vision of social justice end in the death of an entire community?

Mary McCormick Maaga sets out to answer this perplexing question and, in the process, to recover something positive about this tragedy. But her task is by no means an easy one. As Maaga tells us, because of the horror associated with Jonestown, "much that was positive in Peoples Temple, not to mention the individual personalities who dedicated their lives to its radical understanding of society, has been erased" (p. xx). Despite her attempts to make sense of the senseless self-destruction by piecing together the final years of Peoples Temple from records, letters, archival research, and interviews with two surviving former members (including Jim Jones's son), the picture Maaga uncovers is much more disturbing than she is willing to admit.

As Maaga argues, the death of the people of Jonestown—including some 340 children and youths—did not result from "brainwashing," as anti-cultists claim, but "was a singular response to a complex set of communal pressures" (p. xx). It was, in short, a demonstration of loyalty to the community and to its cause. But—and this is the troubling part—the mass-suicide was not really a collective act of loyalty to Jones but was rather an act perpetrated by Jones's inner circle of middle-class whites. Indeed, as Maaga documents, by the time the members of the Peoples Temple had relocated to the Jonestown cooperative in Guyana, Jones himself was no longer at the center of the leadership of the Temple community. The "real" leaders of the Jonestown community were women, all of whom were linked sexually to Jim Jones. Thus, it is the women of Jonestown who are at the heart of Maaga's story.

The disturbing aspect of this feminist reconstruction is that the circle of culpability for the murders of hundreds of children has been expanded to include not just Jones but his female inner circle. The impression this book leaves is of a coterie of idealistic women who had lost touch with the real world. The lies and deception that had been characteristic of Jones's long ministry, first as a Midwest faith healer and then as a West Coast religious leader, had obscured their judgment more than they realized. True, they may not have

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been "brainwashed" by Jones, but they certainly had been manipulated both emotionally and psychologically by him (see pp. 67–68 and 71–72). For example, in a letter by Annie Moore, sister of Jones's paramour, Carolyn Moore, we witness women pondering the best means of carrying out mass suicide/murder. This letter, found at Jonestown, is chilling in its matter-of-factness: "I started out for revolutionary suicide, almost switched to fighting, but stick to suicide now . . . I never thought people would line up to be killed but actually think a select group would have to kill the majority of the people secretly without the people knowing it. The way—I don't know. Poisoning food or water supply I['ve] heard of. Exhaust fumes in a closed area (carbon monoxide) I['ve] heard was effective while people are asleep. It would be terrorizing for some people if we were to have them all in a group and start chopping heads off or whatever—this is why it would have to be secretly" (pp. 122–23). Whether the letter was addressed to Jones or to other inner-circle members, the point Maaga makes is that the women leaders of Jonestown preferred the death of the community to disloyalty to Jones and his ideals.

In an odd sort of way, one's loyalty to the cause was demonstrated through a strange combination of self-sacrifice and tolerance of sexual and psychological abuse. Contrary to her own protestations, from the evidence presented by Maaga herself, there seems no way around the fact that Jonestown was a dysfunctional community created and controlled by a psychologically sick and abusive leader (see pp. 90–94). Although it was not her intention, in letting us hear the "voices of Jonestown," Maaga has actually shown us the extent to which those speaking had unwittingly become mouthpieces for Jones's twisted idealism. The members of Jonestown were perhaps unwitting pawns in that tragic drama. Though written as an apologetic for Jonestown, Maaga's work makes an important contribution to our understanding of the Peoples Temple community and the complex social dynamics that, in her reading, led inexorably toward mass suicide/murder.

JON R. STONE
University of California, Berkeley

VINCENT C. PELOSO. *Peasants on Plantations: Subaltern Strategies of Labor and Resistance in the Pisco Valley, Peru*. (Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1999. Pp. xxi, 251. Cloth $49.95, paper $17.95.

Debates about the merits of the agrarian reform launched in Peru by the Juan Velasco Alvarado regime have raged since its implementation in 1969. In recent years, critics have had the upper hand, pointing to declines in production and opposition by peasants—the supposed beneficiaries—to the cooperatives at the heart of the reform. Nonetheless, historians will long be indebted to the "Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces" of Velasco Alvarado, because the nationalization of large estates produced the documentation for a rich agrarian archive. Along with Humberto Rodríguez Pastor, the guiding figure behind the Fuero Agrario Archive, Vincent C. Peloso mined this repository of hacienda records to produce an account of cotton workers in the Pisco valley south of Lima.

Peloso focuses on labor relations on haciendas between 1870 and 1920, examining the shifts back and forth from sharecropping to tenant farming and the slow transition toward wage labor. In Peru, the Quechua term *yanacón* refers to sharecroppers as well as tenants, indicating their overlap and the difficult task that Peloso has given himself. In disentangling the various types of labor arrangements, Peloso presents the peasants as active, rational, and crafty participants in the constantly negotiated efforts to improve their lot. In fact, his key objective is to show that in order to understand export regimes and rural history, the workers need to be placed center stage. To comprehend the changes and continuities in labor relations, he examines credit, water rights, and technology as well as other social groups such as the estate owners and their managers. Peloso pays particular attention to the Aspíllaga family, members of the often vilified Peruvian "oligarchy," and their well-documented Palto Hacienda. He also shows how shifts in national politics as well as international economic trends affected the Pisco valley.

The peasants in this region are a fascinating, multicultural lot: Afro-Peruvian slave descendants, the Chinese brought over to replace them after abolition in 1854, and Andean migrants, many of them Quechua speakers. Peloso provides rich material on these people, demonstrating, for example, how tensions between Afro-Peruvians and the Chinese benefited the landowners. The glimpses into daily life, generational changes, and work on the estates are fascinating, and I would have welcomed even more cultural analysis, perhaps an impossible task in light of the available archival material. Economic historians might question whether Peloso could have taken more advantage of the abundant data he unearthed on production and wages, used here in tables to support his arguments. Nonetheless, those interested in economic history should take seriously the argument about the simultaneity of diverse forms of labor arrangements. More than ethnohistory or quantitative history, Peloso has produced a fine book of social history that engages discussions on proletarianization.

Peloso places his research on Pisco in the context of a series of debates. He contributes to discussions in recent decades about enclave economies and labor relations, demonstrating the need to take seriously the experience of the workers themselves. On the question of debt peonage, he shows that peasants often saw this arrangement favorably and used the money advanced to them to their advantage. Peloso also relates his research to recent discussions about hegemony and the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

subaltern. Although he summarizes these concepts adroitly, I thought that he could have incorporated them more fully into his thesis. Throughout these discussions, however, Peloso keeps the workers themselves at the forefront, analyzing with depth and sympathy their daily existence as laborers and their efforts to improve their conditions. To his credit, he does not romanticize them or the outcome of their struggles. Peloso illuminates the lives, strategies, and ultimate significance of cotton workers in a clear, original manner that will benefit scholars of modern Peru and of the export economy in Latin America. This well-crafted book succeeds in bringing the overlooked workers of cotton plantations onto the historical stage.

CHARLES F. WALKER
University of California, Davis

R. ANDREW CHESNUT. *Born Again in Brazil: The Pentecostal Boom and the Pathogens of Poverty*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 203. Cloth $50.00, paper $19.95.

In recent decades, Evangelical Protestantism has swept Latin America, especially Brazil, where—although most Brazilians are nominally Roman Catholic—for generations the Catholic Church has been losing ground. The reasons are many. Lacking resources and native-born clergy, the Brazilian Catholic Church has focused its attention on affluent urban groups, slighting, for the most part, millions of Catholics among the rural and urban poor. During the 1930s, the Catholic hierarchy forged an alliance with Brazil's authoritarian state steeped in anticommunism, anti-Protestantism, and hostility to what right-wing spokesmen called "cosmopolitanism," which included modernism and free thinking. In the 1950s, the church split among ideological lines; most of its hierarchy remained staunchly conservative and hostile to the progressive wing, identified with the rise of liberation theology and groups working for community literacy and social activism. Today, men rarely describe themselves as practicing Catholics, and the average age of women who do attend Mass is rising steadily.

Meager resources over the years forced the Brazilian Catholic Church to tolerate religious syncretism, especially among the descendants of the African slaves who retained their animistic religious beliefs and practices by outwardly substituting Roman Catholic saints and icons for African *exús* and deities. Middle-class whites have taken up *umbanda* and *candomblé*; in fact, *umbanda* is growing almost as fast as Pentecostalism. Others follow Kardecian spiritualism, or religious homeopathy, or the curiously named Church of Positivism, a Republican-era adaptation of the enormously influential doctrines of French nineteenth-century theorist Auguste Comte. Penitential Catholicism, always discouraged by the coastal hierarchy, long dominated the hinterland of the Northeast and in rural areas of the Central South.

Aided by the fact that the progressive wing of the Roman Catholic Church suffered repression under the long recent period of military dictatorship (1964–1985)—although some clerics courageously continued to speak out against abuses of human rights—and also by the fact that social consciousness in Brazil during the 1990s took a back seat to free-market economics, the Pentecostals have stepped into the breach. R. Andrew Chesnut, in a study based on ethnographic research in the northern city of Belém, notes that by 1990, one out of every six Brazilians claimed affiliation with a Protestant denomination. In Rio de Janeiro, where ninety-one percent of all Protestants are Pentecostal, evangelical *crentes* (believers) have founded on the average of one church per workday since the beginning of the decade (p. 3). Throughout Brazil, most Pentecostal temples are located in poor areas or in austere working-class districts hard by factories and warehouses, where families who hold traditional values find it near impossible to shield their children from commercial sexuality and what they consider to be immoral attraction of television, drugs, licentious behavior, drunkenness, street crime, and abuse of women and children within families.

Competition has been so powerful that many Brazilian Catholic churches have introduced radical changes in order to stem the loss of parishioners. But Afro-Brazilian Masses and emphasis on salvation and spiritual charisma have elbowed aside the Roman Catholic social progressive tradition without slowing the astonishing growth of Evangelical Protestantism.

Pentecostal pastors emphasize personal salvation, not social reform, through piety and austerity, modesty in dress, and a withdrawal from the sinful attractions of modern life. Chesnut's main theme is that Pentecostalism thrives among the poor of Brazil (and Latin America) because it offers healing for those suffering from the illness of poverty (p. 167). Religious services last for many hours and include children, who otherwise might be left to their own devices in the street. Pentecostals seek spiritual power that will free them from material deprivation. The Pentecostal lifestyle makes coping easier, because disavowal of materialism frees up income that otherwise would be spent on nonessentials. To lower-class Brazilians lacking adequate health care, Pentecostal emphasis on divine healing is attractive. The attainment of spiritual ecstasy similar to that achieved by followers of Afro-Brazilian *candomblé* and *umbanda* offers a powerful relief and coping mechanism to Brazilians suffering one of the most unequal disparities in living standards in the world.

Chesnut's thoughtful observations hold true for *crentes* throughout the hemisphere. Pentecostals, who seek Calvinistic limitations on artistic and personal expression and who oppose homosexuality, frighten many but encourage others who admire their self-discipline and organizational zeal. Facing the greatest

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

challenge is not only progressive Catholicism, as the author emphasizes, but traditional Catholicism's hold on the population at large. Pentecostals have won election to public office in Brazil and manage large and powerful television networks. They have become a national force with an independent base, unattached to the traditional networks of patronage, influence, and power.

ROBERT M. LEVINE
University of Miami, Coral Gables

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

CHRISTIAN HABICHT. *Athens from Alexander to Antony*. Translated by DEBORAH LUCAS SCHNEIDER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 406. $39.95.

The last comprehensive treatment of the history of Athens between the battles of Chaironeia, which ended resistance to Macedonian hegemony in Greece, and Actium, which marked the ascendancy of Octavian as sole ruler of the Mediterranean world, was published in 1911. William Ferguson's *Hellenistic Athens: An Historical Essay*, truly a wonderful work of synthesis, has been the historian's constant companion since then. But research and new discoveries march on, and no one who has consulted Ferguson in recent decades can be unaware of how outdated much of his text has become. A replacement has long been a desideratum; now, with the publication of an English translation, slightly updated—and with a snappier title—of *Athen: Die Geschichte der Stadt in hellenisticher Zeit* (1995), Christian Habicht has filled this need, and filled it splendidly.

Habicht is uniquely qualified for this task. Author of two important monographs and dozens of articles on aspects of Athenian history in the Hellenistic period, he has helped to reshape our understanding of Athens after Chaironeia. It must be said that, even at the end of the twentieth century, the standard view of Hellenistic Athens among historians who do not specialize in the Hellenistic period takes the fifth century (and perhaps the early fourth)—the glory days of Athenian democracy, power, and culture—as the point of comparison and cannot find anything afterward but decay and decline. The former birthplace of democracy is said to have become an oligarchy of the mediocre: in place of Socrates and Plato, we have Epicurus and the dreary cataloguers of the Academy. Habicht's best achievement is to show that all this is simply beside the point.

To be sure, political circumstances had changed, starting in the later fourth century. The emergence of Macedon under Philip II as the great power in Greece imposed new limits on the freedom of action of the old Greek *poleis*, even if they were slow to realize the change. The Hellenistic world saw the creation of great new territorial empires under the rule of kings, and, after 200 B.C., the appearance on the scene of Rome, whose presence ultimately reconfigured the political complexion of the Greek world. But within these new terms, Athens continued to play a role, sometimes an important one. Habicht stresses, quite rightly, the persistent attempts of the Athenians up through the Chremonidean War to compete with the great powers: a picture of the Athenian state very different from the exhausted and defeated polity typically depicted after the battle of Chaironeia. From sometime after the mid-third century, Habicht argues, the Athenians retreated to a more self-serving politics, seeking to be on the winning side in the great conflicts they could no longer control; and in this they were usually strikingly successful, reacquiring parts of their old Aegean empire (albeit under different terms) in the second century and enjoying the patronage of the great powers of the day, who contributed buildings, grain, and money to the city.

It is perhaps the myth that democracy died at Chaironeia that Habicht demolishes most effectively, not least because of his mastery of the epigraphic material in which we can see, if we but know how to look, the continuing health of the system. With the reforms of the fourth century, the Athenians seem to have struck a good balance between popular sovereignty and the need for individual leadership; honorary inscriptions like that for Kephisiodoros show us the interplay between these two poles. And to judge by Athens's successes in the Hellenistic period, the democracy worked remarkably well.

Unlike so many books on the life of Greek states, which concentrate on political history and then throw in culture in a chapter at the end, Habicht interweaves discussions of the cultural and political life of Athens through the book. These aspects of life were inseparable for the Greeks and, in the case of Athens, of special importance, in that the city continued to enjoy preeminence in philosophy and drama (particularly in the New Comedy). Habicht's appreciation for this aspect of civic life is obvious, and his manner of treating it allows us to see, in ways that are usually more obscure, the fundamental importance that it had for contemporaries. In this, Habicht offers a model for connecting political and civic life that I hope others will follow. Habicht has given us a book we have long needed. It will be the starting point for anyone interested in learning about the history, in the broadest sense, of a great Greek *polis* in a period too often disregarded.

GARY REGER
Trinity College

JON D. MIKALSON. *Religion in Hellenistic Athens*. (Hellenistic Culture and Society, number 29.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 364. $48.00.

The study of classical Greek history has focused on Athens for many reasons: the abundance of literary sources; the cultural achievements of the age of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pericles; and the survival of monuments that have inspired travelers from eighteenth-century aristocrats to contemporary package tourists. Most undergraduate Greek history courses are largely courses in Athenian history, based on Herodotus's and Thucydides's stirring accounts of the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars. Those same undergraduate courses usually end with the conquests of Alexander the Great or, at most, treat as an epilogue the great Hellenistic empires that had such an effect on Jewish, Roman, and Near Eastern history. Athens, like the hundreds of other Greek city-states, seems to have become an insignificant political force in a world of Hellenistic superstates.

But the neglect of Hellenistic Athens is as unjust as the over-concentration on Athens in the classical period. Since the standard book on the subject, W. S. Ferguson's *Hellenistic Athens*, was published in 1911, we are remarkably fortunate in having two excellent, and complementary, treatments appear in English in the past two years: Christian Habicht's *Athens from Alexander to Antony* (a 1997 translation of the 1995 German original), and now Jon D. Mikalson's book. Taken together, they provide an opportunity to understand the deep continuity in Athenian public and private life amid the political turbulence of the three centuries between the arrival of the Macedonian kings and the brutal confrontation with the Romans.

Since Mikalson is the leading American scholar of Athenian religion, his turn to the Hellenistic era commands immediate attention. The preface makes clear that the book is not to be merely an empirical study—although it is certainly that—but a methodological and theoretical critique of our conception of "Hellenistic" religion. Mikalson argues, first, that material from different areas has been combined to construct a picture of religious life that in actuality existed nowhere. It is a fair critique, although the evidence for many specific places is so fragmentary that scholars have few alternatives. His second critique is perhaps even more telling: that scholars take evidence from different periods to construct their religious synthesis. Even in Athens, where there is (relatively) ample literary and epigraphical evidence, many scholars take material from the Roman period in arguing for the nature of religion two or more centuries earlier. These are not abstract methodological cautions; Mikalson provides specific examples such as the scholarly acceptance of Pythagorean and Orphic-based Hellenistic cults for which the evidence is in fact from centuries later.

Mikalson's principal argument is that the Hellenistic age did not bring a decline in Athenian religion. This book is in fact an exploration of the vitality and considerable continuity of Athenian religious life through the entire period. In contrast to sweeping assertions that new cults came to predominate in this era, Mikalson shows in detail that the religious reforms of Lycourgos in the 320s B.C.E. are in every way a restitution of classical and even archaic religion. He further demonstrates that the religion of the Lycourgan period became a benchmark to which the Athenians returned whenever they were freed from Macedonian domination: after liberation from Demetrios in 287, after the Chremonidian War in the 260s, and, finally, after the removal of the Macedonian garrison in 229. Mikalson's careful analysis clarifies the political dimensions of the changes as the pro-Macedonian leaders introduced religious novelties like the ruler-cult, which the more religiously conservative Athenian democrats later removed.

This rich book also sheds light on the religious consequences of the changing relations between Athens, Piraeus, Delos, and the Attic countryside. We often fail to acknowledge that the religious development of Athens and Piraeus was different, due to the Macedonian garrison in the harbor city. Likewise, Delos provided a staging area in which Athenians served as priests of foreign—Greek or even non-Greek—religions that had not yet become established in Athens. After Rome gave Delos to Athens in 167 B.C.E., some of these cults found their way to Athens, as the Great Gods of Samothrace did in 123. Mikalson also emphasizes the impact of King Philip V's devastation of the Attic countryside in 201 B.C.E., when nearly a thousand cult centers were destroyed. Mikalson does not argue that Athenian religion remained static but rather that change was slow, and there was a strong tendency to revert to the Lycourgan religious system and even the old cults of the Acropolis. The dramatic religious transformation described by Ferguson and repeated for nearly a century can no longer be believed.

This is a dense and learned book. Although it is not intended for the casual reader, at a minimum the introduction and the excellent concluding chapter should be read by all with even a passing interest in ancient religion.

RONALD MELLOR
University of California, Los Angeles

STEPHEN C. MCCLUSKEY. *Astronomies and Cultures in Early Medieval Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 235. $54.95.

In standard history of science courses, the transition from the science of the ancient Greeks to that of the medieval schoolmen is usually seen as a problem of transition: Greek and Roman handbooks that are progressively watered down until Isidore of Seville (seventh century C.E.) no longer understands the geographic circles of the Earth; the preservative function of Islamic science (*ca.* 750–1200); the slow rise of the cathedral schools from Charlemagne to Gerbert of Aurillac; and finally the translation of the Greek originals and the rise of universities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Scholars of Islam have fought against this whiggish approach for decades, and there is no longer any excuse to treat Islamic science as a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stepping stone to high-scholastic science. The early Middle Ages, however, continue to present a problem. When we have moved from the practical beginnings of science in early Mesopotamian and Egyptian cultures to the high point of Greek natural philosophy in Aristotle and the ensuing achievements of the likes of Euclid, Archimedes, Galen, and Ptolemy, how are we to return to preliterate science to do justice to medicine and astronomy among the Celtic and Germanic tribes in the first millennium of the common era?

In the past four decades, a new branch of scholarship has reached a level of maturity, archeoastronomy. The study of European megalithic circles (astronomical computers?) and alignments required the measuring skills of the surveyor, the computational skills of the astronomer, and the statistical skills of the mathematician (the megalithic yard?). And this astronomy was not limited to prehistoric Western Europe. Analogues were found in the sophisticated calendar-keeping of the Mayans and the astronomical alignments of their buildings, the skills of the Polynesian navigators as they settled the islands of the Pacific from New Guinea to Hawaii, the petroglyphs of Native cultures in the American West, and the alignments of temples and monuments just about everywhere in the world. But archeoastronomy has remained compartmentalized as a specialty with little connection to the history of astronomy. Thus, in courses in the history of astronomy, archeoastronomy is a more or less free-standing unit with which we begin our survey, but whose connection and relevance to the history of astronomy is never quite clear to our students and to us. In general courses on the history of science, its treatment has been even more cursory.

Stephen C. McCluskey's work has been one of the few exceptions to this compartmentalization. McCluskey began his career with a dissertation on Nicole Oresme's theory of the rainbow but soon moved on to the astronomy/cosmology of the Hopi and other pueblo cultures. Since we still have access to the cosmologies that Hopi structures represent, this was an example of historical archeoastronomy, continuity from prehistory to history, whose lessons McCluskey took back to Europe. Since the late 1980s, he has worked on the mixing of Celtic and Germanic astronomical traditions with the very limited astronomical tradition from Greece and Rome during the early Middle Ages. This book is the fruit of his research.

What we call astronomy and what Europeans in the second half of the first millennium called astronomy are, of course, two different things. McCluskey has chosen four major, usually unconnected areas of astronomy: horizon astronomy and the annual calendar of Celtic Gaul, the *computus* or calculation of the date of Easter, monastic timekeeping for observing the hours of prayer, and astronomy in the liberal arts. The first three were intensely practical; only the last, the trickle of ideas from Greek antiquity that got through, was theoretical.

Perhaps the most interesting part of this book is the section on the astronomy and calendar of the Gauls. McCluskey shows that the insular Gauls celebrated feast days in the middle of the four seasons. The mid-quarter Celtic festival of Samhain became christianized as All Saints (November 1), a feast that was raised to universal status by the assiduous propaganda of scholars such as Alcuin of York, late in the eighth century. But McCluskey repeatedly drives home the point that astronomy was a local affair: the mid-quarter Celtic feast of Lughnasa became the feat of St. Ostwald (a seventh-century Northumbrian king) in the Anglo-Saxon world and the feast of St. Justus (a fourth-century bishop in Lyon) in Gaul.

But the Celts had a sophisticated solar calendar as well. McCluskey analyzes the calendar of Coligny, dating from the second century. Although it has an average solar year of 367 days, almost two days too long, it employed a regular schedule of intercalations in order to bring the lunar year (12 x 29.5 days = 354 days) in harmony with the solar year.

This endeavor was common to Celtic and Christian cultures. For Christians, the problem was determining the date of Easter. If the day of the Resurrection was the first Sunday after the full moon in the first spring month, this could be determined locally by observation. Since Lent begins eight weeks before Easter, however, things got complicated in a hurry. One had to be able to compute the date of Easter, and these computations should be the same in all of Christianity. The starting point was to determine when the beginning of the lunar month occurred on the same date in the Julian year. The best of these cycles is the nineteen-year one, already known to the Mesopotamians in the first millennium B.C.E. and usually known by its Greek name, the Metonic Cycle. But there were other cycles as well, all with errors ranging from one to nineteen days per century. The problem, then, was to make it possible for local religious communities to calculate the date of Easter and to make sure that they all arrived at the same date. The problem was complicated by the question as to when the spring equinox occurred: was it March 25, the Roman equinox, or March 21, the "Alexandrian" equinox established by the Council of Nicea? The difficulty of establishing uniformity is shown by the controversy between Rome and the Irish computists in the seventh century. The controversy had theological overtones, and it appears that the Irish monks were defending a native tradition of computation going back to before the introduction of Christianity.

Monastic timekeeping, marking the times for prayers by observing the sun and stars, was an important function. In order to tell time at night, monks needed to know the constellations and when stars rise and set. Gregory of Tours's *De cursu stellarum* (sixth century) was the standard textbook for this. It again illustrates the universalizing tendency, away from local customs and feasts, among Christians.

With the theoretical astronomy in the liberal arts, we are back on familiar ground: Macrobius, Chal-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cidius, Martianus Capella. In the final part of the book, McCluskey deals with the fusion of these different traditions and shows how they were influenced first by the advent of the astrolabe (especially monastic timekeeping) and then the recovery of the corpus of Greek astronomy and cosmology.

McCluskey's achievement is one of synthesis. It appears that during the truly dark ages toward the end of Roman influence in the Celtic world, Celtic astronomy and calendrics were perhaps more sophisticated than those of the Romans. These astronomies were local traditions and varied widely from place to place. They were gradually submerged in Christian astronomy with its universalizing thrust radiating from Rome. This book is a much-needed summing up of the research of the past several decades, including McCluskey's own. Technical details are not avoided but rather made accessible to anyone who can do arithmetic. It is well written and not self-indulgent. It will be the standard treatment of European astronomy before the coming of Aristotle and Ptolemy for the foreseeable future.

ALBERT VAN HELDEN
Rice University

DANIEL G. RUSSO. *Town Origins and Development in Early England, c. 400–950 A.D.* (Contributions to the Study of World History, number 58.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1998. Pp. x, 309. $65.00.

In recent decades, our understanding of urban life in England between the end of Roman rule and the Norman Conquest has been transformed. Once of marginal interest in early medieval urban studies, England has become a prime site for investigation and debate. This arises from archaeological work, topographical interpretation, and new ideas concerning the governmental capacities of the Old English state. Economic interpretation of the bases of urban life has been weaker, but scholars now show signs of coming to grips with the evidence. Daniel G. Russo aims to provide the overview that has hitherto been lacking and to place the detailed results of recent work "within a more firmly grounded written or historical context" (p. 23). In this, he is partially successful. Introductory chapters, taking up almost half the main text, survey approaches to urban history from around 1450 onward and summarize Romano-British town life up to its disappearance around 400. Russo offers a useful minimalist view of continuity from Roman to Anglo-Saxon urban systems, although he could have given more weight to ideological and infrastructural aspects of such continuity as there was. Two chapters survey the so-called *emporia*—large trading and manufacturing towns associated with centers of royal power, which flourished on coastal sites between the seventh and the ninth centuries—and place them in the context of similar phenomena found elsewhere in northwestern Europe. A final chapter addresses the inland network of defended towns or "burghs" prominent from the late ninth century onwards. Russo elaborates the argument that the basis of this system evolved in the Midlands during the eighth century rather than solely in response to the Viking incursions of the ninth.

Overall, the work is one of compilation rather than synthesis and relies heavily and often uncritically on a wide range of secondary sources, including standard but uninformed works of general urban history. Nevertheless, the book presents an impressive quantity of detailed information, and if used cautiously can serve as a valuable introduction to the subject. It is strongest on documentary evidence and in its overall interpretation of the Roman and immediately post-Roman period. Difficulties of integration are apparent in the conflicting statements provided on the degree of urbanization in late Anglo-Saxon England (pp. 23, 43). More serious are the problems arising from the archaeological evidence, which has been published in a variety of often inaccessible forms, many of them provisional in character or presenting *parti pris* fantasies for which there is little foundation. Russo has read neither widely nor deeply enough to overcome such difficulties. A notable instance concerns his use of an essay that followed a ceramic chronology for London superseded over a decade ago. This causes him to heap up anachronisms of his own concerning the ninth-century replanning of the city (pp. 200–01). The argument often lacks what is needed to confront the evidence itself and bring new insights to what is now a large and confusing body of literature. Moreover, the state of knowledge alluded to is that of the 1980s rather than the 1990s.

Russo focuses on case studies of the larger towns (of which his interpretive plans are difficult to read and sometimes misleading). One problem of this approach is that it obscures what seems to have been a continuum of other settlements, especially of the ninth century and earlier, which had some resemblance to towns. Nor does the text adequately address the forces underlying town growth. Burghs are said "to have reinvigorated English urban life" (p. 214), but the ways in which that may have happened are not critically examined. Likewise, an unquestioning "top down" view prevails. Thus, the conversion stimulates Canterbury, and the extension of Mercian rule into Kent promotes urban growth, despite evidence suggesting that various forms of trade had something to do with those developments.

Publications from which Russo might have profited are too numerous to be listed here. Surprising omissions on topics discussed at length include S. Lebecq, *Marchands et navigateurs frisons du Haut Moyen Age* (1983); S. Kelly, "Trading Privileges from Eighth-Century England," *Early Medieval Europe* 1 (1992), pp. 3–28; D. Hill and A. R. Rumble, eds., *The Defence of Wessex: The Burghal Hidage and Anglo-Saxon Fortifications* (1996).

DEREK KEENE
University of London

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THOMAS N. BISSON. *Tormented Voices: Power, Crisis, and Humanity in Rural Catalonia, 1140–1200.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 186. Cloth $35.00, paper $18.95.

Thomas N. Bisson's essay of interpretation, in which meticulous microhistorical research produces stimulating macrohistorical conclusions, is a very special book: small in size yet great in scope; extremely subjective, biased, and personal yet sound in its method and careful in its conclusions; well rooted in the Catalan context yet resounding across the entire medieval scene.

The book depicts the rural population ruled by the counts of Barcelona in the second half of the twelfth century. This was the age of competitive economic growth, which as usual cost some (perhaps too many) a heavy price. It brought about a deep crisis of power in mid-twelfth-century Catalonia. Castellans or men of power violently usurped lordly authorities, imposed uncustomary taxes, and constrained people at their whim. Everywhere in twelfth-century Catalonia, disruptive breaches of acceptable custom were reported. Sometimes the count himself was charged with imposing taxes never levied by his predecessors. For their fidelity, powerful men were granted the count's lordship over part of his domains. The peasants and bailiffs were left to protest and try and maintain the old order in which the lord's benign protectorate had fostered freedoms and moral cohesion. This tradition was in retreat all over Catalonia, causing strong discontent, particularly among the peasantry.

Bisson lets the victims of this new social order speak to us. Driven by the need to right injustice, he speaks for the orphans of history, those forgotten, neglected, and ignored by generations of historians who allowed only the oppressors to speak. He gives these people the chance to be heard and also uncovers some rare evidence of how power was experienced in medieval peasant society.

Bisson does all this by an exemplary study, combining social history and anthropology, of sixteen memorials (out of hundreds he has scanned in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona) recording peasants' complaints about alleged malfeasance by lords, knights, and officials: the grasping aspirants to service and status, magnate-entrepreneurs far from the lord's scrutiny remorselessly exploiting his jurisdiction over custom. These memorials were judicial records, appeals to the lord's power of remedy. They laid bare the relations between the lord's men and his tenants-peasants. These texts, mentioning some 449 people (347 by name), allow Bisson to reconstruct some aspects of peasant life in mid-twelfth-century Catalonia.

The book contains three chapters—entitled "People"; "Power"; "Culture"—tucked between an introductory discussion of the sources and an epilogue. It is a user-friendly book, written in clear language and free of jargon. Its author constantly shares with the reader his doubts concerning the sources and his avowed bias in favor of the complaining peasants. The book also contains a map, some illustrations, a glossary of the recurrent technical terms translated into English, a register of the sixteen memorials, and suggestions for further readings.

Bisson's study reveals interesting insights concerning the peasants' daily life. The naming shows that peasant men and women received and bestowed the same names as their ruling knights, lords, and ladies. Most of the complainants were males, and most people lived in families headed by men. But these men spoke for and about kinsfolk male and female. Furthermore, violence was not characteristic of males only: several women lords were charged with oppressive violence. The author meets the peasants in their habitats, discovering traces of bondage and slavery, economic diversity, and sometime prosperity. The memorials suggest that obligations on manses and households were generally light and various and that comital lordship rested on traditions, customs, and negotiations. The picture is of a polite society whose subjects counted as somebodies. They expected to be honored by their lords and disdained being treated "like slaves." They were used to freedom and protection and expected the count's public lordship to assure them.

People were aware of the count-prince (Raimund Berenguer IV) and, after 1162, of the king (Alfons I). No one doubted that the lord-prince had it in his power to remedy injustice. But we do not know whether they had any personal experience of such exalted solicitude or how the count redressed the injustice. Anyone who reads these memorials does not learn what practical judgment could be rendered, and we hardly know whether these complaints were heeded. We are certain only that the memorials commonly reached the lord's court and that the favored reaction of the peasants to their plight was not a rebellion but a lament or, at worst, flight. Some of the laments are individual; many others are associative and reflect a strong communal sense among the peasants who did not shun recourse to mass exodus if the lord gave no redress. These lamenting voices gradually fade in the thirteenth century, so the results must have been discouraging, or people got used to the new pattern of lordship.

The texts reveal a culture of honor and shame among the peasants, who felt abased by their injuries: they were abused about their heads and facial hair (their beards were pulled or possibly pulled out or cut) and their wives were "dishonored," which probably means sexually harassed or defiled. The little one learns about the role of the Christian religion in these moments of crisis suggests that it was increasingly associated with desires for peace and refuge. The homiletic of charitable patience in an adverse world was another way of coping with the daily vicissitudes.

Bisson's book convincingly shows that to regard twelfth-century society as stateless, and consequently as one in which violence was endemic, hence accept-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

able, is wrong. Although violence was familiar and constant in these villages, these were not violent societies. The peasants and scribes who recorded their testimonies were shocked and enraged by the violence inflicted upon them. Bisson exposes a conservatory of rural emotions and conveys the sense of human anguish that characterized the peasants at this moment of crisis. To them, these were wrongful disruptions, arbitrary and painful breaches of order. Conversely, the memorials imply the existence of a cognitive consensus about peace and order. In their expectations of justice from the lord (king or count), they recognized a normative sphere of power that was alien to the familial and lordly solidarities in which they were caught up.

Beyond the possible preparation of an edition of these texts, it remains to develop further the comparative approach so that we do not rely only on a microhistory from rural Catalonia. The temptation must also be resisted to rely solely on the memorials of complaint for reconstruction of the real existence of medieval peasantries anywhere in Europe. The nature of these sources creates a strongly biased view, an artificially dichotomous picture of tormentors and their victims. Even during these years of crisis, peasant life could not have revolved solely around questions of diffusion of power and around their relationship with their lords and their men.

But from now on, the reading list for my classes on medieval peasantry will include Bisson's book. Alongside Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou: Cathars and Catholics in a French Village, 1294–1324* (1978), it grants the amorphous and hitherto silenced peasantry a place in the historical narrative. Both students and those engaged in research should be grateful to Bisson for giving us this humane book and for showing how one can write a fine academic text with compassion.

JOSEPH ZIEGLER
University of Haifa

JOSEPH P. HUFFMAN. *Family, Commerce, and Religion in London and Cologne*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, number 39.)

A work on the connections between the German city of Cologne and England in the period *c.* 1000–*c.* 1300 may, at first sight, appear rather narrow and highly specialized, despite the breadth of interest implied in the title. In fact, this is a book that ought to interest a very wide range of students of medieval history.

As Joseph P. Huffman rightly observes, in discussing the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, historians have been mesmerized by the Anglo-French and German-Italian axes. This is, in part, because these connections are clearly political and thus fit into even the simplest approach to the medieval world. In this perspective, Germany has been seen as markedly removed from the Anglo-Norman world, and, indeed, even from the mainstream of Western European development. As Huffman says, we tend to place German development in the later Middle Ages and to see it in connection with the Hanse. What he seeks to demonstrate is that there were very substantial trading connections between England and Cologne in the period 1000–1300. Because of these, Cologne formed a gateway for the English in their relations with the German lands as a whole. These connections, he suggests, extended from the merely economic to a much wider range of human activity. Political connections are explored, and they form an essential part of the context. Because this book covers a specific period, an appendix with a time chart of the major political events might have helped the reader by providing points of reference. This is, however, a very minor criticism, because Huffman has produced a well-written and carefully constructed book.

A wide range of activity is discussed and a very broad variety of source material used. Most medievalists know that Cologne was a major nexus of Anglo-German relations in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but the very detailed consideration in part one demonstrates this fully and goes on to sketch its eventual supersession by the North German Hanse in the later thirteenth century. But the book is at its most original in part two. The exploration of English settlement in Cologne, largely through the *Schreinsbücher* and *Schreinskarten* (the municipal records of property transactions maintained by the parishes of the city throughout this period), is very revealing. There is a very complicated terminological problem to overcome, in that many historians have been reluctant to accept that the name Anglicus (and its cognates), found among families in Cologne, denotes English descent. Huffman convincingly establishes that this name indicates a family that was English or of English descent, perhaps through marriage into an English family. That there were English families whose names appear in the Cologne records as early as the mid-twelfth century is deeply interesting. In fact, much of the book is a prosopographical analysis, and it has to be said that, in general, prosopography does not lend itself to exciting prose, but Huffman has a light touch and achieves clarity. English settlement in Cologne was important, and it is remarkable that families became integrated into local society while still preserving an English identity.

Some of the information about the Cologne settlement in England is familiar, notably the career of Arnold FitzTedmar, who became a chronicler of the city of London, but Huffman has exposed the careers of many others, like Herman the Helmeter who practiced his trade of arms in London at the end of the thirteenth century. This careful collection of material shows just how important Germans, and especially the men of Cologne, were during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the economic, social, and political life of England. There is much fascinating material, but above all the analysis provides a much sharper perspective on the whole gamut of Anglo-German relations. One of the most compelling themes of this

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

book, sustained throughout its chapters, is the interaction between economic and political relationships.

In part three, Huffman discusses Anglo-German religious and cultural life. Although the discussion here is fairly brief, the cultural interaction between the two lands is clearly indicated. The book gives a very substantial context for the association of English and Rhinelanders at Lisbon during the Second and some later Crusades, while the Cologne connection was important even in the Becket affair—which is normally portrayed in a purely Anglo-French context.

The book concludes with a chapter entitled "A Reappraisal of the Anglo-German Nexus." Huffman has certainly demonstrated the particular importance of Cologne in the period in question. In effect, he has laid a basis for a new Anglo-German perspective modifying our very Anglo-Norman perceptions.

JOHN FRANCE
University of Wales, Swansea

FAYE GETZ. *Medicine in the English Middle Ages.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 174. $32.50.

Despite the broad scope of its title, this book is not a comprehensive history of medicine in medieval England. Its 139 pages of text and notes constitute more of an extended essay—more precisely, five virtually independent essays—on aspects of medical learning and practice. Its author does not claim to replace the standard monographs of C. H. Talbot or Stanley Rubin; instead, Faye Getz asserts that her book's focus is the process by which Greco-Arabic scholarly medicine achieved social recognition in England between 750 and 1450. This theme is not developed rigorously, however. The five chapters deal with the social status and character of medieval medical practitioners; the interrelations of English and continental practitioners; medical texts produced in medieval England; universities and the law; and (very briefly) vernacular literature and hospitals. No attempt is made to explain the choice of themes or to tie them together; on the contrary, each chapter seems conceived as a self-contained essay.

That being said, the book displays Getz's mastery of a broad array of textual and archival material and reveals her versatility as an intellectual, social, institutional, and legal historian. Its also presents a number of important questions and insights that bear on our understanding of prescientific medicine and medical practice within a premodern society. For example, in the first chapter, on "The Variety of Medical Practitioners in Medieval England," Getz abandons the anachronistic concept of the "medical profession" in favor of a typology based on economics. This reveals two categories of practitioner: the "tradesmen" who were paid directly, and the clerical practitioners supported by ecclesiastical benefices. These two categories represent to some degree differences in education, status, and ideology, but, as Getz demonstates, similarities often outweighed these differences. Almost all practitioners of whatever stripe worked at medicine only on a part-time basis: many "tradesmen" doctors were also brewers, while clerics varied their medical activities with teaching, secretarial, and priestly duties. This weak professional identity makes it hard to locate practitioners in the historic record, particularly since contemporary accounts of medical practice often seem oblivious to what modern readers would regard as "medicine." For example, Ralph of Coggeshall's narrative of the death of Archbishop Hubert Walter in 1205 praises the clerical physician Gilbertus Anglicus for his spiritual services to the prelate, not his medical care.

Getz argues that this typology is specifically suited to England because "the development of medicine as a profession on the European continent ... contrasts sharply with England" (p. 94, n. 6). But the fundamental contrast is never systematically explained. This problem clouds the otherwise intriguing second chapter on "Medical Travellers in England and the English Medical Practitioner Abroad." Here the weakness of the medical faculties at Oxford and Cambridge is simply ascribed to the dominance of continental universities; it is not until chapter four ("The Institutional and Legal Faces of English Medicine") that we get a sustained explanation of why England imported so many of its elite practitioners, and why ambitious Englishmen chose to study medicine abroad. But Getz's argument that Oxford and Cambridge were fundamentally arts and theology universities, and hence indifferent to medicine, is not entirely convincing. The same could be said of Paris, which nonetheless developed a politically aggressive and intellectually distinctive medical faculty. Perhaps the fact that English universities were not situated in major urban centers inhibited the growth of their medical faculties; certainly the Parisian professors benefited from their connections with the French capital's court and bourgeoisie.

Chapter three, "The English Medical Text," is another showcase for Getz's formidable erudition and originality. Instead of classifying her texts according to conventional typologies, Getz adopts a "genetic" and functional strategy: English medical texts are either Greco-Arabic in origin and style, created for university teachers and concerned with theory and authorities, or they were based on Roman models like Pliny and Celsus and, like these models, were geared to the culture and needs of the non-professional but literate householder. Getz makes the intriguing observation that this Roman or "encyclopedic" type of medicine was particularly suited to monastic practitioners, as it was pragmatic, non-technical, and open to forms of religious therapy like charms and prayers.

Getz's book contains a wealth of fresh ideas, based on wide-ranging research. Its flaws, such as they are, derive from its character as a collection of essentially detached essays. There are irritating repetitions, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sometimes issues and ideas that need to be explained in an early chapter are only addressed much later. These are very minor problems, however, and in no way detract from the high quality of this rich, stimulating, and well-written volume.

FAITH WALLIS
McGill University

RONALD C. FINUCANE. *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles*. New York: St. Martin's. 1997. Pp. xii, 268. $49.95.

How did medieval parents cope with the illnesses and accidents that, from birth and infancy onward, threatened the health and often the lives of their children, the "innocents" of Ronald C. Finucane's title? Where did these anxious, sometimes desperate mothers and fathers turn when human assistance failed, as it frequently did? In very large numbers, as this innovative and impressive study demonstrates, they appealed to the saintly dead, to celestial doctors commonly considered more effective than their mortal counterparts. Reported largely by eyewitnesses, their miraculous interventions provide the kinds of testimony to which medievalists now turn increasingly in exploring widely varied subjects.

Mining for the first time a rich lode of evidence concerning endangered children and their parents, Finucane enlarges the social and geographical scope represented by the distinguished work of Barbara Hanawalt and others to encompass a wider range of urban and rural life than has hitherto been closely examined in studies of medieval childhood. So valuable is this evidence for his purpose that his own rescue operation is based almost entirely on a single kind of source: the hagiographical records or miracle collections produced by canonization processes, usually papal inquisitions, and the less formal records often assembled by custodians of the tombs or shrines of the holy dead.

Drawn from eight such collections, each containing at least a hundred miracle reports, Finucane's evidence derives from saints' cults in both northern and southern Europe—England, modern Poland, France, and Italy—from the late twelfth to the late fifteenth century. Of the saintly candidates, six men and two women, four men were canonized in the late middle ages—Thomas Becket, Thomas Cantilupe, Louis of Toulouse, and Nicholas of Tolentino—and one woman, Clare of Montefalco, in 1881. The three remaining uncanonized are Pope Urban V, King Henry VI of England, and a laywoman, Dorothy of Montau. In an appendix, Joanna of Marden and others record the miracle of her revival from drowning as a child in late thirteenth-century England, demonstrating how ecclesiastical investigators and their witnesses produced the testimonies on which this study is based.

With extraordinary mastery of sometimes bewildering materials, Finucane concentrates on the "ambience of events," the wealth of "incidental or circumstantial detail," rather than on the miracles themselves. Introduced in the first of three central chapters, parental anxieties and fears, desires and conflicts, were probably most intense during a time fraught with the perils of pregnancy, birth, and early infancy. But we also meet here parental responses that persist in chapters devoted to children's illnesses and accidents. Essential to pleas for saintly help and its achievement is the vow, usually accompanied by promises of pilgrimage and various offerings, made in return for miraculous intervention. Evident throughout also is a parental bias in favor of boys, representing a gender imbalance that prevailed in nearly every aspect of experience examined here. Intervention was sought for more than twice as many boys as girls in cases of illness. In cases of accident, the ratio was sixty-five to thirty-five, a ratio that, excluding firearms and automobiles as causes, persists in statistics today.

Significant though these statistics are, far more important are Finucane's conclusions regarding close and complex relations between parents and children and the extraordinary range of behavior and emotions revealed in his narrative sources. Reflecting conditions of life and health, ignorance and danger prevalent for centuries, these texts suggest that almost any serious illness or accident might be life-threatening, especially to children. Although many parents were aware of the distinctive nature and limitations of childhood, there is ample evidence of parental ignorance, poor judgment, and neglect. Leaving infants and adventurous young children unattended is but one sign of a generally weak grasp of the relations between cause and effect. But there is no more important finding of this study than the evidence of sources "overflowing with parental anguish, profound depression, and grief" (p. 151), inspired by potential or actual loss. Demolishing, if demolition is still needed, the notion that medieval parents commonly lacked devotion and affection for their children, in miracle stories these emotions are pervasive.

Restrained in his claims for his work, Finucane insists that "generalizations based on six hundred examples must be highly speculative," the outcome of "an exploratory study, whose tentative findings can be verified, corrected, or negated only through analysis of much more evidence" (p. 6). Inviting interested scholars to tackle the "thousands of cases" waiting for investigation, he provides the best of models in a study of medieval children and parents so far unequalled not only in its scope but in the diversity and discernment of its insights into the lives and emotions of its subjects.

MARY MARTIN MCLAUGHLIN
Millbrook,
New York

NORMAN GOLB. *The Jews in Medieval Normandy: A Social and Intellectual History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xxxii, 621. $75.00.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Norman Golb exudes scholarship, whether it is concerned fieldwork, archival work, or interpreting contemporary Jewish sources. He is equally at home with records in Hebrew, Norman French, or Latin. Admittedly, this is a large volume, but in it Golb has actually written two works: a complete history of the Jews of medieval Normandy and a full discussion of their intellectual and economic contribution to the history of Europe. The focus tends to be mainly on Hebrew intellectual activity, and he clearly makes his case that the Jews of Normandy and particularly Rouen (in Hebrew, *Rodom*) made a major contribution to the history of the Jews of northwestern Europe. This book will be of wide interest to Normanophiles, medievalists, and Judaists alike.

Golb starts with the unraveling of a document and a story of the travels of Jacob ben Jequthiel's visit to Rome in the early eleventh century. He then moves to a reexamination of the earliest documentary evidence of the Norman Jewries. He tracks down references in documents from the Cairo genizah, Parma, and Cambridge to the very hinterland of Normandy itself. He ends with the expulsion of the Jews from Normandy in the early fourteenth century. Golb's discussion of the extent and antiquity of the Jewish settlement is so versed in detail that it almost replaces the Blue Guide to Normandy. We are taken through town and hedgerow to hamlet and farm track in search of the Jews. Toponymical and other documentary evidence is used to piece together thriving and long lost urban and rural Jewish communities. Golb peels back the evidence for the remaining Jewish domiciles with the assiduousness of the archaeologist who has just discovered a buried Carnac. In all, Golb identifies over 120 locales which had some connection with Jewish settlement, be it a "rue aux Juifs," a "Jews' Court," "Mount," or "Bridge," or even a "fishery of the Jews." His findings show just how widespread the Jewish population of medieval Normandy might have been.

The history of Norman Jewry is considered in chronological sections, through which the author cleverly interweaves the intellectual growth of the Jewish academicians. He charts their history through the conquests of Duke William and the establishment of English Jewry in the newly conquered territories up to the attacks on the Rouen community during the First Crusade. He then moves to a thorough examination of the local topography of the Rouen Jewish community. Here he is greatly helped by the archaeological remains. He investigates the positioning of the synagogue within the city and scrutinizes the actual building. Good photographs of the archaeological remains, excellent diagrams, and maps help to make this a fascinating study.

Golb guides us through the function of the yeshivahs; he expounds upon the efficacy of the rule and the organization of synagogues and also examines the private synagogues that had been established in Normandy. Consideration is given to how the communities functioned, the role of arch-presbyter, and the charters of rights. Golb traces the pogroms, which accompanied the Second Crusade from the Cotentin peninsula toward Worms and then the Holy Land.

The great rabbis of Norman Jewry are then scrutinized, including the great Rashbam whose influence was widespread among Northern French Jewry. In particular, the ministry of Rabbi Peter ben Joseph in the Carentan is well documented. This section closes with a review of the rabbinical legislation under which the Jews of Rouen lived and stresses the importance of Rouen for the Jewish community at large.

The fascinating interlude that discusses the life and works of Abraham Ibn Ezra at first seems a little out of place as well as a little drawn out. Its significance becomes clear in the next chapter, however, where the importance of Normandy's capital as a center of Jewish culture is emphasized. Here Golb examines the output of what might well be dubbed an itinerant academy. Scholars such as Joseph of Morville, Joseph Bekhor Shor, the disciple of Rabbi Tam, the students of Rashbam, and Berekiah the Punctator all seem to have followed the lead given by Ibn Ezra's short stay in Rouen and helped to make Rodom a world famous academy for Hebraic studies.

That this was possible might well be due to the fact that Henry II had granted the Jews of Rouen a special status that seems to have been preserved right up until the French invasion of Normandy. It was probably this that led to what is described as a period of "advanced Rabbinic learning": the Tosafists under the leadership of Menahem Vardimas, master of the school of Rouen. Golb then traces how the status changed after the reign of Philip Augustus and as anti-Jewish legislation came more into line with the papal decrees and that of the Jews in the Île de France. The Tosafists of Normandy are portrayed as the guardians of the Jewish law. They had their own liturgy, which was tracked down by Golb has and identified as "The Great Mahazor of Amsterdam." The detail is astounding; Golb proves himself to be a master of medieval Hebrew manuscripts.

ROBIN R. MUNDILL
Glenalmond College, Perth

ROBIN R. MUNDILL. *England's Jewish Solution: Experiment and Expulsion, 1262–1290*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought; Fourth Series, number 37.) New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Pp. xxviii, 332. $69.95.

Social historians have long evinced a fascination with people confined to the margins of past societies. A host of theories has been offered in an effort to explain why some groups should have been the targets of discrimination, both overt and subtle, and to understand the effects of such exclusion. Perhaps predictably, no single paradigm has achieved these aims; after all, systems of belief, in which prejudices are deeply

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rooted, are hardly amenable to simple classification or characterization.

Robin R. Mundill's book on the expulsion of the Jews from England in the late thirteenth century is the most recent in a long line of scholarly attempts to understand why this group in particular should have been vilified in the medieval West. Although the author claims that the expulsion has not received careful scrutiny on the part of historians, he devotes a substantial part of this work to a lengthy review of the historiography relating to the Jews and their adversities in later medieval England. The avowed aims of his book are to demonstrate the flaws in the arguments that have been posited to date with respect to the events of the expulsion and to propose a new set of theories. Mundill accomplishes the first endeavor very capably. The results of the second are more questionable, though the work does offer fresh perspectives on some old arguments. In particular, the author succeeds in demonstrating that the expulsion was but the final step in a long quest to formulate "England's Jewish solution."

Mundill's arguments rest on a painstaking examination of the entire corpus of record material that survives with respect to seven Jewish communities spread across the kingdom (Canterbury, Devizes, Exeter, Hereford, Lincoln, Nottingham, and Oxford). Although he notes that scholars have written a great deal about these communities, he maintains that none has studied the wide variety of records that he tackles, and none has asked the questions he poses of the extant sources. Moreover, he suggests, previous studies of surviving materials have generated "preconceptions of the Jews' wealth" in thirteenth-century England; these in turn have meant that the expulsion "has itself usually been explained in predominantly economic terms" (p. 73). Mundill argues that a close study of the records fails to substantiate the claims of those previous scholars.

Mundill's most original, and therefore significant, contribution to current scholarship on medieval English Jewry is found in the chapters of his book that analyze the degree to which royal legislation in the thirty years leading up to the expulsion in 1290 affected Jewish prosperity (chapter six) and the extent to which Christians were indebted to Jewish lenders in this same period (chapter seven). Several key events within these years had an impact on Jewish fortunes, notably a series of tallages levied in 1262, the enactment of the Statute of the Jewry in 1275 (which was followed by a scrutiny of bonds deposited in the official chests, or *archae*, of Jewish communities), and the general scrutiny of Jewish bonds and obligations carried out in the aftermath of the expulsion legislation of 1290 (the so-called *Valor Judaismus*). Mundill uses the records generated by each of these events, together with a meticulous examination of several hundred surviving bonds, to argue that contrary to what students have long been told, the Jews were in fact still of significant financial value to the crown in the years immediately before 1290. In most communities, it is true, the number of Jewish moneylenders had declined, but "the mean value of credit transactions in five *archa* towns actually increased" (p. 204). Of equal significance in the same period was the ability of most Jewish lenders to move successfully from cash-only business undertakings to loans that involved repayment in cash and commodities (wool and grain). Thus, despite legislation aimed at restricting the movement of Jews and Jewish business activities, and even in the aftermath of such infamous events as the 1278–1279 allegations of coin-clipping, "it is not easy to state firmly that the Edwardian Anglo-Jewry was a business community in decline" in 1290 (p. 208).

In the last part of his work, Mundill accomplishes little more than a survey of studies that have posited explanations other than merely financial for the expulsion. The Jews, he concludes, were ordered to leave the realm as a consequence of several related factors, among them a marked determination on the part of the church (reflected also in secular life) to isolate the Jews from Christian society, successful (and financially profitable) continental expulsions, even Edward I's own change of heart following a serious illness. There is not much that is original in these arguments.

Mundill's book most decidedly ought to find its way onto the shelves of university libraries, for it will provide students with a vigorous, well-informed, and comprehensive review of the historiography of the Anglo-Jewish communities of later medieval England. Scholars, by contrast, will find it of more limited value. The two chapters singled out above provide a painstaking, original, and altogether exemplary analysis of a difficult body of source materials. But Mundill's exhaustive reiteration of existing studies and an annoying tendency to preface almost all his arguments with cautionary statements are reminiscent of the reticence that characterizes doctoral dissertations. A more sustained effort to state clearly this book's contribution to the historiography of medieval Jewry, to whittle down its excessive verbiage, and to present its claims with more conviction would have shown the author's strengths to much greater effect.

CYNTHIA J. NEVILLE
Dalhousie University

PAUL STROHM. *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399–1422.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 274. $35.00.

In an increasingly multidisciplinary age, we should expect, and encourage, contributions by scholars in one field of learning to help advancement in another. Paul Strohm, a scholar of English, has been making such contributions for some years, and this book is one that historians, and those of early Lancastrian England in particular, should welcome. Nonetheless, all should heed the author's warning that his method may surprise both historians and literary scholars alike. I, for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one, did not find all the chapters uniformly successful, and the approaches and the language used by Strohm may not please historians of a different turn of mind or form of training.

Essentially, it is argued, we should be reluctant to accept texts at their face value. Any text is capable of being read in a number of ways: for what it says; how it says it; what it does not say; and what the reader is intended to learn from it. This brings him to "being and seeming," the intellectual thread that holds the book together. At issue is the legitimization of the Lancastrian dynasty, whose seizure of the English throne in 1399 had to be justified and supported in the face of opposition. Could it be made to seem what it was not, legitimate? Having taken over, the Lancastrians stressed how history had fulfilled old prophecies, even one made by the deposed king, Richard II, to make the succession of the new dynasty appear inevitable. Yet Richard haunted Henry IV, the man who deposed him. Those who wanted to believe it claimed that Richard was not actually dead but still alive and, since he had been denied burial in his "proper" tomb at Westminster, that he was not "politically" dead either. So Henry V had to lay the phantom; Richard was given "proper" burial in the presence of Henry himself, who, bypassing his father, thus became Richard's successor. Neat.

Yet dangers persisted, one being the threat, real or perceived, of Lollardy. Central to any questioning of a suspect was the very difficult theological teaching regarding transubstantiation. Pity those condemned who could only offer "I don't know" when asked to explain their understanding of it. Strohm skilfully uses this to underline points in his theme. Notoriously, Lollards mistrusted symbols; they could not accept the transformation inherent in the doctrine of transubstantiation. Nor could they understand the effect of the "theater" of coronation, which transformed a claimant, in particular an illegitimate one, into a real king. Such dissent threatened the existence of the dynasty and the very stability of the kingdom, or so it was claimed. Yet how real was the Lollard threat? By a careful analysis, Strohm suggests that the Lollards were made to took more dangerous than they were so as to justify action against them as a group whose activities threatened the royal authority and the wider society. The "theater," or ritual, of execution was also used to convey a strong public message to those inclined to plot against the new dynasty. Yet plotting continued. Strohm seizes upon the activities of counterfeiters in Henry V's reign. Why were their coins, not made in a royal mint, not "good" even when the metal used in their making was? Was it the frontal attack upon the royal monopoly, which acted as a guarantee of wholeness, that came to merit the penalty of treason, even though kings themselves issued apparently "good" coin minted from debased, patently "bad" metal? Reality and appearance are with us again.

Finally, taking the argument one important step further, what gave legitimacy and authority to the person who occupied "the empty throne" forsaken by Richard II? Strohm raises the question of how far the exercise of any power is dependent upon legitimizing symbolism. What exactly did the ceremony of coronation do to a new monarch? How did the Lancastrians persuade their subjects of their legitimacy? What this book does, on the whole successfully, is discuss the whole matter of political legitimacy in late medieval England, a theme that, for practical reasons, was also a matter of concern in other European countries during this period. Although they may not accept all its contents, future biographers of Henry IV or Henry V will have to take account of the methodological challenge and of at least some of the arguments and conclusions that it advances.

CHRISTOPHER ALLMAND
University of Liverpool

CHRISTOPH ANZ. *Gilden im mittelalterlichen Skandinavien*. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 139.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1998. Pp. 326. DM 72.

Christoph Anz's book on guilds in medieval Scandinavia has two goals. The first (which he achieves convincingly) is to show that these organizations cannot be traced back to a Germanic past of drinking rituals connected with pagan sacrifices. The second is to follow the lead of his dissertation director, Otto Gerhard Oexle, in analyzing the guild as a phenomenon in social rather than economic or constitutional history. Relying on a concept of guild that does not draw an artificial line between craft guilds and merchant guilds or between fraternities for members of a single occupation and those with a broader base, he argues that the guild's main function was the creation of voluntary personal bonds.

Anz's method is largely the close reading of guild statutes, which constitute the bulk of his evidence. For Norway and Sweden he analyzes all the extant statutes; for Denmark, where there are more, he groups them chronologically rather than by type (saint's guild vs. craft guild) or by region, as previous scholars have done. The focus on statutes makes it difficult for him to comment on certain subjects, for example the social distribution of guild membership, at which statutes only hint. They do, however, permit him to trace the development of the way the guilds chose to represent their functions over time. Where he does have evidence other than the statutes themselves—mainly from Denmark—he is able to observe that practice did not always follow prescription.

Anz stresses the common features of the guilds: a mutual oath that united the members with a bond more permanent than merely common interests, an element of free choice, a strong religious element, and, perhaps most important, an effect on the development of public law because of their provisions for keeping the peace. Taking Oexle's definition of the guild as a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

given, however, Anz fails to concentrate enough on differences among different types. When the concept includes both a guild of journeymen shoemakers in a provincial Danish town and Stockholm's Corpus Christi guild, which began as a guild for priests and came to include lay magnates, including the king, the question arises of how meaningful their common characteristics really were. Anz recognizes the differences, of course, between guilds open to all and those for people in a particular occupation; he treats the latter as derivative and the more inclusive groups as normative.

Anz does not have the sources available to give a more socially integrated account of how the guilds operated in practice comparable, for example, to the work of Gervase Rosser for England. He could, however, have chosen to give a more thorough account of Scandinavian urban and village life into which the available information about the guilds would fit. Lacking this, his assertion that guilds provided an indispensable stability to medieval society (p. 290) is only weakly supported. He might also have speculated or inferred beyond the evidence in front of him. For example, he is careful to note which guild statutes refer exclusively to men and which indicate female membership. He does not, however, go the extra step of considering what the presence or absence of female members might imply about the social functions of the guilds.

Some guilds, Anz shows, included members of the governing urban elites. It would be helpful to follow up the implications of this finding for the larger social context. How did relationships formed through the guild affect how these elites governed? Guilds dedicated to St. Knut flourished throughout Scandinavia and the Baltic region. Anz suggests that, unlike other guilds, these had formal links with each other and that these links were connected with the activity of merchants engaged in international trade. Yet these guilds were not simply merchants' guilds. How did the international component interact with the local component, and how did this interaction affect commerce?

This is a book for specialists: those with an interest in late medieval Scandinavian urban history will find it useful, as will those with an interest in forms of collective association in the Middle Ages. It is a thorough dissertation, careful, well-grounded in the literature as well as the sources. It does not, however, provide a radically new interpretation of medieval guilds, and it does not go as far as it might in elucidating the social history of medieval Scandinavia.

RUTH MAZO KARRAS
Temple University

OTTO GERHARD OEXLE and WERNER PARAVICINI, editors. *Nobilitas: Funktion und Repräsentation des Adels in Alteuropa*. (Proceedings of the conference, "Nobilitas," 1994; Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 133.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1997. Pp. 462. DM 98.

The thirteen essays in this collection about nobility edited by Otto Gerhard Oexle and Werner Paravicini were delivered at a conference held in 1994 in honor of Karl Ferdinand Werner's seventieth birthday. The authors concentrate on France and Germany, except for Hagen Keller's piece on the role of nobles in the Italian communes and Adeline Rucquoi's examination of the change from a "juridically" to a "theologically" defined nobility in fifteenth-century Spain. Chronologically, the articles range from Martin Heinzelmann's analysis of how St. Augustine's historical ecclesiology shaped Gregory of Tours's presentation of the nobility in *The History of the Franks* to Georg Schmidt's study of the role of ennoblement in the transformation of mercenary leaders into a professional officer corps during the Thirty Years' War. Since I understand *Alteuropa* to mean, in Otto Brunner's sense, the period between around 1000 and the French Revolution, I am troubled by the inclusion of Heinzelmann's article and Jean Durliat's reaffirmation of the existence and the public functions of both a Roman and Frankish nobility in sixth-century Gaul.

My reservations about the chronological limits are symptomatic of a bigger problem: the collection's lack of cohesion. Neither in his introduction nor in his concluding comments does Paravicini address any of the specific articles or the perceived similarities and differences in approach, definitions of nobility, or findings that presumably emerged during the participants' formal and informal discussions. The articles are grouped in the table of contents in four categories that Paravicini briefly discusses in general terms: noble conduct; the depiction and representation of the nobility; the continuity in the nobility's ancestry, function, and self-awareness; and the legitimization of noble lordship. No further attempt is made to integrate this very disparate material, however. If there is a common theme in the articles, it may perhaps be found in Paravicini's concluding assertion that although the European nobility is not biologically Roman, its structure and its fundamental ideas—for example, the ideal of public service or the exercise of leisure with dignity—are. But the contributors do not address the question of whether such similarities are due to the repeated classical revivals in European history and/or the similar efforts at self-legitimization by elite groups within traditional societies.

This failure to integrate the contributions means that most scholars will read only the articles that are of particular interest to them. Let me comment, therefore, about three articles that especially interested me. Roger Sablonier asks why the local nobility in eastern Switzerland made increasing use of written instruments in the thirteenth century. Losses do not fully explain the lacunae in the documentation that make it so difficult to reconstruct, say, the genealogies and property holdings of a particular lineage. The answer is that writing served only secondarily such legal purposes as proving property rights; instead, a charter was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a symbol of a connection to another lineage or religious institution or itself an expression of lordship.

Volkhard Huth's treatment of the pictorial representation of nobles in three historiographical or liturgical manuscripts—the *Vita Mathildis*, the Psalter of Landgrave Hermann I of Thuringia, and a hagiographical collection from St. Vincent's in Metz—is based on his extensive discussions with the late Karl Schmid, who had intended to speak about the manuscripts at the conference. Thus Huth's piece should be read, along with the posthumous publication of Schmid's 1961 *Habilitationsschrift*, *Geblüt, Herrschaft, Geschlechterbewusstein: Grundfragen zum Verständnis des Adels im Mittelalter* (1998), as the last addition to Schmid's oeuvre. The continuity in Schmid's thinking is striking.

Finally, Joseph Morsel, the only author who attempts explicitly to define what is meant by the nobility, asserts, admittedly provocatively, that there were nobles but not a nobility in Franconia before 1400. Although I am in no position to question Morsel's Franconian evidence, I would point out that scribes in the twelfth century routinely differentiated in witness lists between *nobiles* and *ministeriales*. Why does this usage not indicate that the nobles themselves and the clerics who drafted the charters thought that the nobles belonged to a collectivity that we can label the nobility? The remaining pieces are Gerd Althoff on ritualized acts of submission and reconciliation; Jean Richard on the juridical culture of the high-medieval French nobility; Arlette Jouanna on the nobility as the guardian of the laws during the French Wars of Religion; Philippe Contamine on the ideal of noble service in late-medieval France; and Klaus Schreiner on late medieval legitimizations of noble lordship.

JOHN B. FREED
Illinois State University

GRAEME SMALL. *George Chastelain and the Shaping of Valois Burgundy: Political and Historical Culture at Court in the Fifteenth Century*. (Studies in History, new series.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, for the Royal Historical Society. 1997. Pp. viii, 301.

This important book significantly revises our understanding of George Chastelain's career and achievement. The first two chapters demonstrate that Chastelain's cryptic autobiographical references were an effort to conceal the fact that he was the eldest son of a Francophile shipper from Ghent who had married a nobleman's daughter. The son served briefly in the army of Duke Philip the Good (1419–1467) of Burgundy after receiving the arts degree at the University of Louvain in 1432. Returning to Ghent, he pursued shipping ventures, then left the city and the business world as a bankrupt in 1441. He entered the service of Pierre de Brézé, seneschal of Poitou and an influential councillor of King Charles VII (1422–1461) of France, before becoming a squire at the court of Philip the Good in 1446. Chastelain disappears from the record between 1451 and 1454, but his poetry and dramas were gaining a court reputation. In 1455, the year after his return to court, he was appointed the duke's official historian and became a councillor in 1457. Until 1464, when he established himself at Valenciennes, he also undertook diplomatic missions for the duke, and he composed numerous small works for declamation on public occasions even as he continued work on his *Chronicle*. His salary as court historian continued until his death in 1475.

Noting that there has been no study of the mechanics of rise and fall at the Burgundian court, Graeme Small uses prosopographical evidence to show that Chastelain's career was linked to the noble connections of his mother's family and their circle, then consolidated by recognition of his writing ability. Although he came from a Flemish urban background, Chastelain identified completely with the French noble culture of the Burgundian court, but this was due to personal inclination and the influence of his nearly three decades of service to the Burgundian dukes, not to a long formative period in France as was once thought.

The last four chapters concern Chastelain's work in the context of contemporary historical writing and the court cultures that produced it. Small's analytical framework is provided by the debate between Henri Pirenne and his recent followers (Richard Vaughan, Walter Prevenier and Wim Blockmans, and Marc Boone), who have argued that Philip the Good hoped to establish an independent Burgundian state, and Johan Huizinga, who drew heavily on Chastelain's *Chronicle* for his view that the Burgundians remained linked fundamentally to France. Small argues that the great "historical moment" that occasioned Philip's appointment of Chastelain as court historian was not a policy break with France but rather the project for a joint Franco-Burgundian crusade after 1453. Chastelain always portrayed Philip the Good as the ideal Christian prince, contrasting him subtly with Charles VII and more blatantly with Louis XI (1461–1483). Burgundian historiography, including but not limited to Chastelain's work, emphasized the bonds with France. The French were the successors of the Jews as God's chosen people, but their problems with the English and more recently with Philip the Good had been the result of their sin and pride. Chastelain thus hearkened back to a golden age when the Valois dukes of Burgundy had played the much greater part in the internal affairs of the French kingdom that the divine natural order had ordained. Small concludes that a Burgundian state, but not a nation-state, was taking form.

Although Chastelain's *Chronicle* survives in seven fragments, with substantial periods missing, internal references in what survives to events whose description has been lost convinces Small that an archetype of the work through 1471 once existed, which was probably in the possession of Chastelain's son Gonthier as late as 1524. It seems to have been at least as widely read in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the generation after the author's death as Jean Froissart's *Chronicle* had been, mainly among the nobility in the Habsburg Netherlands and northern France. But it was such a massive work that, particularly since large parts of it were declaimed aloud as well as read silently, readers were happy to own those portions of the work that were of particular interest to them. Hence the personal interests of the owners of copies are responsible for the partial preservation of the *Chronicle*.

Small's prosopographical identifications of Chastelain's relatives and of how his introduction and career at court were facilitated by family-based patronage networks are a model of scholarship. He is also a perceptive observer of the workings of Burgundian administration and how Philip the Good used his court intellectuals for diplomacy and various public relations attributes of his "theatre-state" as well as for their scholarship. Small is as familiar with the manuscript transactions before the aldermen of Ghent, the source of his radical reinterpretation of Chastelain's early life, as with the textual transmission of the manuscripts of Chastelain's *Chronicle* and his lesser works. In addition to a massive use of the secondary literature, he used manuscripts from twenty-eight archives and two private collections. This is a work of careful exact research that must be read by all students of late medieval state formation and historical writing in the Burgundian domains and France.

DAVID NICHOLAS
Clemson University

FRANK A. D'ACCONE. *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997. Pp. xxiii, 862. $70.00.

Frank A. D'Accone has presented an exhaustively thorough study of the institutions and personnel that formed the basis of Siena's musical culture from the thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries. The result of many years of archival research, it stays very close to the documents throughout. D'Accone has assembled and inserted into his text numerous tables of payment records, names of musicians with their dates of appointment, music inventories, and other related information; he has also included the edited texts of abundant documents as well as musical examples; and at the end of the book he has compiled a complete list of all the musicians who appear in his sources, with a summary of all information known about each one. From these data he is able to describe and assess the dominant features, significant details, and important changes in Siena's musical scene.

Siena's musical life centered around its principal civic institutions, the cathedral and the city hall, or Palazzo Pubblico. The city's priors and the cathedral's advisory boards were responsible for major management and funding. The basic shape of cathedral performance was governed, of course, by the liturgical year, including particularly Sienese feast days. The canons, chaplains (the rank held by the bulk of the singers), and clerks, who sang the daily offices under the direction of the cantor, performed their everyday plainchant or more festive polyphony according to a strictly regulated calendar. The fifteenth-century introduction of northern European styles of carefully composed polyphony brought a number of changes in turn. At first, Siena competed with other Italian cities to import northern singers trained in these styles; eventually it also trained local singers, and its polyphonic choir grew in number as well. The presence of organists is noted from the later fourteenth century, and players of cornetto and trombone appeared during the sixteenth. Members of the city's confraternities of *laudi* singers contributed additional, vernacular performances.

The civic trumpet corps and its official obligations are attested as early as the constitution of 1262, and they survived throughout Siena's changes of government. Members of the corps appeared at all official events, including riding with the militia. They accompanied town criers, and sometimes served in that position as well; they performed with the cathedral musicians at major festivals. The city provided their uniforms and even their instruments. Musicians tended to hold these positions for many years, passing them from father to son. Their educational level is unclear, nor do they seem to have been guild members; by the sixteenth century, however, most of them were property owners. A city wind band appeared in the fourteenth century. The German origins of the genre, the instruments, and even the early personnel are evident in their name—*pifferi*—and they were capable of playing northern-style polyphony. They performed daily at afternoon and evening meals, both in the governmental dining room and at the open windows of the Palazzo Pubblico for public enjoyment. They also appeared at major civic functions and offered additional public performances at major festivals. Siena's musical culture remained more provincial than its rival Florence, but the city held its own as a significant regional center even as it lost its independence.

In the last section of the work, D'Accone surveys Siena's musical life beyond these major organizations. He discusses the presence of music and musicians at some of the city's other religious institutions, identifies instrument builders and repairmen, and notes the increasing importance by the sixteenth century of music teachers and dancing masters for amateurs. He concludes with descriptions of music in the theater and at major civic festivals such as the Palio.

In order to focus on presenting and explicating the available documents at such length, D'Accone has had to sacrifice some narrative ease and interpretive development. For example, D'Accone's findings suggest some social distance between the Latin-literate chaplain-singers of the cathedral, on the one hand, and the Palazzo Pubblico's lay instrumentalists, suffering their occasional brushes with the law, on the other. He

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

presents the evidence without pursuing such topics or their implications in depth. And the book simply turns from its last topic to its list of musicians without offering a conclusion. This choice, however, is especially useful for providing access to D'Accone's documentary evidence, aided by his clear and straightforward presentation of many very different kinds of information. Many of his topics, ranging from the development of ritual and liturgical traditions to patterns of employment, require the detailed, precise local examination D'Accone provides; they can be followed here over some three centuries. His discussion of Siena's regional identity situates the city in Italian as well as European contexts. D'Accone's study allows us to move from consideration of a given piece of Sienese music to the physical and social settings of its performance and its place in European musical styles, to the musicians involved, how they were paid, and their roles in the community. It will be invaluable, of course, to scholars whose work centers on Italian cities; but it should also serve as an important reference for understanding the places of music in everyday experience, political life, and local economies in other communities and regions of medieval and early modern Europe. It enables historians to engage more seriously in the important yet elusive task of integrating musical issues into political, social, and economic history. And it takes enormous strides in helping us to recover the aural experience of urban life.

ANN E. MOYER
University of Pennsylvania

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

JORGE ARDITI. *A Genealogy of Manners: Transformations of Social Relations in France and England from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1998. Pp. x, 312. Cloth $35.00, paper $17.00.

The title of Jorge Arditi's interesting book is deliberately evocative of Friedrich Nietzsche's on morals, but morals take a lesser place in this study of how and around what symbols of power English and French social elites created their identities. *Ecclesias*, the term he uses to describe the practices and beliefs confirming the truths of revelation in the Middle Ages, was gradually replaced by what he calls *res civile*, which appropriated some of the features of *ecclesias* but substituted for them a near-exclusive focus on grace bestowed by the monarch. Royal centrality, in turn, surrendered its claims to an aristocratic elite that kept the monarch in check by developing an ideology fixated almost totally on itself. Norbert Elias remains the background figure in this book on the rising tide away from *courtoisie* to courtesy, civility, etiquette, and, implicitly, the consolidation of a modern sense of how to cultivate sociability. Where Arditi takes issue with Elias is in his insistence that the changes leading to the disjunction of manners and morals, and hence to social detachment and individuation—two markers of modernity—cannot be fully understood unless they focus on how individual minds shifted their perceptions of, and adjusted their relations to, the larger group for which they incessantly groomed themselves.

What materials lie at hand to capture how each self at the top of the social hierarchy saw and experienced his (and only marginally her) relationship to others? Arditi studied a select number of etiquette books and, in addition, looked at diaries, memoirs, and literary works. They range in time from the thirteenth-century anonymously authored *Quest of the Holy Grail* to Lord Chesterfield's eighteenth-century *Letters* to his son. Each of his sources, he believes, adds to his argument that the study of manners may, more than marginally, convey an accurate sense of how dominant social groups come to shift their beliefs in, and allegiances to, competing and successive centers of power. Oddly, Michel de Montaigne is mentioned only once, but not to illustrate Arditi's thesis, nor to take up the question of friendship, which, it seems to me, might have been one of the crucial aspects of the subject of his book. Arditi cites the Duc de Saint-Simon, but he does not call on Montesquieu, a more objective and reliable witness and a significant theorist who tells us a great deal about the play of aristocratic honor. As well, Adam Smith's theory of the "impartial spectator," who internalizes and projects the perceptible and anticipated marks of sociability, is missing. Surprising, too, is the absence of Bernard Mandeville, the most radical critic of conventional morality.

One must be prepared to take on Arditi's heavy armature of sociological vocabulary. Terms such as "infrastructures of social relations," "the logic of relationality" or the "pragmatics" consonant with each successive infrastructure, "social coalescence," and "centeredness" and "multicenteredness" are the flagships that he deploys to chart his voyage from one social port of call to another. The changes in the internal and internalizing workings of social solidarities, he says, are more important than other kinds of structures. We are largely left in the dark to puzzle out what he means. If, as he contends, the infrastructures of social relations are foundational, then must we conclude that other structures are not? Rather than dealing with them, Arditi's contention that they cannot be discounted shunts them aside. Thus, one may still ask whether such grounds for his theory adequately cover the momentous movements from one model of behavior to another. One obvious point might be made. Although Arditi pays homage to Max Weber, it seems curious that he does not really take on the difficult problem of how, if according to Weber, religion reinforced the individual conscience and advanced individuation, the increasing sense of detachment from religion and morals Arditi speaks about may be seen as the key to the secularization and modernization of society. In his words, Protestantism was "a manifestation, not a source of individuation and multicenteredness" (p. 178), but the assertion is stron-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ger than the argument. Although he sees rationalization as an effect of Protestantism, he does not relate it to, nor does he discuss it within the context of, the demoralizing shift that was key to modernity.

Arditi's approach is the only way, he believes, to perceive how, within their restricted circles, social elites established links among themselves and stressed their differences from other sectors of society. Their image-makers and apologists—although he does not speak of them in this vein, it is, I think, an accurate description of their roles—produced a literature that allowed the elites to cultivate the elements, nuances and minutiae of *courtoisie*, courtesy, and civility and gave them a heightened sense of their own practices and rituals of behavior. Their corporate sense was justified by rules of inclusivity and exclusiveness. No one can suppose that the rules could be or were all followed. Yet we do get a sense of how exacting and nervous-making they must have been. Set out in the books of conduct and in other sources detailing proper etiquette, they were at once plain and invisible. These qualities made for the excitements of and disappointments in the social chase. Except to the initiated and the experienced, who probably had no need of them, they must have eluded, and were perhaps often meant to elude, the groups clamoring to become part of the privileged. Arditi fits the dominant or the self-styled "genuine" English eighteenth-century aristocracy's manipulations of etiquette into the mechanisms of closure, a theory developed by Pierre Bourdieu and Frank Parkin, as well as by Weber and Elias. He adds the significant point that the changeability, or what he calls the plasticity (p. 212), of the intangibles that kept the group together also kept the group apart, and was obviously meant to do so. The indefinable *je ne sais quoi* that severely defined and limited the qualities of acceptance was purposefully located precariously and vertiginously, somewhere between a state of becoming and a state of being, a magical place both in the self and in the group where natural and acquired qualities were said to mix and to create an ineffable nobility of character. The tests that would unlock the impregnable fortress, but kept it closed to the many, worked in different ways. The derogation from nobility remained—a question not taken up in the book—powerful in France but had no purchase in England. There the middling ranks of society—principally the monied interest of jobbers and officeholders—penetrated the gilded antechambers of the aristocracy and became one with them by adopting their manners, while reducing, but not extinguishing altogether, the remnants of those ethical constraints that were to be found in notions of etiquette. Similarly, the French monarchy's claims to absolutism lasted longer and had devastating effects on the ideological and financial solidarity of the aristocracy. In England, the relatively greater social openness preserved the aristocracy from political extinction. There, it might be said, *je ne sais quoi* did not stifle ambition, because the range of admissible marks of merit was greater. As Arditi recognizes, England's aristocratic ethos, although challenged, proved to be deftly adaptive, and the monarchy, too, survived. Thus, in attenuated fashion, allegiance to the monarch existed side by side with what Arditi calls concentric circles of power through which individuals measured themselves by inspecting, respecting, and refusing to respect others.

Arditi's insights are valuable, but his book must be read with caution. It rests at times too heavily on sources that do not pick up on the great economic changes that were transforming the social landscape of France and England. Whatever the differences between the two countries, manners were increasingly fashioned and polished by the new values of commerce. The new ethos brought into play a new style of luxury that, to be sure, disturbed some moralists but posed a more radical challenge to others, who took longer strides toward the freeing of morals from manners, or those who went even further and declared that they could not be easily, or indeed, could hardly be distinguished from each other.

HARVEY MITCHELL
EMERITUS
University of British Columbia

JAMES S. AMELANG. *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998. Pp. 497. $60.00.

Memoirs, diaries, *livres de famille*, travel accounts, personal chronicles, epistolary self-narratives, personalized ledgers and account books, autobiographies both spiritual and secular: the Germans call them all *Ego-Dokumente*, a handy term for a varied assortment of literary forms that incorporate "the first-person expression of personal experience" (p. 14). For felicity and convenience, and with qualification, James S. Amelang calls them all "autobiography." Amelang surveys the "popular" autobiographies from the early modern period that have survived and made their way into print. These are the first-person writings of artisans, chiefly, but also of peasants and peddlers, servants and washerwomen; Amelang opts for a vague but inclusive definition of "popular." Taken individually, they are among the most colorful, concrete, intimate, and idiosyncratic sources available to social and cultural historians. Taking them en masse, however, Amelang has produced a surprisingly colorless, anodyne study.

This is not for lack of argument. Amelang makes a sustained case against scholars who, defining autobiography narrowly, see it as coming into being almost *ex nihilo* in the late eighteenth century with the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the German Romantics. Early modern popular authors, Amelang shows, made crucial "contributions to the emergence of a modern discourse of the self" (p. 236). More radically and more convincingly, if a bit inconsistently, Amelang argues against the adoption of such a teleological perspective in the first place. Working at the fuzzy

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

border between cultural history and literary studies, studying artisan-produced texts *as* texts, Amelang displays great methodological sophistication.

Amelang's chief argument, however, concerns the specific nature of popular, as opposed to elite, autobiographical writing. Precisely because writing was not viewed as a "normal" activity for non-elites, it had special valence for those common folk who did take it up. Some wrote consciously as "a transformative strategy" that would enable them "to cross social as well as cultural boundaries" (p. 48): as a path to social advancement, in other words. For others, displacement was an unintended, unsettling fact. All found writing "an intense and ambiguous experience" (p. 48), one that sharpened their sense of being outsiders vis-à-vis the literary culture of the elites and at the same time made them outsiders vis-à-vis the culture of their peers, who did not generally engage in literary self-expression. As a violation of convention, popular autobiographical writing was in itself, then, a creative, original, self-assertive act. Direct comparisons between popular and elite autobiography would have helped to clinch this line of argument. Since Amelang wishes to extend it to the autobiographical writing of all "subaltern" groups, a sustained comparison between artisan autobiographies and those by women and ethnic minorities would have been appropriate as well. As it is, Amelang's extensive list of sources—his appendix, a useful reference tool, lists over two hundred different authors—includes a couple dozen works by women and a few slave narratives, but they receive no separate treatment. Amelang does note that, unlike women and slaves, most male artisans enjoyed full citizenship in their communities—a position that legitimized certain authorial roles they commonly adopted, such as that of chronicler.

Having put his finger on the existential dilemma of popular autobiographical authorship, Amelang uses it effectively to explain some common characteristics of the genre. Artisan autobiographers recount with special emphasis the "moment and means of [their] acquiring literacy" (p. 118); are silent about their work lives; make ostentatious claim to eyewitness status when relating public events; strategically adopt a plain, straightforward writing style; express alienation and a penchant for solitude; fall frequently into didacticism; present their writing as an imposed duty or an act of pragmatism; and tend toward religious and social radicalism. These generalizations—each of which applies to many cases, none to all—serve as the organizing principles for Amelang's book. Each is supported by snippets, briefly discussed, from a large number of autobiographies, while over the course of the book dozens of autobiographies are cited repeatedly. Such cutting and pasting makes for a convincing but tedious analysis. So does the careful qualification, however necessary, that accompanies each generalization, and Amelang's tendency toward repetition and self-reference.

One work, though, is cited far more often than any other: the personal chronicle of Miquel Parets, master tanner in seventeenth-century Barcelona. In fact, Amelang conceives of his book not as an overview pure and simple but as a hybrid in which careful analysis of this single work (which Amelang edited for publication in 1991) provides a path through broader terrain. Only in chapter four, however, does Amelang focus on Parets enough to break the flow of staccato source citations. Amelang reconstructs the social networks within which Parets lived and wrote, in an effort to show how even autobiography, ostensibly the most individual and asocial form of writing, was a thoroughly social practice. The point is well taken, but much of the detail here does not speak directly to it, and the chapter fits poorly into the rest of the book.

Amelang's title aptly captures the author's basic interpretation of popular autobiography as an act of daring. It was not, however, a metaphor used by popular autobiographers for their own activity; rather, inserted into Parets's text by a translator, it was "a self-image imposed from without" (p. 164). Amelang's use of it captures something essential about his book, which is sophisticated and insightful. Like a blender, though, it processes and purees sources better eaten raw.

BENJAMIN J. KAPLAN
University of Iowa

MICHEL BLAY. *Reasoning with the Infinite: From the Closed World to the Mathematical Universe*. Translated by M. B. DEBEVOISE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1998. Pp. x, 216. $30.00.

Michel Blay's play on the title of Alexandre Koyré's celebrated work in the history of ideas, *From the Closed World to the Infinite Universe* (1957), indicates something of the scope and ambition of his undertaking. Koyré was largely concerned to trace what was conceived as the transition toward humans' increasingly accurate knowledge of the real nature of the physical world and their place in it. Discussing many of the same thinkers, Blay offers a more technically detailed account of a rather different kind of change: one in the human understanding of what such knowledge could be, of its limits and purpose. In no small way, then, Blay questions the very premises of a project such as that pursued in Koyré's book, for what is important to Blay is how constructive scientific techniques actually changed the very goals that science could be thought to have.

Science's early goals were most clearly detailed by Galileo Galilei and René Descartes, for whom "it is plain" that "Euclidian geometry was not only the model of the deductive organization of all well-founded knowledge but also, and above all, the means by which the nature of things could really be grasped and comprehended" (p. 3). Blay observes that goals have now shifted so that no longer does "a mathematical science of nature" want to know the nature of things via geometry, but is a project "that consists at

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

best in constructing a coherent set of axioms, principles, and concepts from which certain conclusions or deductions may be compared with experience." The "initial onto-geometrical purpose" has yielded to one of constructing a mathematically intelligible domain "governed by quantitative laws which can be exploited for the purpose of predicting the course of nature by means of mathematical reason, thus ensuring the domination of nature by mathematical reason." A simultaneous aim is to present "in an ordered fashion the set of theorems, propositions, and results that one has managed to establish" (p. 3). The how of scientific knowledge matters as much as its what, while the actuality of the latter is the degree of its utility, predictability, and manipulability. (I may add, here, that this was in fact exactly what Descartes said in restating his "method" in the sixth part of the *Discours de la méthode* [1637].)

Blay masterfully explores how the first of these ideals yielded to the second. It did so principally as a result of explorations in the physics of motion and, ultimately, as a result of the development of infinitesimal calculus. Questions dealing with the origin and end of motion, their geometrical accounting, continuity, and discontinuity, understanding the sum of a motion's velocities and others required in common that one deal "with the infinite" (p. 5). Doing so changed conceptions not just of the world but of what knowledge about it was possible. Important figures along the way include Johannes Kepler, Christiaan Huygens (who abandoned the infinite in his treatment of motion), Isaac Newton (whose work first showed "an unprecedented requirement of mathematicity" [p. 52]), Evangelista Torricelli, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Pierre Varignon, Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle, and of course many others. Descartes's, Leibniz's, and then Varignon's reduction of different kinds of magnitude to moments in a single continuum enabled both development of a calculational algorithm and passage from "the domain of experimental physics into that of mathematical physics" (p. 83). Blay calls this "treatment of the evolution of motion . . . a daring theoretical choice" that was by no means inevitable (p. 97). It was one that enabled satisfaction of "the requirement of total mathematicity" (p. 107).

This achievement, which allowed "the science of motion [to] be reduced to problems of calculation subject to strict rules" (p. 119), "construction of algorithms, reduction of problems to simple analytical techniques, calculations of all kinds" such that the issue became that of "obtaining, and rigorously manipulating, *rules* and *formulas*" (pp. 129–30) and of the system's "internal coherence" (p. 137), bore with it the corollary that it no longer had to do with any Galilean longing for true knowledge of nature. As Fontenelle argued, "metaphysical infinity," one concerned with the ontological status of the world and humans' place in it, could only differ utterly from mathematical infinity (p. 151). The original goal of mathematical physics to "affirm itself in completing the knowledge of the world, vanished in the stubborn search for formulas that could serve as points of departure for algorithmic calculation" (p. 155). But as the French mathematician Joseph Hoëné de Wronski (1776–1853) argued, in distinguishing the finite comprehensible object of knowledge from the infinite as entirely an objective of reason, this science provided and still provides the foundational analysis and questioning of science itself (pp. 157–59, 162).

TIMOTHY J. REISS
New York University

DAVID DUTTON. *The Politics of Diplomacy: Britain and France in the Balkans in the First World War*. (The International Library of Historical Studies, number 13.) London: I. B. Tauris; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1998. Pp. 248. $59.50.

David Dutton explains why, at a time of heavy losses on the Western Front during World War I, France and England committed 300,000 troops to a Balkan campaign. Dutton finds that the Balkan campaign was deeply enmeshed in French domestic politics. He focuses specifically on General Maurice Sarrail as a means to understand how French domestic politics shaped the Balkan campaign. Sarrail, who had played a critical role in 1914 at the Battle of the Marne, was France's most politically powerful general during the first three years of the war. He had the support of left-wing politicians. When Commander in Chief Joseph Joffre relieved Sarrail of his command in July 1915, left-wing politicians threatened to disrupt the wartime political truce, the *union sacrée*, unless Sarrail were given a prominent command. These demands came just as the Serbs were retreating in the southern Balkans. The government of René Viviani immediately appointed the recently cashiered Sarrail as commander of the Eastern Army. His mission was to sail to Salonika, Greece, a neutral country with a pro-German king, and to save the Serbs. Sarrail arrived too late to help the Serbs. In late 1915, London and Paris had to decide the role of the Eastern Army.

Joffre had bitterly opposed the sending of troops to Salonika. Nevertheless, the Viviani government, reasserting civilian control over the high command, forced Joffre to send troops to the Balkans. But Joffre had to do more if he wanted to keep his position. Both Viviani and his successor, Aristide Briand, demanded that Joffre convince the British high command, which vociferously opposed a Balkan campaign, to send troops to Salonika. Joffre told the British that even though Sarrail's attempt to save Serbia had failed, the Eastern Army could fulfill two important goals in 1916: keep Bulgarian, Austrian, and German troops bogged down in Macedonia, and convince neutral Rumania to join the Entente. England agreed to send troops to the Balkans, but only enough to ensure that Sarrail could hold Salonika. London feared that if Sarrail were to suffer a defeat, political instability would ensue in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Paris. Frequent instability could lead France to seek a separate peace with Germany.

Dutton believes that there was another reason why France supported a Balkan campaign in 1916 and in 1917, even though there was scant chance of breaking through enemy lines. Dutton presents documents that reveal that Sarrail and his agents encouraged trade between France and Macedonia, with the hope of giving France a postwar commercial advantage. Dutton concludes from these documents that France was using its military occupation of Salonika to create a protectorate over Greece, one that would assure postwar France an exclusive market for its goods. Sarrail was the "leading architect" in building a "French empire" (p. 158) in Greece.

I have reservations about Dutton's argument concerning France's intentions in Greece. If Sarrail wanted France to have postwar economic and political control over Greece, one would assume that he would want a weak and divided Greece. But Sarrail wanted a strong, united Greece, one led by the ententist and former prime minister, Eleutherios Venizelos. This is why Sarrail protected the Venizelists against the pro-German royalists, a protection that assured that once King Constantine had been deposed in 1917, Greece would join the allies. The popular nationalist Venizelos, who believed in a "Greater Greece," would never have been France's puppet.

There is also the question of sources and documentation. For example, Dutton states that the clearest evaluation of France's aims in the Balkans comes not from French sources but from the Francophobe Compton Mackenzie, chief of British Intelligence in Greece. Dutton quotes Mackenzie's assessment of his French counterpart, Henri de Roquefeuil: Roquefeuil's goal "was to make Greece the halfway house to French domination of the Levant" (p. 146). The Roquefeuil files at the Naval Archives at Vincennes could possibly shed light on this provocative statement. Unfortunately, these were not consulted.

Dutton recognizes that "deficiencies" (p. 148) in the French archival collections are an impediment to a full understanding of France's long-term goals in Greece. He acknowledges that during the war "no coherent and precise governmental policy ever seems to have emerged" (p. 166) on the question of French postwar plans for Greece. French war aims emerged "more from a ferment of ideas" (p. 149) among politicians, businessmen, and military officers "than from a set of agreed policies" (p. 149) at the cabinet level. Dutton readily admits that this lack of documentation "poses problems for the historian" (p. 149). I agree.

JAN KARL TANENBAUM
Florida State University

ANDREW MORAVCSIK. *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht.* (Cornell Studies in Political Economy.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 514. $22.50.

Andrew Moravcsik, a political scientist, has produced a book that few historians working today would have dared write and fewer still could have accomplished. It is the most important work in the field since Alan Milward's *The Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1945–1951* (1984) and the most ambitious interpretation of its subject yet written.

Moravcsik asks, and persuasively answers, the most basic question about European integration: why have Western European states agreed to give supranational institutions ever wider powers to control their external economic relations and, to a large degree, their internal economic policies? Not, Moravcsik argues, because they were told to do so by farseeing technocrats like Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman. Nor did they act in response to geopolitical pressures, in which the Cold War served to galvanize European unity. Nor, finally, was integration the result of a "spillover" from small agreements over coal and steel production or atomic energy to broader, more ambitious treaties. European states surrendered national control over economic policy because they believed, paradoxically, that to do so would serve their national interests. European integration was driven by considerations of national advantage and economic interest.

To make his case, Moravcsik examines not just the origins of the 1957 Treaty of Rome—the founding document of the European Economic Community (EEC)—but four other major episodes in the history of European integration: the shaping of the Common Market in the 1960s, the negotiation of the European Monetary System in the 1970s and 1980s, the Single European Act of 1986, and the Maastricht Treaty of 1991 that framed the European Union (EU). In each case, he argues that national economic interests drove policymakers toward agreement and that geopolitical factors, such as French efforts to assert grandeur in the Gaullist period or British efforts to counter a Franco-German alliance, were only secondary concerns.

This leads to new interpretations. For example, Moravcsik rejects the view that the Suez Crisis of 1956 contributed to the Franco-German agreement for a customs union—what would become the EEC—in favor of a strictly economic interpretation that sees French economic elites as moving gradually away from a policy of protection toward one of trade liberalization and modernization. More surprising is his treatment of Charles de Gaulle's policy toward the EEC. In 1963, de Gaulle vetoed Britain's application to join the EEC. He did so, claims Moravcsik, not because of his commitment to French grandeur and his desire to promote a Franco-German strategic duopoly in Europe but to bolster French agriculture. With Britain in the EEC, de Gaulle could never secure European agreement to the Common Agricultural Policy, whose massive subsidies he believed were vital for French agricultural modernization. Moravcsik presses the argument into the 1980s: the Single Europe Act reflected a renewed appreciation by key European leaders that technological and industrial competition with the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

United States could only be maintained through the creation of a single market. Finally, the progress in the early 1990s toward a single currency and a European Central Bank, he argues, was driven by German desires to expand trade and increase capital mobility in Europe while maintaining low inflation; it did not derive from France's geopolitical concerns about a united Germany.

Moravcsik has returned economics to the forefront of the history of European integration. He has mastered a vast, multilingual secondary literature (though he draws on fewer primary sources). He courageously challenges the conventional wisdom on virtually every issue, and succeeds in debunking the tired claims of the memoirists that a handful of internationalist technocrats created the new Europe. Moravcsik shows that the EU has not weakened or superseded the nation-state; on the contrary, the EU was designed to serve the interests of competing, dynamic national economies in Europe.

Moravcsik at times overstates his argument in placing economic priorities above political-strategic objectives when it is often impossible to separate these two motive forces. Why did the French governments in 1956–1958 support trade liberalization? They did so as part of an overall reassessment of the bases of French power that took place in the last years of the Fourth Republic. In 1956, France was in its twelfth year of colonial war, searching for a strategy that looked beyond the timeworn ideology of imperial preference and protection and toward one of European integration, alliance solidarity, and nuclear independence. Why did de Gaulle seek to bolster French agriculture in the 1960s? Because he sought a parallel in agriculture to the industrial modernization undertaken by the Fourth Republic, believing that a strong economy assured global influence. And considering the Single Europe Act, can we not see Europe's concern over its fading global economic competitiveness in the mid-1980s as an issue both of economic and strategic importance?

The German experience makes this point. Chancellors from Konrad Adenauer to Helmut Kohl carefully balanced strategic and economic imperatives, giving equal weight to both during the Cold War and even restraining their economic objectives for the sake of alliance solidarity and especially relations with France. Moravcsik sometimes projects his own rational and calculated analysis onto the policy makers themselves, who may have cherished subtlety and flexibility over consistency. Diplomacy rarely offers stark choices and neat delineations. Rather than separate geopolitics from economics, historians of contemporary Europe—like the policy makers they study—must work to integrate these two elements into a common narrative.

WILLIAM I. HITCHCOCK
Wellesley College

STEPHEN ALFORD. *The Early Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis, 1558–1569.* (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 271. $59.95.

In the first decade of Elizabethan rule, the government faced two pressing and closely related problems: the need for a workable religious settlement and a foreign policy to treat the threat of Mary Stuart. To engage effectively with both problems, it was expected that the queen would resolve the matter of the English succession by marrying promptly and producing an heir. The difficulty, however, was that Elizabeth would not cooperate. This, then, is the familiar context for Stephen Alford's study of the precarious nature of the early Elizabethan polity and of William Cecil's role in dealing with Parliament, the Privy Council, the queen, and the Scots. His conclusion, in brief, is that the survival of Elizabeth and Protestant England through that first problematic decade was owed in large measure to Cecil's skills.

Alford's study brings together several strains of recent Elizabethan scholarship, most particularly the conceptualization by Patrick Collinson of "monarchical republicanism" and the work of Alford's mentor, John Guy, on the Tudor culture of counsel. Alford's contention is that Cecil was far from being the conservative and unimaginative administrator of Conyers Read's *Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth* (1955). Rather, he was an activist in the cause of preserving English Protestantism, containing and controlling the Scottish queen, contemplating domestic policies in a wider British and European dimension, and providing for a conciliar interregnum in the event of Elizabeth's sudden death without any prior arrangement having been made for her successor. Alford, however, is less certain about whether he wants to characterize Cecil as a radical. He locates Cecil at the center of the "radicalization of British and domestic politics in the 1560s" (p. 209); but without sacrificing his portrayal of the secretary as politically innovative, he is equally intent upon defining him as a constitutional conservative. "Cecil," he says, "was an instinctive conciliarist . . . part of a political tradition which emphasized the role of parliament and Council in the governance of the realm" (p. 210).

The commitment to a pervasive culture of counsel leads Alford to dismiss any suggestion of divisiveness in the Privy Council. Where earlier historians have seen factionalism, Alford sees only the give and take of divergent opinions. At most, in important matters of policy, he concedes the existence of occasional disagreements over strategy. The most striking example of this analytical frame is his contention that, in the matter of the proposed marriage of Mary Stuart to the duke of Norfolk, the major players all had the same goal in prospect: the security of the English Protestant state. Alford, who takes issue with the view of Norfolk as a Catholic conspirator, sees him instead as a religious conservative who, like Cecil, was seeking a solution to the threat posed by the Scottish queen.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Their differences lay not in a dispute about the desired outcome but in a disagreement about how best to approach the problem. "If Cecil's ideal for Britain was Protestant, bound by treaty, and ultimately imperial, then perhaps Norfolk's was equally reformed, united by dynasty, and medieval in principle" (p. 203). Cecil's preferred solution was diplomatic, a treaty with Scotland; Norfolk's was dynastic, a Howard-Stuart marriage. The purpose of both was to control Mary.

Alford has written a very useful book, one that exploits the voluminous Cecil archive with intelligence and a scrupulous commitment to detail. He is, moreover, persuasive on the point of Cecil's activism and willingness to lead in areas that he hoped Elizabeth would follow, notably "in pushing the [religious] settlement as far as it could go" (p. 218). Nonetheless, he may have ventured too far in his embrace of the culture of counsel. The danger in that seductive construct is that it either obscures or denies the possibility of faction or opposition. Any suggestion of friction between individual councilors, between queen and Council, or between queen and Parliament, is all too easily explained—and thereby dismissed—by evoking the humanist-classical model of politics. What we are told we are witnessing is not conflict but a healthy exchange of ideas in a collective pursuit of the common good. Of course, to speak of opposition in Tudor and early Stuart historiography has long gone out of fashion, but occasionally it may still be necessary. One may be permitted to wonder whether the effort to explain the politics of succession in the language of counsel does a disservice to the proto-radicalism of those who refused to be stilled. As Alford has demonstrated, there were some, Cecil included, who were prepared to challenge the queen's insistence that such matters were in the province of the sovereign, and thereby to trespass dangerously upon the prerogative.

HOWARD NENNER
Smith College

ROBERT TITTLER. *The Reformation and the Towns in England: Politics and Political Culture, c. 1540–1640.* New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1998. Pp. x, 395. $95.00.

This is an important book. It is well-researched and lucidly written, and although its conclusions are judicious and never overstated, it presents a powerful revisionist thesis. Traditionally, the Reformation has been seen as having a largely negative impact on English towns. Most of the ecclesiastical properties that came onto the market as a result of the Henrician dissolutions, it is usually thought, were acquired by the aristocracy and gentry, who were thereby able to exert more control over urban communities than ever before. Moreover, towns became impoverished as a result of the loss of economic activity generated by the old monastic institutions, chantries, and fraternities, while promises to refound those social institutions that had previously operated under ecclesiastical control were seldom fulfilled. Robert Tittler accepts that the dissolutions propelled small towns—those with one-dimensional economies and political structures dominated by a monastery or abbey—into a sudden and prolonged crisis. But the effects on more substantial provincial towns (London, it should be said, is excluded from the study) were more complex and often beneficial. We have to distinguish, Tittler shows us, between the first and second wave of dissolutions, as well as between initial and subsequent purchasers. Towns were less interested in the properties of the religious houses that came under attack in the late 1530s than they were in those belonging to the chantries, guilds, fraternities, and associated institutions that suffered in the late 1540s. And although even middling and large-size towns might lack the financial resources to make immediate purchases, they were often able to acquire former ecclesiastical properties when they came onto the market a second or third time. The ramifications were wide-ranging and justify seeing the era beginning around 1540 as a major watershed in English urban history.

After an introductory part one, part two of Tittler's study examines how the more substantial towns were able to acquire former ecclesiastical properties and assesses the material implications. Various strategies of acquisition were deployed, from the dubious practices of preemptive seizure and concealment to legal devices such as litigation, enfeoffment to uses, and incorporation by charter. The new acquisitions not only provided new sources of revenue but also gave urban authorities more control over local resources, enabling them to refound educational and charitable institutions that had suffered as a result of the dissolutions under a civic aegis and to address some of the pressing social problems of the age associated with poverty, crime, and rootlessness. Parts three and four, which for me are the most interesting sections of the book, explore the political and cultural implications of the changes wrought by the Reformation. Rather than losing out to agrarian interests, middling and larger towns were able to secure a greater degree of political autonomy. The rash of incorporations led to a strengthening of indigenous institutions, and town government became both more expansive and more sophisticated, evidenced, among other things, by the proliferation of municipal officials and advances in record-keeping. These developments, however, were also accompanied by a trend toward oligarchy, as the major offices came to be dominated by a narrower ruling elite whose members had the time, expertise, and connections necessary to take on the increased burdens of civic government. On the cultural side, Tittler shows how architecture, portraiture, the chronicling of town histories, and the promotion of civic ceremony enabled these new urban oligarchs to elicit deference and support for their rule as well as encourage a sense of civic pride in the very altered ideological and institutional context of the post-Reformation era.

The book is really about "the Age of the Reforma-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion in English Urban History," as Tittler himself concedes. An argument could be made that it was not so much the Reformation itself which made this era a watershed for English towns but rather the ways in which urban leaders responded to the demographic and socioeconomic pressures of the time, even if the nature of their response was crucially conditioned by the Henrician dissolutions. I also thought that the book would have benefited from the inclusion of photographs of some of the town halls, portraits, and other artifacts that Tittler tells us can still be seen today. Nevertheless, this is an invaluable contribution to both urban and Reformation studies that will have a powerful historiographical impact.

TIM HARRIS
Brown University

MURIEL C. MCCLENDON. *The Quiet Reformation: Magistrates and the Emergence of Protestantism in Tudor Norwich*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 340. $55.00.

Whereas historians of the German Reformation perforce began with the towns, historians looking at the Reformation in England have, with some notable exceptions, only recently begun to study the towns in great detail. Indeed, in the English case religious historians also have some distance to catch up on economic and social historians of the early modern town. It is one of the many strengths of this clearly written, persuasively argued, and scholarly monograph that Muriel C. McClendon places religious developments in Norwich firmly in their economic and social context. This is also one of the few recent studies to focus squarely on the role of municipal government rather than on the actions of self-appointed leaders or on institutional or cultural aspects of change. McClendon has used Norwich's contemporary collections of legal precedents, the mayor's court records, and probate and other materials to reconstruct who the aldermen of Norwich were from 1517 to 1603 and what their collective responses were to the challenges thrown up by the advent of Protestantism. From these responses, and the preambles and contents of their wills, she has also tried to deduce their religious views and motives for acting. McClendon concludes that while "Norwich's magistrates were religiously divided during most of the sixteenth century . . . there is no evidence that they split into factions along religious lines, nor did they attempt to impose religious uniformity on the city" (p. 10). Norwich's was a "quiet" reformation, not because the magistrates were disinterested in religion but because they apparently believed that permitting a measure of diversity was the best way of maintaining civic autonomy and authority (as Robert W. Scribner, many years ago, found was the case in Erfurt, Germany).

In successive chapters, McClendon takes the story from pre-Reformation times to the end of Elizabeth's reign and shows how consistently slow the magistrates were to follow central directives, how ready they were to modify or reinvent rather than abandon established urban rituals, and how rarely they took decisive action against religious dissidents. When they did take action, it was usually because they felt forced to do so, for fear of outside intervention (from which Norwich had suffered in the recent past) or because of complaints brought by local figures or direct challenges from self-proclaimed dissidents. The punishments they meted out were either mere rebukes or short-term prison sentences or temporary loss of privileges. The one area in which the Norwich aldermen actively took the initiative themselves was after 1559, in their treatment of the poor, vagrancy, theft, sexual misconduct, and "evil rule"—an initiative attributed to the Protestant complexion of the magistracy by the early 1560s, reinforced later by the growing influence of the "godly" in the 1570s. The author acknowledges the problems posed by her materials: the mayor's court records are often tantalizingly incomplete or ambiguous; and wills as a source can be equally problematic or downright vague. But within these limits and McClendon's chosen parameters (it is not clear, for example, why the magistrates' attitudes to acquiring former ecclesiastical property and their relations with the city clergy are not explored in more detail), this monograph offers a generally convincing interpretation of events and a modestly worded corrective to Patrick Collinson's view of Norwich as a paradigm of urban Puritanism from an early stage.

Readers of this volume should supplement its findings by those of the contributors to *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500–1640*, edited by Collinson and John Craig (1998) and Robert Tittler's *The Reformation and the Towns in England* (1998), which presumably came out while McClendon's book was in press. From these they will learn that citizens of different persuasions acting together for what they perceived as the greater good of the town was not quite as unique to Norwich as McClendon suggests. And in Christopher W. Marsh's *The Family of Love in English Society, 1550–1630* (1994), they will find a clear example of religious coexistence in a rural community not many miles away from Norwich. I also wondered whether the campaign for "reformation of manners" after 1559 can be attributed rather more to a new set of magistrates wanting to exert control over the majority of the population after a period of rapid change and disruption than to the doctrinal dictates of Protestantism. But these are minor cavils: this study is to be welcomed as an original and most informative contribution to the ongoing debate about the nature and impact of the English Reformation.

IAN GREEN
Queen's University, Belfast

DANIEL C. BEAVER. *Parish Communities and Religious Conflict in the Vale of Gloucester, 1590–1690*. (Harvard

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Historical Studies, number 129.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 462. $49.50.

As Daniel C. Beaver explains, his book sets out to "explore the religion of the parish in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the complex phenomenon Patrick Collinson has described as 'the religion of Protestants in its social setting'" (p. 5). Beaver's study focuses on a small group of a dozen or so parishes around the Gloucestershire market town of Tewkesbury—a district helpfully delineated in the sketch-map that accompanies the book—and is based on intensive research in both local and national archives. The first part of the book provides the reader with a richly detailed portrait of social life in the Vale during the early modern period. Beaver then goes on to examine the subject that intrigues him most: the way in which the cohesion of traditional parish communities gradually broke down during the seventeenth century in the face of increasing religious diversity. Throughout the period 1590–1630, Beaver argues, a precarious religious balance was maintained in the Vale, as the ecclesiastical hierarchy and local governors cooperated in the enforcement of a church discipline—described here, rather confusingly, as "conformist puritanism," or "mere puritanism"—to which all but Catholics and extreme nonconformists could subscribe. Yet following Archbishop Laud's metropolitical visitation of 1635, this situation began to change. According to Beaver, local alarm at Laud's perceived ceremonialism "narrowed the distance between prayer-book sabbatarianism and nonconformity in the Vale" and caused the district's dominant religious "style" to develop into a much "hotter sort of protestantism" (pp. 187, 193). This in turn led to the emergence of an opposing, conservative faction, committed to a religious style that Beaver labels "ceremonial conformity," and by the early 1640s, the stage had been set for civil war.

The conflict between king and Parliament had a devastating effect on Tewkesbury and the surrounding parishes. Because the town commanded the only ford of the River Avon between Gloucester and Worcester, it was constantly fought over by the rival armies, and as early as May 1643, a local man lamented that Tewkesbury had already "been won and lost some five or six times, which will be to the utter ruin of the town and countries thereabouts" (p. 214). Initially, Tewkesbury appears to have favored the Parliamentary cause, but the threat of imminent Royalist occupation prompted an exodus of local Parliamentary supporters and their families—five boatloads of refugees sailed down the river in order to seek sanctuary in the Roundhead garrison at Gloucester in February 1643—and thereafter partisan commitment in the town became much less evident. Over the next three years, the local community suffered terribly at the hands of a series of unscrupulous military commanders, while the townsfolk were forced to provide quarter for "outsiders" of all sorts (including large numbers of Welsh Royalist soldiers who, as Beaver notes in a revealing aside, were described as "little more than animals" in local records [p. 201]).

Few in the Vale appear to have mourned the eventual defeat of the king's armies. Yet even if the majority of the district's inhabitants had sided with Parliament during the conflict, a sizeable minority had not, and the bitter feuds engendered during the Civil War were to divide local society for decades to come. Nowhere were these divisions more acute, according to Beaver, than in the sphere of religion. The dissolution of the diocesan hierarchy, which had formerly exerted a unifying discipline over the parishes of the Vale, permitted religious divisions to expand unchecked, and during the 1640s and 1650s this process, fueled by political conflict, continued apace until it had shattered the unity of the traditional, territorial parish communities of the district forever. Many had now come to "define spiritual fellowship not in terms of common residence . . . but in terms of sympathy of conscience," Beaver concludes, and as a result, "religious community and locality had ceased to be synonymous" as sources of identity in the region (p. 325). This is a thought-provoking and scholarly book that sheds much new light on the ways in which English provincial communities imagined themselves during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

MARK STOYLE
University of Southampton

ADRIANA MCCREA. *Constant Minds: Political Virtue and the Lipsian Paradigm in England, 1584–1650.* (The Mental and Cultural World of Tudor and Stuart England.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1997. Pp. xxxi, 342. $65.00.

Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) "sought to preserve the humanist tradition to which he belonged" (p. xxv), and the means of this preservation, writes Adriana McCrea, was a distinctive neostoicism "predicated on Lipsius's assertion of the value of learning and demonstrated by recourse to classical texts" (p. 3). This seems at once important and circular, but in truth McCrea is less concerned with Lipsius's contributions to classical scholarship in the wake of the Dutch revolt than with the presence of certain themes in the writings of Sir Walter Ralegh, Francis Bacon, Fulke Greville, Ben Jonson, and Joseph Hall. The *constantia* of Lipsius's *De constantia libri duo* (1584) and the *prudentia mixta* of his *Politicorum sive civilis doctrinae libri sex* (1589) are said to define a "paradigm," and McCrea's purpose is to study five Englishmen "in terms of the Lipsian paradigm," a "context [that] illustrates how individual authors promoted distinctive versions of political virtue that are best illustrated with reference to a Lipsian paradigm" (p. xxvii). If this, too, seems circular, it must be said that McCrea offers less in the way of powerful arguments than facts, guesses, and second-hand impressions held together by several interesting personalities.

Bishop Hall in particular is a good subject for this

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sort of study, given his reputation as a "spiritual Seneca" and his attack on Seneca's famous editor in *Mundus alter et idem* (1605). Whether or not any of Hall's spiritual guides should be taken to "comprise . . . his alternative to the Lipsian paradigm" (pp. 180–82), it is clear that he needed to speak the language of neostoicism if he was to attack its ideas. McCrea is effective in describing the intellectual jealousy, careerism, and religious belief that led Hall to separate *constantia* from *De constantia*, cleanse it of anything that might annoy James I and the church establishment, and advise readers to control their passions "as wise Princes use, to those they misdoubt for faction, so holde them downe, and keepe them bare, that their very impotencie & remisnesse shall affoorde . . . security" (*Meditations and Vowes* [1605], quoted on p. 187). This was to turn the stoic paradox that only wise men are kings on its head, but such advice could offer little help after the "wise Princes" had been defeated by factionalists. Indeed, the "bishop of no place" outlived his authorities but not his sense of purpose, and so "came close to abiding by the original Lipsian teachings" in the 1640s and 1650s (p. 205).

Although McCrea does justice also to Greville, the other chapters suffer too much from analytical and stylistic problems that always threaten the integrity of the whole. Having been asked, for example, to digest the proposition that "Ralegh adhered to terms identifiable through the Lipsian paradigm, taking the entirety of history under his compass to find relevant lessons on virtue and warfare scattered throughout the magnitude of time," we are then served this non sequitur: "Thereby Ralegh contoured a peculiarly 'Raleghean paradigm,' which fit a specifically English context" (p. 66). Sometimes logic and rhetoric are strained; sometimes things are just wrong. McCrea claims that "Aristotle described the poet as an instructor to society"—he did not—and then appears to confuse Aristotle with Horace when she writes that Jonson, too, "sought to 'delight and teach'" (p. 144). Perhaps she has been misled by a famous passage in Sir Philip Sidney's *Defence of Poesie* (1595) that yokes Aristotelian *mimesis* to the Horatian tradition of *dulce et utile*, but it is unclear that she has first-hand knowledge of Sidney's text either. McCrea's carelessness with the Muses is not improved by eighty-one pages of endnotes that point us too often to secondary works not at all concerned with the "Lipsian paradigm."

Lipsius was extremely important, but the fact remains that *Politicorum sive civilis doctrinae libri sex* was less a work of original political thought than a very saleable compilation of doctrines. Its great range was no doubt a key to its success, although one gets little sense from McCrea that *prudentia mixta* is only one topic among the dozens treated. Lipsius edited Tacitus (1574) and Seneca (1605), composed an artful dialogue *De constantia* for living *in publicis malis*, and compiled his useful handbook on politics. These were just a few of the most successful projects of an astoundingly productive scholar. Lipsius himself worked within the "paradigm" of classical scholarship. He was a professional, and the amateurs treated by McCrea were bound to admire some aspects of his work and envy others. We need a book on Lipsius's whole work and life before we need another on his influence. Two requirements in its author will be facility in Renaissance Latin and a willingness to build arguments squarely upon primary documents—virtues that make Mark Morford's book, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (1991) so rich and Anthony Grafton's work on early modern scholarship so authoritative.

ANDREW SHIFFLETT
University of South Carolina

VICTOR TREADWELL. *Buckingham and Ireland, 1616–1628: A Study in Anglo-Irish Politics*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 1998. Pp. 443. $65.00.

At the heart of this book by Victor Treadwell is a minute investigation of the role of George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, in the New English aggrandizement in early seventeenth-century Ireland. Through his agency, a strong client party was intruded into the Irish administration, and, under the aegis of this Villiers connection, Buckingham's own extensive operations in landholding and commerce were surreptitiously developed. Treadwell adduces fascinating details of a ramifying network based upon entrepreneurial opportunism and propitious intermarriage. The latter feature was very important in the construction of a New English peerage centered on the duke and his family and strengthened through matrimonial ties with the older Irish, as well as English and Scottish, aristocracies. Buckingham himself was shaping up to become a major Anglo-Irish magnate, the title of "Prince of Tipperaria" being among those adumbrated for him. At the time of his assassination, he had clandestinely accumulated a portfolio of lands in Leitrim and Upper Ossory and was preparing to reveal himself as a major landholder in Ireland at the head of a landed faction. Essential to the spinning of a web of noble kinship was the promotion of continuous plantation in many parts of Ireland through a variety of stratagems. Treadwell's perspicacious discussion of this policy reveals the tension between the public interest in fostering English civility and Protestantism and the private drive toward quick profits.

It was in order to protect his multifaceted Irish enterprise and to cover its traces that Buckingham became involved in hampering the work of the Irish commissioners of 1622 and subsequently sabotaging a standing commission for the affairs of Ireland. The account of the setting up of the commission and the nomination of its members affords brilliant insights into the interconnectedness of English and Irish politics. Determined to make Ireland "live of her own," Lionel Cranfield, the earl of Middlesex, provided the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

momentum for the inquiry into all aspects of Irish administration, including finance. Treadwell superbly contextualizes the reforming program, which ultimately perished on the rocks of venality and corruption and led to its author's downfall, but tantalizing glimpses are caught of how it might have succeeded given the right conditions.

Against the backdrop of English foreign policy as the duke's career reached its apogee in the years 1624–1628, the negotiation of the Graces by the older elites of Ireland is considered within the milieu of Anglo-Irish politics. The convergence of the conciliation of Ireland's Catholic population, burgeoning Protestant patriotism, and English parliamentary anger is masterfully shown to have had a significant bearing on the passage of the Petition of Right. The intertwining of English and Irish discourse on the royal prerogative and the rule of law was particularly piquant, not just in 1628 but also in the period leading to the war of the three kingdoms in 1640–1641.

Although Treadwell's work is important in its placing of Ireland squarely within the process of "Britishization" which was under way during the period, there are ample riches here for the reader accustomed to "the more discrete conventional parameters of narrative national histories" (p. 19). The author's panoramic survey of political and social change in early modern Ireland is tellingly brought to bear on the period of Buckingham's engagement with Ireland. Most interesting in this respect perhaps is the painstaking reconstruction of the social and political ascent of the members of Villiers's connection in Ireland and the detection of the measures adopted to conceal the extent of the duke's own involvement.

This book makes a valuable contribution to scholarship on a number of levels. Within the new field of British history that looks at the composite monarchy of the early modern British Isles, this applied study notably advances our knowledge of the systems of court patronage and lobbying in respect of Ireland. And the history of early Stuart politics in England is broadened by the drawing in of a vital Irish dimension to explain crucial junctures in court-Parliament relations. All of this is achieved through Treadwell's formidable research, to whose monument of writings on Irish administrative history this volume and an edition of the 1622 Irish commission papers provide a capstone.

COLM LENNON
National University of Ireland, Maynooth

PAUL D. HALLIDAY. *Dismembering the Body Politic: Partisan Politics in England's Towns, 1650–1730.* (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xvii, 393. $69.95.

This ambitious new study sets out to highlight the emergence of "partisan politics" during England's civil wars and the "cycle of purge and counter purge" that followed. Paul D. Halliday follows Mark Kishlansky's dictum that "competition only became a regular part of English political life during the Civil War and the decades following" (p. 6). He argues that partisan politics originated less in Parliament than in the corporations governing around 200 of the towns of England. "The comprehension within many corporations of those who would later be known as occasional conformists, and even more so, the exclusion from the corporation of groups still politically potent, would keep alive the politics of partisan competition created in the Civil War years" (p. 105). Halliday concludes that "divisions flowed inward from the peripheries rather than the other way around" (p. 108).

The originality of this study lies in part in its emphasis on legal matters and, in particular, the study of the rarely used records of the Court of King's Bench, the body to which the corporations had legal resort in settling their differences. According to Halliday, the "rage of party" could be contained and limited by the operation of legal processes. He asserts that party in the seventeenth century suggested "a person or group involved in a legal action" (p. 24). Hundreds of legal actions in the courts, especially King's Bench, placed a brake on political partisanship. In other words, the law courts began to act as a means of adjudicating local disputes in corporate towns. Or to put that another way, people resorted to the protection of the sovereign and his law courts as a means of safeguarding local communities whose divisions were serious and growing ever more serious.

It is this fresh perspective that characterizes Halliday's book rather than any remarkable novelties in its narrative structure. He argues that James II's interference with the borough charters could not have worked because "when viewed from the corporations themselves, it becomes apparent how unfavourable conditions were for royal intervention of this sort" (p. 239). Royal intervention showed "disregard of the prejudices of England's urban leadership" and depended "heavily on alien agents of a suspect royal government," resting as it did on the efforts of men "with no natural place in local political life" (p. 239). I believe that Halliday tends to exaggerate the degree of urban, corporate opposition to James II. It was the very success of James II's policy that damaged the king's larger project of religious toleration. How much evidence of opposition was there in 1687 or even during the second half of 1688? Halliday certainly emphasizes corporate resistance but, as he admits, in thirty-six of the 103 cases where the king issued dismissal orders, he got it right the first time; in most of the others, it may have taken a second or a third try, but in the end the royal will was done (pp. 248–49) As he concedes, James's "ability to remove over 2,000 corporation members in less than a year, to name their replacements, and to pass dozens of new charters marks a singular bureaucratic achievement" (p. 261). It was the collapse of the king's will—not the extent of popular

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opposition—that led to the ultimate dismantling and reversal of his policy toward the corporations in October 1688.

Thereafter, political events reverted to their customary partisan character. "As dramatic as the events of 1688 had been, they did little to change the intensity, or even the content, of partisan conflict" (p. 302). Relatively few towns received new charters in the 1690s, which meant that most corporate partisan disputes continued to be settled by King's Bench. Partisan conflict continued up to and after 1714, and Halliday enthusiastically embraces the optimistic intepretation of early Hanoverian Toryism championed by Linda Colley, Nicholas Rogers, and Kathleen Wilson. The Tories may have lost out nationally in 1714, but in the corporate towns the Tory Party was still very much alive. Yet the "rage of party" did not lead to political instability. Many corporation members had life tenure of their offices, and six decades of court cases on *mandamus* had established the fact that corporate majorities could not lightly eject or purge members of the corporation. An Act of 1711 made *mandamus* more effectual and thus rendered it more difficult for members of a corporation to be removed. Partisan politics were here to stay.

Halliday's thesis is argued in a controlled and scholarly manner, and his volume will become a valued addition to the academic literature on this period. Can it be convincingly maintained, however, that "the experience of division, name calling and exclusion first became widespread in the 1640s and 1650s" (p. 18) without a detailed and exhaustive survey of earlier religious, dynastic, and political divisions? Furthermore, Halliday is surely successful in demonstrating that the law could indeed be used to limit and to contain local conflicts, but the kind of corporate conflict with which Halliday is concerned does not exhaust the varied types of political conflict that agitated local communities during this period.

Finally—and this is to be taken as an invitation to the author to flex his historiographical muscles a little further—I regret the absence of a thoroughly contextualized interpretation of party. Halliday remarks, for example, that "by the end of the 1670s, the frequency of contested mayoral elections increased dramatically" (p. 118). Furthermore, it is fascinating to be told that after 1660 the charters "granted a host of new privileges" to the corporations (p. 160) and "clarified and widened the powers exercised by individual towns" (p. 161). Yet there is no model of party development and no narrative of party fortunes within which such statements may be elucidated. Nevertheless, this is an invaluable account of relations between the crown and the corporations between 1650 and 1730, and it will remain the standard work on the subject for many years.

FRANK O'GORMAN
University of Manchester

TONY CLAYDON and IAN MCBRIDE, editors. *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c. 1650–c. 1850*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 317. $64.95.

This volume, edited by Tony Claydon and Ian McBride, represents the confluence of two recent trends in English historiography, both of which have received considerable attention in numerous recent monographs and essay collections. The first is the shift in interest from English to British history, and the second is the increasing emphasis on religion as a social and political force. The contributors seek to integrate the two trends by studying Protestantism and the emergence of national identities in Britain between about 1650 to around 1815 (although it is somewhat ironic that the collection appears at a moment when Britain seems to have lost its sense of national identity and the British state seems to be slouching inexorably toward its collapse).

The shadows of several historians lurk in the background of this volume. The foremost of these are Jonathan Clark and Linda Colley. In several works, Clark has argued that until 1832 England was a "confessional state," dominated by religious disputes and the hierarchical ideology of a state church. In *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (1992), Colley contended that Protestantism made the creation of the British state possible, serving as an ideological glue to unite England, Scotland, and Ireland through a century of conflict with France, despite serious national, regional, and local differences. Tudor and Stuart historians, such as Christopher Hill and Caroline Hibbard, oddly not mentioned in the collection, had previously recognized the power of religion for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Clark and Colley advanced it to the center stage for the eighteenth century.

The collection consists of an introduction by the editors and eleven essays. Colin Haydon analyzes the structure of anti-Catholicism in eighteenth-century England. Jeremy Black suggests that much could be gained by comparative analysis of other European states. Scott Mandelbrote discusses the production and dissemination of English Bibles to evangelize Celtic areas and pronounces the process a qualified success. Considering the question of a Scottish national identity, David Allan believes that it was probably the relentless historical undertow of Scottish Protestantism that did the most to create one. Ian McBride sees Protestantism playing a similar role in the forging of an Anglo-Irish identity. Kathleen Wilson explores contemporary reaction to the voyages of Captain Cook and early Protestant missionaries to the South Seas to add a new component to the spectrum of English national identity, the notion of England as an "island race," whose destiny was to impose a *Pax Britannica* on the rest of the world. John Wolffe concludes the collection by showing the survival of anti-Catholicism

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

beyond 1815 and its prevalence in the United States in the early nineteenth century.

One of the volume's virtues is that it has a place for dissident voices. Brian Young thinks that the Church of England was too divided to provide an ideological focus. Similarly, Toby Barnard contends that the everyday and elemental concerns of Irish provincials militated against the creation of the theories of nationality and ethnicity. Steve Pincus and Tim Harris express some doubts both about the power of Protestantism to create a national identity. Pincus, while conceding that religion was central to the English notion of nationhood, contends that late Stuart Englishmen had become wary of anti-Catholic crusades. Harris demonstrates that developments in Ireland and Scotland affected public opinion during the Exclusion Crisis, but he denies that a British identity existed at this time.

Overall, the volume is valuable for its demonstration that we cannot understand how British and Irish people perceived themselves or their national identities without considering their faith. The overall quality of the volume is quite high, and the essays of Pincus, Harris, and Wilson reveal sensitivity to the complexity of motivation in the events they analyze. The volume does point to one methodological problem that historians of religion and national identity must resolve at some point. There is a stark contrast between the essays of Allan and McBride, both of whom find plenty of evidence to support the view that Protestantism and anti-Catholicism assist in the creation of Scottish and Irish identities, and those of Young and Barnard, who see complexity. It appears to be equally easy to find both clear-cut evidence of the linkage of religion and national identity and at the same time assert that opinion is too diverse to comprise any clear sense of national identity.

But the most interesting conceptual issue in the collection is raised by Harris in his essay on religion and the British dimension under Charles II. Harris relates that, at the meeting where he delivered an early version of his essay, several scholars raised questions about the legitimacy of "British history." How much sense did it make to study British history for a period when there was as yet no British state, no British government, no sense of British identity? Will historians be reduced to writing histories of the interactions among England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland? And, why stop there? Why not also look at France, Spain, or the American colonies, areas that also had an impact on English policies? Finally, might a concentration on British history mark a return to the bygone days of the study of elites?

Harris does not attempt to answer these questions, though there are answers. Why should not scholars seek a British identity prior to the creation of a British state? Scholars have certainly sought an American colonial identity before the American Revolution or a German identity before Otto von Bismarck. To the objection that historians will be reduced to studying relations among Britain and other countries and Britain's colonies, one answer is that we already have plenty of such studies, especially of relations between Britain and the American colonies. To the objection that study of the British problem might be retrogressive, returning us to old-fashioned elite history, the answer surely is that if we have to study elites to discover the connections between religion, British identity and the British state, then that is what we have to study. If this be retrogression, make the most of it!

WILLIAM PALMER
Marshall University

COLIN PODMORE. *The Moravian Church in England, 1728–1760.* (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1998. Pp. xv, 332. $85.00.

Visiting England during the 1730s from their German base, Moravians were attracted by the prospect of missionary work in the British Empire. Indeed, they saw England as a staging-post for settlement in Georgia. However, the presence of various Moravian emissaries—including their leader/patron Count Nikolaus Zinzendorf—led to an English work. Initially, they became entwined in the nascent evangelical revival. Pace John Wesley's account, Colin Podmore sorts out the formation of the Fetter Lane Society in London in 1738. Although some "new birth" Anglican clergymen, including the Wesleys and George Whitefield, were participants, a schism developed in 1739, largely owing to Moravian rejection of field preaching and of Wesley's belief in Christian perfection.

Apart from differences tactical and theological, the strong personalities of Wesley and Zinzendorf militated against rapprochement, a point Podmore makes but does not develop. By 1744, Zinzendorf was referring to "the trackless wilds of Methodism" (p. 127). With his prompting, the Moravians increasingly attempted to forge a special link with the Church of England, facilitated by their refusal to proselytize in England. Their mission was to be to the "Heathens" in the outposts of the British Empire; to the Methodists, much of contemporary English life was heathen.

The Moravians established several communal settlements in England. Podmore explicitly, but unnecessarily, excludes discussing similar establishments in Wales and Ireland, producing a somewhat truncated picture: many Moravian leaders moved with frequency among all these settlements. He calls the Moravians the only international Protestant movement of the time. To the extent that is true, it is a pity that he limits his discussion so tightly to England. For example, there is nothing on their 1750s mission to Jamaica's slaves.

Moravian worship was remarkable, centered on allegorical illuminated pictures representing the movement's leaders—especially Zinzendorf—reclining in Christ's side-wound, or with Zinzendorf's hand inserted in that wound. The most distinctive Moravian feature was their image and description of a bloody

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and wounded Christ. "I cannot tell you how sweetly his peirced [sic] hands held me up, and his dear face and Heart bled on my face, and Heart" (p. 90). The Sacrament was the "eat[ing] and drink[ing] . . . the crucified, bleeding corpse of my Creator and Spouse," "a Conjugal penetration of our bloody husband." Moravians could greet one another "in the warm hot jowcy soft wounds of the Lamb" (p. 135). And (though Podmore does not mention it) love feasts could include the ceremonial entrance of a whole roast lamb on a platter, to which the faithful would sing praises to the Lamb before feeding on it.

Although one of its nine chapters devotes a few pages to such imagery, this book does not attempt a comprehensive history of early Moravian church life in England but focuses on its relations with various elements of English ecclesiastical and political life. Podmore tells an intricate story of the maneuvers adopted to obtain a privileged position in England (and empire). For complicated reasons, in 1749 Parliament recognized them as "an Antient Protestant Episcopal Church." This act allowed Moravians in America, now largely in Pennsylvania, to make payment in lieu of military service and in the British Isles and America to affirm rather than to swear oaths.

Within a few years, however, Moravianism in England was under attack. Not the least cause for this volte-face was the revelation that they were in breathtaking debt—to the tune of perhaps £9,000,000, or $14,000,000 at today's values. To foster their distinctive taste for art, music, and colorful celebration, elaborate facilities had been built. Zinzendorf was "aristocratic in his attitude to money; to count the cost . . . was not in his nature" (p. 152). This heroically scaled extravagance was displayed in Lindsey House, a grand London mansion that served as his residence and headquarters. A prodigious amount of anti-Moravian literature spilled from the press, and by the end of the 1750s "Moravians had become in the popular mind not 'an Antient Protestant Episcopal Church' but the standard example of sectarian error" (p. 287).

Although the first two chapters and last two fit a chronological pattern, the middle chapters are thematic; this causes a degree of overlap. There is frequent omission of years, both in text and citations. Of the bibliography's nearly 450 secondary items, only twenty-five date from the 1990s and only one since 1994; several important recent works have not been consulted. On the other hand, the author's immersion in German-language work, both primary and secondary, is highly impressive.

This is an important, if deliberately limited, account of Moravianism's early development. The detailed writing, although clear, is pedestrian. The book would have been even better if its thesis had been painted on a broader canvas and, at least on occasion, had been expressed in words and images more evocative of the colorful nature of its remarkable subject.

BOYD STANLEY SCHLENTHER
University of Wales, Aberystwyth

ADRIAN JOHNS. *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1998. Pp. xxi, 753. $40.00.

This is a big book, destined to be a classic on the development of what we have too carelessly called "print culture." For Adrian Johns's title is ironic: he is arguing that there was nothing we can term the "nature" of the printed book until that nature was socially constructed over the course of several centuries. So the book's subtitle is better at indicating his theme. The story is far more fraught than one might suppose. It is too bad that the title does not indicate the work's importance for an understanding of the construction of English experimental science as well.

Since Elizabeth Eisenstein's *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (1979), we have been used to treating the fixity or authority of print as something intrinsic to letterpress technology. Johns shows how mistaken that is. In the manner of Steven Shapin's *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (1994), he demonstrates how authority and fixity were essentially cultural, even moral. The carefully maintained reputation of the Stationers' Company, along with press licensing and the efforts of the Royal Society, were necessary to overcome popular suspicions of printed matter. English law had to learn to prevent what contemporaries sarcastically called "the great liberty of lying" (p. 263). It is odd to realize that it was not trust but rather the suspicion of printed material that was inherent—either the legacy of an earlier scribal culture or something that grew along with the new commercial possibilities. And beyond natural suspicions, there were always outsider publishers and authors to attack printing conventions as prejudicial to the integrity of texts and to truth. Building trust and creating fixity was an uphill battle.

Authors were effectively ignored in this effort. Indeed, the modern concept of authorship had to be created, institutionally and politically. Johns shows how even reading was culturally constructed. Members of the Royal Society initiated the scientific study of reading, being as worried as religious leaders over the "passionate" reading practices of "enthusiasts." In the end, Johns speculates that a standardization of reading may have been as significant as hand printing in the development of modern culture (p. 632).

The implications of science for print—and of print for experimental science—are a major part of Johns's story. We are made to reflect how far experimental methods were designed to meet the problems of reporting the new knowledge. Early proponents of experimental philosophy had to overcome the suspicions of print, especially in claims to novel discoveries.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

They had to battle printers and booksellers in devising ways to communicate, register, publish, and even read the new knowledge. Johns shows that Isaac Newton's skill in the publishing game, though verging on the current methods of piracy, was as impressive as his skill in mathematics. The story of the titanic battle over the publication of John Flamsteed's *Historia Coelestis Britannicae* (1725) brings all the issues—authorial identity, authenticity of text, credibility of knowledge—into focus. We are invited to consider that the history of all intellectual disciplines is, essentially, the history of publishing in those disciplines.

Johns offers an extremely comprehensive view of the world of print. Building his theme requires a physical and economic description of printing and publishing. Stationers' Hall and all that went on inside are presented in detail. The political climate is filled in. The only thing missing is any evidence that contemporaries imagined a telos in print technology. After all, when it was seen that texts could not be trusted, this was taken as a grievance against printers and publishers. Accusations of "piracy" would have lacked force without a sense that one had a right to expect the printed word to be trustworthy. Fixity was finally ideally possible with letterpress printing.

But it does appear that printing's reputation for deception was every bit as prominent as its contribution to an ideology of progress, until the mid-eighteenth century. At least, this is true in the higher reaches of the literate population, which Johns studies. How more humble folk looked on print may have included nuances not revealed here.

A consideration of periodical publication, as in my recent *News Revolution in England: Cultural Dynamics of Daily Information* (1996), would reinforce Johns's argument against the concept of a contemporary print revolution. Periodicity ordinarily works against fixity by deconstructing itself. Johns does reflect that desktop and internet publishing are bringing back the early conditions of hand printing, which raises the question of how much we can learn from the efforts of seventeenth-century publishers to create a civility supporting that technology.

C. JOHN SOMMERVILLE
University of Florida

HELENA M. PYCIOR. *Symbols, Impossible Numbers, and Geometric Entanglements: British Algebra through the Commentaries on Newton's* Universal Arithmetick. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 328. $74.95.

The study of mathematics in early modern England has failed to attract sustained historical research. The seeming absence of first-rate creative mathematicians before the middle of the seventeenth century resulted in a tendency on the part of historians to elevate practical mathematics to a position of prominence and to maintain both the intrinsic merit of the labors of humble practitioners as well as their contribution to the formation of a glorious British tradition exemplified by John Wallis and Isaac Newton. Conversely, those investigating late seventeenth-century mathematics have tended to focus almost exclusively on the development of calculus in the British Isles to the virtual exclusion of other aspects of contemporary mathematics. Helena M. Pycior set herself the task of offsetting such historiographical imbalance through an account of the fortunes of algebra in England between the late sixteenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century.

Following an introductory chapter outlining the contribution of Girolamo Cardano and François Viète to the discipline, the stage is set for Pycior's narrative of the work of a dozen key proponents and adversaries of algebra in England. The first major exponents of the art were William Oughtred and Thomas Harriot, who, she argues, were committed primarily to the Frenchman's analytical program and symbolic style. Only a generation later did English mathematicians pick up (and expand upon) Cardano's forays into more daring areas such as negative and imaginary numbers, while René Descartes's *Geometry* (1637) was largely ignored, partly as the result of such mathematical predilection and partly for chauvinistic reasons. In fact, the person who did much to tarnish Descartes's mathematical reputation was also the one who provided the impetus for the study of the burgeoning discipline in England. From the mid-1650s, Wallis vigorously labored to establish algebra on the foundation of arithmetic—and to elevate both above geometry—with a concomitant drive for generalizations. Wallis articulated his position most fully in his *Treatise on Algebra* (1685), in which he also engaged in a minor rewriting of history intended to make Harriot more original and Descartes his plagiarist. At the same time, the indefatigable promoter of the mathematical sciences in England, John Collins, labored hard to convince leading practitioners to produce a comprehensive textbook of algebra. And although the projected revision of Gerard Kinckhuysen's *Algebra* (1661) by Newton proved abortive, Collins had an important role to play in the publication of the English rendition of Johann Heinrich Rahn's and John Kersey's textbooks, as well as Wallis's *Algebra*.

Subsequent chapters consider Newton's contribution to the field, both substantively—as exemplified in his notes on Kinkhuysen, his 1684 Cambridge lectures on algebra, and the publication of the *Universal Arithmetick* (1720)—and through the stature he conferred on the discipline. But while Newton still retained a certain preference for geometry, his successors, Colin Maclaurin and Nicholas Saunderson, completed the process that brought algebra into its own. Indeed, Pycior argues, Saunderson was the first British mathematician who postulated, in no ambiguous terms, the superiority of analysis over synthesis. Nor does Pycior ignore the important challenges that were leveled against the alleged detractors of geometry. She considers the objections raised by Thomas Hobbes and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Isaac Barrow during the 1650s and 1660s over the changing canons of mathematical intelligibility as well as the more searching criticism on the foundations of mathematics that George Berkeley was to level against British mathematicians half a century later.

Pycior is to be commended for attempting to rescue the early history of British algebra from the relative oblivion into which it had fallen; however, her decision to leave out the analogous developments in other areas of mathematics, most notably the prehistory and later developments of calculus, renders her account problematic. After all, the very same people whose work she analyzes—notably Wallis, Barrow, and Newton—were also instrumental in developing calculus, while the criticism of Berkeley was motivated, in no small part, by the challenge that the principles of the new fluxions posed both to traditional mathematics and to religion. Also, while the chapter on Wallis is based, naturally enough, on his *Treatise on Algebra*, the criticism that Hobbes and Barrow directed against him (and against the subject) was grounded on publications made by the Oxford professor three decades earlier. Pycior does not discuss these earlier works, nor does she dwell on the manner in which Wallis managed to take into account some of that criticism when composing his *Treatise*. Such reservations aside, Pycior's book fills a gap in the literature and will serve as the groundwork upon which a fuller understanding of early modern British mathematics will be based.

MORDECHAI FEINGOLD
Virginia Polytechnic Institute

JOHN GASCOIGNE. *Science in the Service of Empire: Joseph Banks, the British State and the Uses of Science in the Age of Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. vii, 247. $64.95.

It is testimony to John Gascoigne's consummate historical craftsmanship that, only a decade after the appearance of Harold B. Carter's monumental study (*Sir Joseph Banks, 1743–1820* [1988]), he can so much advance our understanding of his subject's life and work. This book is the second of Gascoigne's volumes on Banks; the first was *Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment: Useful Knowledge and Polite Culture* (1994). Whereas Carter strove to give us everything there was to know about Banks, Gascoigne seeks to contextualize his life and activities. The context in this case is the British state and how it operated and developed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In fact, the volume contains little sustained treatment of the actual pursuit of science in the service of empire. Rather it deals with the history of what we now call "science policy," with how individuals and institutions (scientific, governmental, and state) were interlocked in promoting scientific projects and activities related to trade and imperial matters.

The central motif of the book is the expansion, but also the limits, of the British state, which was relatively undeveloped in the eighteenth century, relying upon informal participation and support from the landowning oligarchy. It was precisely this system that created the space within which Banks moved. His expert advice on voyages of discovery; on botanical, agricultural, and settlement matters; and indeed on all aspects of improvement was greatly valued and often acted upon. The administrations that dealt with the aftermath of the loss of the American colonies and the threat of the French Revolution found in Banks an energetic, patriotic, and astute servant of the state during the building of the second British Empire. Banks was president of the Royal Society from 1778 until his death in 1820. He was a trusted servant of King George III, a member of the Privy Council, and Director of Kew Gardens, and he exercised influence in numerous other organizations such as the Board of Agriculture and the Royal Institution. This gave him the informal connections needed to get things done in the absence of clear state direction. Gascoigne expertly charts the growth of Banks's power but also clearly shows its decline as the complexity and range of the tasks required of the state led, in the early nineteenth century, toward the establishment of a well-staffed, permanent civil service. Changes in the Colonial Office and the Admiralty, for example, greatly attenuated Banks's influence in the new century, although age and increasing incapacity also played a role.

The ties binding the pursuit of science, the increase of empire, the expansion of trade, the cultivation of naval strength, and the state were sustained by a mercantilist ideology. Banks held to this, though, like Lords Hawkesbury, Liverpool, and Dundas, in a pragmatic, undoctrinaire fashion. Gascoigne gives us a thorough, detailed, and nuanced account of the rise of neomercantilism and its fall as the cause of free trade gathered momentum and weakened the nexus between political control and economic advantage. A long chapter devoted to neomercantilism and the landed interest is the pivot on which the book turns.

If there is a weakness, it is Gascoigne's avoidance of historiographical debate. Banks was a controversial figure in his own time, and historians have disagreed about how to interpret his work and its significance. One chapter of this book deals with Banks's role within, and attitudes towards, the "Republic of Letters." It describes very well the tensions between Banks's pursuit of national interest (as defined through the eyes of the landed interest) and the ideal of cosmopolitanism. But it does not give enough attention to the judgments of critical contemporaries about such tensions. Gascoigne's inexorably elegant prose acknowledges tensions but dissolves them in masterly dialectical fashion. We are left at the end wondering who Gascoigne's Banks is. Precisely because the author is ecumenical in his coverage and even-handed in his adjudications, there is something anodyne in the final product. From my own vantage point in the history of science, this is a weakness (although others will no doubt regard it as a strength)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in a book otherwise unlikely to be surpassed for many years to come.

DAVID PHILIP MILLER
University of New South Wales

AMANDA VICKERY. *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1998. Pp. ix, 436. $40.00.

In this ambitious, richly detailed, and important book, Amanda Vickery sets out to describe the lives of elite Georgian Englishwomen from their own perspective. She focuses not on all women, as her subtitle suggests, but on those she describes as "genteel"—the wives and daughters of wealthy tradesmen, manufacturers, and small gentry—between 1730 and 1820. She also focuses on women who conformed to, rather than rebelled against, convention.

Vickery's principal subjects are gentry diarists and correspondents in Lancashire, although she traces their London connections with additional London sources. Vickery follows her subjects' lives from the process of marriage, through the perils and fears of childbearing and rearing, to housekeeping, consumption, and sociability. She consistently argues that contemporary feminist debates are not useful in understanding the lives of Georgian gentlewomen, who must be taken on their own terms. Thus, she claims that choices of marriage sought to balance prudence and emotional warmth. She also shows that, in spite of romantic portrayals of motherhood, childbearing and childrearing were the sources of fear and anxiety due to the dangers of childbed and the prevalence of lethal childhood illnesses. Rather than worrying about the distinction between doctors and midwives, women chose medical care for childbirth in order to achieve the best possible results. The chief work of genteel women was located in the home: as wives, mothers, and housekeepers. These women prided themselves, and judged each other, on the basis of their success as housekeepers, determined by cleanliness, economy, the appearance of ease in the household, and the careful training and management of servants. This last was more difficult than might be supposed; Vickery demonstrates that many maidservants worked only a short time for a particular employer, although she never mentions the impact of alternative employment in the expanding textile industry of Yorkshire and Lancashire on the bargaining power of servants. Genteel women were consumers, but careful ones: they bought furniture that they expected to last, and they bought the latest fashions modified for life in the provinces. Finally, genteel women played an active role in social life in many contexts. Within both their homes and those of their friends they made distinctions between the polite and the vulgar; at the same time, they frequently participated in the newer (and often socially mixed) venues of commercial culture and heterosexual sociability. At the end of the period, some women were becoming more involved in organized philanthropic ventures.

Vickery has worked through a rich vein of sources, which she uses to good effect, although at times uncritically. The thirty-nine volumes of diaries left by Elizabeth Parker Shackleton are so central that at times the book feels as if it should have been a study of Shackleton, an engaging, idiosyncratic, and not altogether sympathetic character; readers may suspect that the high turnover among her servants reflected the difficulty of working for her. Vickery is not entirely convincing in arguing that Shackleton is typical, but her papers make her a great subject. As she strives too hard to make Shackleton representative, Vickery also slides toward equating her subjects with "women," not just a growing and significant group among them.

Vickery successfully demonstrates that, at least in eastern Lancashire, the "genteel" formed a cohesive social group, bridging the commercial and landed classes. Vickery's occasionally tendentious attacks on the distinction between public and private in women's history, and on the language of separate spheres, are more problematic. Over the past fifteen years, feminist historians have worked to complicate the simplistic division between public and private that first served as an explanation of the absence of women from traditional history. That women were not confined to the private is not news. Vickery repeatedly insists on the uselessness of the distinction, even as she finds herself forced to acknowledge the separate worlds that genteel men and women inhabited. Vickery's evidence provides the basis for a fascinating and useful rethinking of both separate spheres and public and private and how they changed; when she engages in that discussion, she makes an important contribution to our understanding of the subject.

Although Vickery's claims to originality are overstated, this does not diminish her success, which is more in keeping with her subjects. She has been careful, honest, and respectful of those she studies, and has given new life to their experiences in a well-written and beautifully produced book. It is no small accomplishment.

SUSAN DWYER AMUSSEN
The Union Institute

ELAINE A. REYNOLDS. *Before the Bobbies: The Night Watch and Police Reform in Metropolitan London, 1720–1830*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 235. $49.50.

In recent years, scholars of English history have witnessed a remarkable upsurge of interest in police history. Much published work has dealt with the three decades on either side of the establishment of the Metropolitan Police in 1829. Before 1829, debate has raged over whether the local police forces were effective and whether the Metropolitan Police represented a major new development. Elaine A. Reynolds sides with the revisionists and, by a close study of police

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reform movements from the 1720s, provides ample evidence that local policing became more effective and professional over the course of the eighteenth century: the creation of the Metropolitan Police was the final stage in a long series of reforms.

From a thorough examination of local government records, Reynolds shows that police reform was not imposed from above by magistrates and reformers in Westminster and Whitehall. To be sure, reformers like Henry and John Fielding, Patrick Colquhoun, and Jeremy Bentham dropped many ideas into the melting pot of reform. But the key contributions came from those involved in local police administration dealing with practical problems: parish vestrymen; watch committee, turnpike trust, and paving commission members; and the officers and men who patrolled the streets. Experiment and innovation were hallmarks of local policing. Parishes adapted to the growing demands of urban society, shared ideas and practices, and sometimes, especially in the poor East End, combined their resources to forge effective law enforcement agencies. Paid night watchmen took over from more amateur methods of policing. These local forces gradually became more bureaucratically organized and specialized in their tasks. Reynolds links the demand for effective policing, paved roads, and street lighting as part of a trend from personal to "professional service for all aspects of local administration" (p. 29). Vestries turned to Parliament for legal powers to collect rates and to make local improvements but otherwise were wary of central intervention.

Reynolds identifies a range of motivations for police reform. These included concern about the spread of working-class vices and the fear of politically motivated disorder, but Reynolds argues that concern about rising property crime was the crucial reason for police reform in metropolitan London. Local officials willingly introduced reforms to deal with rising crime rates occurring in the aftermath of war or during economic depression. Night watchmen were expected to prevent not detect crime, and they were not directly involved in policing riots or strikes. Reform was piecemeal, but, by the mid-1770s, policing reached a high standard in many parts of the metropolis. Policemen were numerous, carefully selected, well paid and equipped, closely supervised, and disciplined if they breached the regulations. Reynolds gives a clear picture of the kind of work policemen did on their beats and the development of record-keeping systems in the late eighteenth century.

Proposals for reform were not always supported. The main obstacle was cost. Most local reforms were developed within tight financial constraints, which makes the emergence of local professional police forces a more striking achievement. But local officials remained opposed to proposals for centralization as proposed by Colquhoun until Robert Peel, as home secretary, demonstrated that it was the logical "next step towards making professional policing more effective" (p. 5). In addition to Peel's political astuteness, Reynolds argues that the Metropolitan Police Act (1829) won parliamentary support because important parish vestries were defending themselves against public attacks for extravagance, corruption, and inefficiency. Vestries also found it difficult to pay for more police to cope with rising crime: a number believed that a centralized force would be more cost effective and more successful in halting crime. When the metropolitan area grew in population and crime became more difficult to prevent, responsibility shifted from local to central government.

In a concluding chapter, Reynolds considers the early years of the Metropolitan Police and finds no major break in police practices or public expectations of protection from property crime but numerous complaints that the new force cost more and was not as effective. She demonstrates convincingly that the Metropolitan Police was not a "revolulionary" innovation but, apart from a new role for detection, "rationalized and extended" police methods begun by the night watch (p. 164). By placing the establishment of the Metropolitan Police in a longer perspective, giving greater emphasis to the policing practices of local authorities, and succinctly bringing together much significant detail from primary and secondary sources, Reynolds has produced a valuable if not an exciting book, one that can be highly recommended to historians of the police and local government in London.

STEFAN PETROW
University of Tasmania at Hobart

IWAN RHYS MORUS. *Frankenstein's Children: Electricity, Exhibition, and Experiment in Early-Nineteenth-Century London*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 324. $45.00.

In this ambitious book on electrical science in England, Iwan Rhys Morus sets two goals for himself. First, he aims to "provide a sensitive cultural history of electricity's place in the first half of the nineteenth century and the role it played in the massive social and economic transformations of that time." Second, he attempts to apply the insights of recent social study of science "in such a way that the microsociology of science fits into a broader macrohistorical picture" (p. ix). In reaching both goals, Morus has given historians a fascinating and nuanced study of electrical science in the larger context of the rise of a global industrial and consumer culture.

The book is divided into two parts, dealing first with the different kinds of places in early nineteenth-century London where electrical experiments took place and then moving on to the commodification of electrical technologies during the 1840s. Morus begins part one by discussing the elite institutions in the metropolis. He argues that through a process of self-fashioning, Michael Faraday was able to represent himself to his polite audience as the ideal type of disembodied genius pursuing abstract knowledge of the natural world, and to represent the Royal Institu-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion as the ideal type of place where such activity could take place. Concealed from the audience's view were the laboratories and workshops of technicians located below the lecture theater. The next few chapters deal with individuals, spaces, and scientific societies that were not connected to elite science: the instrument maker, lecturer, and demonstrator of electrical experiments, William Sturgeon; the Adelaide Gallery, which from 1832 to 1845 provided a venue for mechanics and London instrument makers like Sturgeon to present spectacular shows of light and sparks and to appear before the public as men of science; and the short-lived London Electrical Society, whose leaders promoted an egalitarian and craft-based vision of the scientific enterprise from 1837 to 1843. Morus's exploration of the various cultural contexts of electricity demonstrates that the practice of experimental natural philosophy was not a straightforward enterprise during this period, and his discussion of the different strategies for self-fashioning by Faraday, Sturgeon, and others highlights the absence of a blueprint for pursuing careers in electrical science.

In part two, Morus shifts the focus of the book to the role of electricity in the development of a commercial machine culture, dealing largely with the 1840s. He discusses the patenting of electricity, which involved heated debates between gentlemen scientists and artisans on the meaning of invention, the invention of the electric telegraph by William Cooke and Charles Wheatstone as a commercially workable technology, and Golding Bird's effort to establish electrotherapeutics as a viable form of medical practice within a hospital context. Especially in the cases of the telegraph and electrotherapy, Morus stresses how the idea of controlling nature through electricity was intricately connected to the disciplining of the body and human interaction. Seen as annihilating time and space, the telegraph could be viewed as a technology that "rendered the world physically smaller and therefore more socially manageable" (p. 195). The aim of electrotherapeutics, used largely to treat women for hysteria, was to regulate the female body and control sexuality.

As a study in the cultural and social history of science, Morus's book succeeds for a number of reasons. He is in full command of the relevant scholarly literature from a variety of fields. He knows how to weave this literature elegantly into his narrative and how to embed his theoretical debt to the social study of science in his historical analysis. Mimicking many of his historical agents, he is able to move quite effortlessly between the worlds of science and of Victorian commerce. But, most important of all, Morus illuminates for us the fascinating world of the Victorian inventor, artisan, and instrument maker. His vivid discussions of Sturgeon and other neglected historical figures from outside elite science bring home the importance of spectacle as a feature of the display of electricity, which points to the link between electrical science and Victorian commerce. As Morus reminds us, for most Victorians, electricity had more to do with material products to be bought and sold, and with the performances surrounding them, than with theories about fields of force or a luminiferous ether (p. 261). Morus's book brilliantly explores the "strange space" wherein these products existed, a space where workshops, laboratory, and exhibition overlapped and where electricity was crafted into a commodity to be displayed and admired.

BERNARD LIGHTMAN
York University

BRIAN SHORT. *Land and Society in Edwardian Britain*. (Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, number 25.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xvii, 378. $69.95.

The Corn Laws split British Conservatives during the 1840s. The Euro and the specter of further integration with a federal Europe are splitting the Conservatives at the present time. During the Edwardian years, the related issues of tariff reform and imperial preference cut through the heart of Conservative Party unity. This, in no small way, enabled the Liberal Party to sweep into power in 1906 with a free trade and a social reforming agenda loathed by most Conservatives.

In order to help to pay for their new interventionist measures, Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer David Lloyd George exploited the ongoing land reform question and attempted to increase taxation on land values and thus to draw state funds from the unearned or hereditary capital of the landed elite. No wonder the Tories were running scared, although, as Brian Short points out, some historical interpretations of the decline of the landed interest at that time have been greatly exaggerated.

Short, a historical geographer, provides an interesting account of the controversy surrounding Lloyd George's proposals and of the apparatus he set up in order to allow the Inland Revenue to go about a massive national valuation exercise of land and property, upon which taxation levels would be based. This was the "New Domesday" of land ownership and of land values. Short has utilized the fascinating survey archive produced by the Inland Revenue during its valuation exercises, both urban and rural, in England and Wales. This archive was developed over the course of a decade from 1910. It contained not simply valuation records of properties but also field books and Ordnance Survey maps. Unfortunately for historians, some of the archive is still "protected" by Britain's archaic laws of confidentiality, although most of its records became available during the 1970s. Even then, however, it was not housed in any one location but fragmented into both central and local repositories. The valuation books, for example, are now held at county records offices. Scholars must therefore be grateful for the work Short has done in providing a guide to the whereabouts of archival materials. The depth, diversity, and richness of the sources which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Short discusses will be of great interest and use to historians, be they antiquarians or professionals.

The book is in two parts. The first part is about Lloyd George's budget and the scale, structure, and findings of the survey. Part two, entitled "Themes and Locality Studies," offers readers some of the applications of the survey materials. Short carefully relates the sources to some key historical themes, such as the problems of the Edwardian rural economy and the ever-growing demands and pressures of an increasingly urbanizing and suburbanizing nation. He is sensitive to the nuances of different local contexts. He analyzes the usefulness of the survey materials for urban social area analysis and for studies of the rural society and economy of Edwardian Britain and of rural industrial communities. He discusses the potential for detailed micro studies as well as for contrasts and comparisons across regions and nations. Separate surveys were undertaken for Ireland and Scotland, and they are discussed here, too.

The dustjacket says the book "will be of particular use not only to historical geographers, economists and anthropologists, but also to local historians and genealogists." That is true, but it is also rewarding for social historians and for both rural and urban historians of early twentieth-century Britain. This potential range of usage of the book is a testament to Short's skills of synthesis. Unfortunately, rather like aspects of the archive itself, some of the text in the book is difficult to access. It is densely written in parts and broken up by many illustrations, including street plans, maps, diagrams, tables, and photographs. These are certainly very interesting, and they do provide a strong visual complement to Short's analysis. But they also interrupt the narrative flow and make the book a hard but rewarding read. For these reasons, it is perhaps less likely to become an undergraduate text and more an essential reference book, and source guide, for a wide variety of researchers of the era.

Mark Clapson
University of Luton

Roy Church and Quentin Outram. *Strikes and Solidarity: Coalfield Conflict in Britain 1889–1966*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xx, 314. $69.95.

Revisionist history is always bracing to read, and in this book, Roy Church and Quentin Outram have taken on a number of well-established views about the history of the British coalmining industry and of British coalminers. Perhaps the most famous of these is that the industry was particularly strike prone: in part, it has been held, because the very nature of the industry elicited workplace conflict, in part because miners, often living in isolated, rural communities, had developed a strong class consciousness and close class ties. Certainly, the image of the militant miner, willing to stay on strike to the point of starvation in support of his comrades, has been a staple of the heroic version of British labor history in the twentieth century, from the first national miners' strike in 1912 to the last in 1984.

Church and Outram call all these views into question. Using an extensive statistical analysis of government data on coalmining strikes, they show that the famous large national strikes, which have so captured historians' attentions, were anomalous. In fact, they write, "the typical British coalmining strike [was] . . . localized and short-lived, confined to a single colliery, and involving a few hundred workers for a little over a week before the First World War, or no more than a day thirty years later" (p. 91). True, strikes were more likely to occur in particular strike-prone collieries, but most of these remained strike prone only for a short period of time.

Not only were strikes usually confined to a single place or a single colliery—sympathetic strikes were rare—but also within particular communities uniform action tended to be exceptional, as internal rifts proved difficult to overcome. Although some places, particularly in Scotland and South Wales, adhered more closely to the historical stereotype of workplace militancy, "the prevailing picture in many districts before and after the Second World War was one of secionalism rather than solidarity" (p. 128). Church and Outram see the famous national strikes, such as those in 1912 or 1926, less as the automatic response of a community with shared experience and shared values than as the "achievement of purposive social action" (p. 129), the successful mobilization of support by union leaders. Hence, for Church and Outram, "the notion that British miners' strike behaviour has always been solidaristic is a myth" (p. 95), as was the famous cry of "one out, all out" (p. 131).

If coalminers were less united than has usually been thought, it remains true that trade union density was particularly high in the mining industry and that strikes occurred more frequently in coalmining than in most other industries and far more frequently than in the mining industries of France and Germany, if not the United States. Church and Outram have a harder time explaining these phenomena. A considerable portion of their book is devoted to an examination, and rejection, of theories that have been held to explain miners' strike behavior. They find Clark Kerr and Abraham Siegel's notion of the "isolated mass" wanting, as well as theories that point to technological change or radical leadership. Although agreeing with some analysts that the size of the pit played at least a part in many strikes, they mainly stress the contributory role that management had in causing conflict. "Indifference to labour management at boardroom level, a lack of managerial control over the conduct of supervisory officials underground or ineptness on their part . . . [were] potentially strike-precipitating factors down the pit" (p. 265). But it remains unclear how this explains miners' strike behavior as opposed to that of workers in other industries.

This book is highly useful as revisionist history, but it has limitations. Given the subject matter, it is

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

remarkably bloodless; for this reader at least, the sociological theory and jargon proved heavy going at times. Church and Outram convincingly point to the ways in which the mining industry was more like other industries than has been realized, but in the end they are unable to explain satisfactorily the presence or absence of miners' solidarity. For that, more detailed, qualitative studies, particularly of peaceful communities, are still needed. In the preface, Church and Outram write that they aim "to revitalize the historical analysis of the practice and theory of industrial relations" (p. xvii). Whether they have done that remains an open question, but they have shaken up the historiography of the field and will doubtless compel historians to reexamine questions that had seemed to be settled. That is a considerable accomplishment.

PETER WEILER
Boston College

N. J. CROWSON. *Facing Fascism: The Conservative Party and the European Dictators, 1935–1940.* (Routledge Studies in Modern European History.) New York: Routledge. 1997. Pp. xii, 270. $75.00.

Although the foreign and defense policies of Britain in the 1930s have been exhaustively researched, the role of the Conservative Party in the policy-making process is a neglected topic. N. J. Crowson's book is designed to remedy the deficiency by exploring the connections between the internal workings of the party and the response of the Baldwin and Chamberlain governments to the fascist dictators. In practice, Crowson has little to say about Benito Mussolini, and the Italian dimension fades rapidly into the background. The Spanish Civil War, in which both dictators were deeply implicated, merits only four pages. This book is primarily a study of Conservative reactions to Nazi Germany.

Historians of the political elite (so Crowson argues) have tended to assume that the Conservative Party in general played a passive and deferential role in the history of appeasement, an assumption reinforced by the fame of the dissident minority of "anti-appeasers" who came out in support of Winston Churchill or Anthony Eden. Crowson, by contrast, turns the spotlight on the activists in the constituency associations, and the "silent majority" of backbench MPs. In common with other revisionists, Crowson maintains that the Conservative Party was internally far more democratic than it appeared to be. An outward show of deference and loyalty to the leader concealed vigorous private politicking and great sensitivity to pressures from the rank and file. His main finding is that dissent from Neville Chamberlain's policies began earlier and was more widespread than previous accounts have recognized. The fall of Chamberlain in May 1940 was therefore the outcome of a gradual erosion of confidence over the whole period since the Anschluss.

As Crowson admits, this "bottom-up" version of Tory history is of limited application to sudden crises like the Hoare-Laval affair, the Munich agreement, or the occupation of Prague in March 1939. At such times, events moved too fast for the constituency associations to formulate a view, and it was backbench MPs, acting apparently on the basis of personal convictions, whose judgments proved decisive. Yet as Crowson argues, the constituencies had some impact on the shaping of policy over the longer run. Heavily populated by retired imperial types, they were strongly opposed to the restitution of the former German colonies. The presence of large numbers of ex-officers with experience of World War I may also help to explain the enthusiasm with which activists championed the introduction of compulsory national service after Munich. Conservatives, however, were seldom of one mind. As Crowson demonstrates, there were several groups or tendencies within the party. Under Stanley Baldwin, the "left" and the "right" of the party tended to cancel one another out; under Chamberlain, Crowson maintains, elements of the "right" began to coalesce with elements of the "left" in a revolt against appeasement that compelled Chamberlain to change course in the spring of 1939.

The author's decision to begin the story in 1935 rather than 1933 leaves a rather puzzling gap where we might have expected some discussion of Tory reactions to the rise of Adolf Hitler and an assessment of the impact on the party of Churchill's campaign for the expansion of the Royal Air Force. Crowson is right, however, to separate out questions of defense from questions of foreign policy. His very thorough research into constituency and other archives has yielded compelling evidence of persistent disquiet over the state of Britain's defenses. But, as he himself points out, demands for rearmament were perfectly compatible with continuing support for appeasement.

The evidence that dissent over foreign policy ever spread much beyond the ranks of the "anti-appeasers" (or "foreign policy sceptics," as Crowson prefers to call them) is sketchy. The occupation of Prague caused a wave of anger in the Conservative Party, to which Chamberlain responded by issuing the Polish Guarantee, but this was a deliberately ambiguous pledge that left the door open for another Munich. Since Hitler denied Chamberlain the opportunity, we shall never know how many Conservatives would have supported such a deal. The Crowson thesis, with Chamberlain under pressure from a revival of Tory patriotism, is intriguing and plausible, but speculative: like the scores of backbench MPs who never spoke on foreign affairs, the broad mass of the party was simply inarticulate.

Crowson's book reads more like a dissertation than a book for a wider public. Although generally clear and forceful, the author pays little attention to style and seems quite happy on occasion to score seven out of ten for syntax or vocabulary. That said, it would be wrong to dwell on the minor flaws in an absorbing and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

original monograph that has much new evidence, and many fresh insights, to offer.

PAUL ADDISON
Center for Second World War Studies, University of Edinburgh

N. PIERS LUDLOW. *Dealing with Britain: The Six and the First UK Application to the EEC*. (Cambridge Studies in International Relations, number 56.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 282. Cloth $64.95, paper $24.95.

This study of the British application to join the European Economic Community (EEC) between 1961 and 1963 concentrates on the negotiations to join the EEC itself and ignores parallel negotiations for British entry to the European Coal and Steel Community and Euratom. The main primary archives used are those of the EEC Council of Ministers, the European Commission, the foreign ministries in Bonn and Paris, and the British government.

N. Piers Ludlow's approach rests on two main contentions. The first is that historians have been distracted for too long by the drama surrounding Charles de Gaulle's veto of the British application and by the machismo of nuclear matters involving de Gaulle, John F. Kennedy, Harold Macmillan, and their advisers. Rather, Ludlow advises, we should redirect our attention toward the duller details of the negotiations in Brussels, which was where most contemporary attention was focused before de Gaulle's press conference. The second contention is that historians need to lift their heads up from parochial national concerns and examine the negotiation process from a wider EEC perspective. The alleged benefit of standing at the center of discussions and looking out at the negotiating parties is that one gains not only an appreciation of the interests and latitude of each party but also a greater sense of the strength of support for and faith in the EEC among its members. An implicit theme of this book is that the British always struggled to appreciate the importance of this spirit, being unprepared to make a clear declaration of their wish to join the EEC and to place faith in their ability to work out subsequent problems within it. Ludlow argues strongly that by insisting that membership should be dependent on the conditions of entry, the British inevitably and inadvertently played into the hands of de Gaulle. While the terms of British entry were being thrashed out in Brussels, de Gaulle's domestic and international position steadily strengthened. By January 1963, he felt strong enough to make public his firm opposition to British entry, something that Ludlow suggests he would have been unable to do in 1961. During the intervening two years of negotiations, skilled French negotiators had succeeded in setting a high price for British entry and in concealing their obstructionist tactics within the vocabulary and procedures of the EEC. During this process, the lengths to which members were and were not prepared to accommodate the British became clear, with nothing being clearer than the unwillingness of most members, and preeminently the Germans, to risk a confrontation with the French. Even the Dutch, who saw in the British a liberal ally against the protectionist French, ultimately refused to break with the community spirit and to risk a major breach with the French.

Ludlow tells his story well, in a clear and accessible style. The main arguments and contentions are brought together effectively in a concluding chapter which will form a useful addition to reading lists. Whether there is as much to be gained from the introduction and six detailed chapters that precede it is less certain. There is much detail in these chapters, but the light shed on negotiating positions and process is uneven. Whereas the Dutch position comes through clearly, that of the Germans remains somewhat lifeless. Paradoxically, despite the devotion of six chapters to the negotiating process in Brussels, there is a curious reluctance to engage with the nitty-gritty details of technical discussions. Certainly, discussion of the economic issues remains at an aggregate level, with little sense of the dynamics of wider economic and technological change. Although I enjoyed reading this well-written book, especially the concluding chapter, I was left with a frustrated sense that a deeper, more fundamental socioeconomic and political analysis of this negotiating process remains to be written.

MARTIN CHICK
University of Edinburgh and
L'Institut d'histoire du temps présent, Paris

JAMES KELLY. *Henry Flood: Patriots and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1998. Pp. 486. $42.00.

Competent biographies of eighteenth-century Irish politicians are notoriously sparse on the historiographical landscape. Until this biography of Henry Flood by James Kelly, one can only point perhaps to three works that incorporate modern approaches: A. P. W. Malcomson's *John Foster: The Politics of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy* (1978); Ann C. Kavanaugh's *John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare: Protestant Reaction and English Authority in Late Eighteenth Century Ireland* (1998); and Kelly's earlier but slimmer biography of Flood's rival, *Henry Grattan* (1993).

Flood is a potentially difficult choice for a political biography, given the paucity of personal papers that survive for him and his idiosyncratic personality. Both factors would make his actions appear disconnected, even inexplicable and enigmatic. In the past, such factors have inhibited biographers from tackling Flood as a subject. Kelly, however, displays great energy and industry in successfully overcoming the obstacles (his rooting out of primary material is particularly impressive), and he has produced a truly engaging work.

Flood was a politician possessed of great oratorical ability and brought his legal training to the constitutional and political issues of the day. The overriding

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

feature of Flood's career was his failure to achieve some key political objectives: loss of the borough of Callan to rivals; failure to achieve parliamentary reform; inability to obtain a prestigious seat for County Kilkenny (despite government commitment of support there, which it reneged on); failure to exploit his connection through marriage with the powerful Beresford family; failure to impress on the English political scene; failure to recognize the drift toward concessions to Catholics; and lack of political acumen and decisiveness on occasion, such as his misreading of public opinion. Against these, however, must be balanced some of his key achievements: the Octennial Act (1768), which shortened the duration of parliaments; maintenance of the subsidies on the inland carriage of corn to Dublin (important to his native Kilkenny, a chief corn-growing region); and the Renunciation Act (1783), by which Britain renounced its role in legislating for Ireland.

Kelly gives due allowance to Flood's political miscalculations, essentially deriving from his rampant individualism (notably his naïveté in accepting office) and his procrastination. Kelly emphasizes that office-holding and patriotism were not regarded by Flood as incompatible. Not only is this insightful for an understanding of eighteenth-century Irish political culture, but it is key to appreciating Flood's career. In accepting the office of vice treasurer in 1775, he believed it would be an opportunity to advance legislation favorable to Ireland. When this did not happen, holding office proved to be a frustrating and unfulfilling experience; indeed, in retrospect, it was his worst political decision.

One of the key aspects of Flood's career was his rivalry with Grattan, especially over the renunciation issue. Traditionally historians have viewed this rivalry as based on jealousy and frustrated career ambitions on Flood's part. In contrast, Kelly argues for Flood's superior constitutional knowledge and his elevation of principle above party as the basis of the conflict. Also, Kelly offers a corrective to the view that it was Flood's support of the absentee tax (1773) that predisposed him to the support of administration; rather the two had not yet come close to such an understanding.

One of the perennial questions faced by biographers is whether their subject was shaped by events or helped to shape them. Such a consideration is important in assessing Flood's career and contribution. Certainly Flood entered the political arena at a time of great ferment in Anglo-Irish politics. Kelly emphasizes his high reputation and legacy, as opposed to the political impact he had in the short term.

At a number of levels, this is a highly successful work, combining as it does elements of family, locality, national, and British contexts to depict the different influences and phases in Flood's career. Flood has been rescued from relative obscurity, and many of the anomalies of his political career and legacy have been resolved. This work sets a high standard for other biographers of eighteenth-century political figures to follow.

THOMAS P. POWER
University of Toronto

JAMES S. DONNELLY, JR. and KERBY A. MILLER, editors. *Irish Popular Culture, 1650–1850*. Dublin: Irish Academic. 1998. Pp. xxxi, 284.

A book edited by two such distinguished historians as James S. Donnelly, Jr., and Kerby A. Miller promises to be lively and important: this collection of ten essays fully lives up to the expectations raised by the editorial imprimatur. The articles by an impressive panel of authors are source-based, and the tight editorial control is reflected in the way in which they complement one another. Cultural history can be esoteric, or it can serve as an essential strand in the study of social harmonies and conflicts and in the more elusive concern of detecting the layers of social change and continuity. In this latter sense, the cultural history of Ireland has lagged; this volume, in a pioneering approach, shows the importance of the themes, the versatility of approaches possible, and the richness of the source materials. The contributions range from the use of a single collection of letters exchanged within a family, converting Miller's article from the study of an obscure murder in Ballymahon, Co. Longford, in 1837, into an examination of the background of two warring camps in county elections, to a virtuoso exploration from a very wide and heterogeneous range of sources by Kevin Whelan of the Catholic small gentry/large farmer class.

In summary, the book covers responses to popular culture by both Protestant elite (Sean Connolly) and Catholic middle interest (Whelan), moving through popular religion and activities on the margin of religion (patterns and wakes explored in two separate studies) to popular education and popular reading matter and finally the cultural aspects of politicization, whether at a microlevel in a single town or the deft orchestration of Daniel O'Connell's celebrated monster meetings. Changing upper-class attitudes, which led to regulation and to efforts to control public consumption of alcohol, are closely linked to the decline of patterns (variously either religious or secular meetings enlivened by social activity). The pub itself is seen as part of the new regulatory apparatus of public life; the wake, as a private social occasion of support for a family's grief, survived better than public events. Popular schooling receives two interesting analyses (of teachers and teaching materials), complemented in turn by Niall O Ciosain's study of rogues as a feature in the popular literature that often served as reading material in the schools: these rogues turn out to be borrowings from English literature, intended originally for a middle-class audience, rather than emanations of Ireland's own turbulent history.

Rich in promise though cultural history is, it presents problems of its own. It can easily lead to an

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

overstressing of central themes of the subject, simply because, depending on how a given subject is approached in a given period, either change or continuity can be stressed. There is also the problem of measuring cumulative change against the impact of major events, whether the 1798 rebellion or the Great Famine. It may be asked whether the rebellion had as large a role as is often given to it in explaining the nature or evolution of sectarian tensions, and one of the problems of Famine study is that its catalyzing force for change is sometimes overstressed and the slow surrender of older modes of behavior and thought is not sufficiently thought out. A welcome feature of the book is that the Famine, which closes its chronological period, does not dominate the subject matter. It would, of course, gain in interest by going beyond mid-century; Elizabeth Malcolm's absorbing article on the pub acquires its significance from comparing later decades of the nineteenth century with a long preceding history.

The last two essays by Miller and Gary Owens should be read by political historians. Miller's article links together agrarian, sectarian, and political themes in an innovative way, and Owens's article not only diminishes the heroic potency of O'Connell's vote (often assumed to have been heard by hundreds of thousands of listeners) but also examines crowd size and the logistics and orchestration of what were, for their time, unique public occasions in Europe. A colonial context adds to the complexity of the issues, and the editors themselves draw attention to the difference in approach between Connolly, who sees Ireland as close to the general pattern of a European *ancien regime* and Whelan's stressing of the colonial context. If tradition was dying out, there were also, at a later date, rather artificial efforts to revive it.

L. M. Cullen
Trinity College, Dublin

Mary Peckham Magray. *The Transforming Power of the Nuns: Women, Religion, and Cultural Change in Ireland, 1750–1900*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 182. $45.00.

This volume adds to the field created by Catriona Clear's groundbreaking study, *Nuns in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (1987). Clear defined the circumstances under which convents proliferated over the course of the nineteenth century, growing from around a dozen or so to nearly four hundred houses, and thereby revealed a world few scholars of nineteenth-century Ireland knew. It is on this work and that of scholars like Anthony Fahy ("Nuns in the Catholic Church in Ireland in the Nineteenth Century," in Mary Cullen, ed. *Girls Don't Do Honours* [1987]) and Maria Luddy (*Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* [1995]) that Mary Peckham Magray builds her study. She informs the reader that these historians underestimate the part the convents played in nineteenth-century Irish church history (particularly with regard to what Emmet Larkin has called the "Devotional Revolution") and also underestimate their influence on Irish society. It is Magray's view that the nuns had more power in the church hierarchy than previously thought, and she stresses the important role these nuns had in shaping the ethos of the Irish middle classes.

For Magray, the nuns were almost the pivotal point of influence in nineteenth-century Ireland. Such a perspective is quite revolutionary to anyone who went through the Irish school system up to two decades or so ago and learned a version of Irish history that was dominated by the nationalist struggle. There is none of that in this book. Magray eloquently weaves a tale of middle and upper-middle-class women who entered socially segregated convents with the requisite dowries. Admittance was way beyond the reach of the lower classes, who could only hope to achieve the status of lay sister scrubbing floors, doing the laundry, and serving the food. Not for them the more honored position of the choir sister who took vows and attained status. The nuns established schools, hospitals, orphanages, and other charitable institutions, and Magray argues that they thus shaped middle-class social and religious values for generations.

She details their entrance into the convents and the effects of the "conventual movement" on society. Once inside, the nuns continued to influence their families and friends, begging them to receive the sacraments regularly and reprimanding them when it was necessary. Often there were chain-type vocations with sisters following each other or aunts into convents and subsequently being followed by nieces and cousins. Indeed, Magray goes as far as stating that becoming a nun may have been one of the most desired positions for middle-class females, giving them both social status and an alternative to marriage or spinsterhood. In the convent, they found social position, security, companionship, and even love. Magray devotes a chapter to the intriguing topic of "particular friendships" and discusses the difficult position convent leaders found themselves in when they had to decide whether or not to discourage these relationships. She argues that as long as a particular friendship was not interfering with the daily life of the convent or other relationships, it was allowed to continue. In fact, she writes, in some instances such friendships were seen as a sign of loyalty and greatly admired.

There are two contentious points about Magray's book. The first is that convents played a great role in shaping Irish middle class culture. The second point is that the nuns were strong women who had a great amount of independence from the male hierarchy. The first point, while a laudatory proposal, does not take into account other social, economic, and political influences on the Irish middle classes or the fact that males were only indirectly subject to their influence. The second is an interesting feminist view but does not explain the women's subordinate position in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

church and the copious letters in diocesan archives that testify to the nuns' constant subservience to local bishops. Both of these arguments also do not explain why, if the nuns were strong and independent in the church and molders of middle-class society, Irish women remained submissive and oppressed well into the twentieth century.

These points aside, this book is a valuable addition to the literature and is written in a style not often found in the world of historical scholarship. The reader is impelled to turn the pages and find out what happens next. The book contains intriguing stories about how entering convents changed the lives not only of the women themselves but also of their families and friends and, according to Magray, the society itself.

CLIONA MURPHY
California State University, Bakersfield

PETER HART. *The I.R.A. and Its Enemies: Violence and Community in Cork, 1916–1923*. New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1998. Pp. xv, 350. $75.00.

Cork, the county containing the largest land area and the third most populous city in Ireland, was peripheral to the 1916 Easter Rising, but it was deeply involved in the Anglo-Irish War of 1919–1921. Despite the fact that a Corkman, Michael Collins, led the rebel faction that supported the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty, most Cork units of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) remained loyal to the ideal of a republic rather than the dominion status offered by the treaty. Thus this southwestern county became the center of resistance to the authority of the new Irish Free State in the Civil War of 1922–1923, and it was here that Collins himself was assassinated.

Peter Hart has constructed an account of the violence by narrating a few specific episodes in considerable detail and then analyzing the social context in which they occurred. He has taken advantage of the huge body of archival material generated by all parties to the conflict, including the IRA itself, and he has made careful use of a number of interviews with IRA veterans and others. The result is elegant, vivid, and convincing.

Irish Republican orthodoxy teaches that the IRA, then as now, exercised force according to legal and ethical standards expected of the military of de jure states in wartime. Republican press releases in Belfast after "civilian" casualties during the past generation, for example, might easily serve as models for NATO statements on bombs that hit civilians in Yugoslavia. Hart makes no attempt to conceal barbarities committed by crown forces, but his treatment of the realities of the conflict makes plain that to follow the standards of conventional armies is to set the ethical bar very low indeed. His careful analysis of violent incidents enables him to distinguish between combat casualties—ones in which "the victims were part of an armed and active group when attacked"—and those in which they were "alone or unable to fight back" (p. 87). During 1920 in County Cork, the IRA did inflict more than twice as high a proportion of its casualties in "combat" than did the crown forces, but at the peak of the violence, between January and July of 1921, fewer than half of the casualties inflicted by either side occurred in combat. Thoughtful Irish readers will understand that these realities fit uncomfortably with popular romantic views of the "old" IRA.

The memories of Cork IRA veterans that there was no class tension in their organization appear to be largely borne out by contemporary data. Volunteers were drawn from a broad middle stratum of rural society, with a seemingly disproportionate share of clerks and shop assistants that reflected the migration of farmers' sons into the market towns of a society whose urban sector was not very clearly differentiated from the countryside. Naturally, most Volunteers were young males, and Hart finds age and gender to be more salient attributes than class in accounting for the picture he draws. Not only agrarian movements but also folk custom had sustained the bonding of young males in local groups that coerced conformity to community norms while asserting their own importance in an otherwise quite gerontocratic society. Hart points out fascinating continuities between traditional charivari rituals and the revolutionary culture.

In a chapter entitled "Taking It out on the Protestants," the author analyzes the ethnic cleansing that occurred in west Cork in April 1922. Although it is useful to have this ugly episode documented, his concluding chapter on "Spies and Informers" is even more disillusioning. Being suspected of or shot for informing depended on stereotypes. Protestants, ex-servicemen, and those on the margins of respectable Catholic society such as tinkers and tramps were much more likely to be shot for informing than to inform. Farmers and their sons, and especially Volunteers and their brothers, were more likely to inform than to be shot for informing.

At a time when the "revisionist" assault on old nationalist verities is being strongly challenged in Irish historiography, this work will give the "post-revisionist" defenders of popular memory food for thought.

DAVID W. MILLER
Carnegie Mellon University

STUART CARROLL. *Noble Power during the French Wars of Religion: The Guise Affinity and the Catholic Cause in Normandy*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xv, 298. $59.95.

It used to be common to seek economic and social explanations of the French civil wars of the sixteenth century. More recently, historians have been divided between those who study popular religious mentalities and those who examine the clash of noble clientage systems. Stuart Carroll considers the separation of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these two approaches misguided. He seeks to integrate them in a new and broader synthesis that redefines the articulation of early modern French society. In his own words, "this study has widened the horizons of traditional political history by elucidating relationships between aristocrats, their clients and the wider population" (p. 251). Few recent studies of the Wars of Religion escape his criticism.

Carroll's innovative vision is applied to the complexities of the Guise affinity in Normandy. Standard texts depict the magnates of this junior branch of the house of Lorraine as the hardline defenders of the ultra-Catholic cause and situate their power bases in the eastern provinces. Carroll shows that the descendants of Claude de Guise (1496–1550) were opportunists rather than religious zealots, who acquired extensive lands and influence in Normandy through strategic marriages with other noble families. Their success was due to the unity with which they planned the partition of their inheritances and the incorporation of other affinities at all levels of sword, robe, and bourgeois society.

With a series of tables and maps derived from a variety of scattered archives, Carroll expertly reconstructs the details of the lands and revenues of the branches of the Guise family in Normandy and elsewhere. He shows the genealogical networks of some of their clients and compares the wealth of the Guise with that of other magnates. In tracing their affinities, he insists that "horizontal ties of sociability and kinship were as important as the vertical bonds of deference, loyalty and material security" (p. 53). He examines the personnel of their households, their judicial and financial agents, their appointments within the companies of ordnance they commanded, and the multiple benefices they held in the church. He stresses the fluid nature of their clientage networks and the shifting of allegiances amid the political vacillations of the time.

The growth of the Guise affinity is followed, phase by phase, through the course of the civil wars. The result discredits the oversimple interpretation of these conflicts as a contest between three distinct parties of Huguenots, ultra-Catholics and *politiques*. Rather, the contending forces should be seen as "loosely constructed factions built around kinship, affinity and religion" (p. 112). This suggests that religion was exploited politically instead of constituting a motivating factor, but Carroll is fully aware of recent debates about the forces of popular confessional conviction, especially in regard to the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre. The actions of Henri de Guise, however, are depicted as the consequence of his feud with the Huguenot leader, Gaspard de Coligny, whom he held responsible for the assassination of his father, François de Guise, nine years earlier. For Carroll, the research involved in the spate of new studies of the massacre demonstrates that Guise was "dominated not by dogma but a wily defence of family honour and an opportunist and flexible reaction to events" (p. 252). Other members of the family were equally concerned with family honor, but they differed in their religious attitudes. Of the two cousins of Henri de Guise who were also major landholders in Normandy, Charles d'Aumale and Charles d'Elbeuf, the former, whose main political interests lay in Picardy, was something of a *dévot*, and the latter, who enrolled in his own army the malcontents left over from the Duke of Anjou's disastrous venture in the Netherlands, had more Protestant connections and more flexible beliefs than Henri de Guise himself.

All this may sound as if those who wish to put religion back into interpretation of the civil wars will derive little support from this book, but it is also Carroll's purpose to show how "complex networks of kinship and affinal solidarity ensured that religious anxiety was channelled into effective political action" (p. 220). He looks to the lower orders in town and countryside to substantiate this assertion. Here, perhaps, he is biting off more than he can chew, for he admits the autonomous nature of the popular movements that played so important a part in the later wars. The Guise, as well as other magnates and the crown itself, had to contend with the spirit of municipal independence, and with massive spontaneous peasant revolts that often crossed the religious divide and were directed at the predatory war bands of their social superiors. In Normandy, as in Brittany, it was largely fortuitous that the peasant armies of Gautiers, Lipans, and Francs-Museaux happened to be for a time enlisted in the Catholic League.

There have been several recent studies of the nobility in early modern France, but none of them advance a thesis as challenging as Carroll's. His book has not simplified the task of interpreting the civil wars, but it has brought historical representation a step closer to the complexities of past reality.

J. H. M. Salmon
Bryn Mawr College

Henry Phillips. *Church and Culture in Seventeenth-Century France*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Pp. ix, 334. $59.95.

The early modern period in European history is generally held to be the birth of the "modern" world, and one of the principal signs of modernity is commonly called secularism, some kind of weakening of the hold of orthodox religious doctrine over the minds of educated Europeans. In discussions of French history, the beginning of the Enlightenment, the chief movement of secularization, has usually been located in the seventeenth century. But frequently ignored or forgotten is the fact that in France, the seventeenth century (and not the sixteenth) was preeminently the time of the reception of the Catholic Reformation. How can the seventeenth century have been an age of enthusiastic religious reform and emerging secularization? Or, to ask this question in a more provocative way, why did the Catholic Reformation not last very long?

In an extremely erudite and therefore possibly in-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

timidating study, Henry Phillips seeks to answer such questions. He not only makes no allowance for readers less interested in these questions and less familiar with complex issues, he also chooses to employ postmodernist categories and language that can only confuse by making the simple abstruse and the self-evident obscure. Thus, this is not a book for the newcomer, and it will only repay the reader's close attention with much labor and perhaps even pain. It would not have been impossible—and certainly would have been desirable—to tackle these difficult questions in a less esoteric and sectarian spirit. In any case, most readers, whether amateurs or specialists, will have trouble taking away from their hours of thoughtful labor many clear conclusions about religion and culture in the France of the classical age.

Phillips is convincing in showing how the best intentions of Catholic reformers, scholars, and administrators led to ambiguous results. One excellent discussion concerns the biblical scholar Richard Simon (who said that only Germans originated biblical scholarship?). Simon sought to counter Protestant bibliolatrous claims about the Bible with study of the history of biblical tradition and a defense of the Catholic reliance on tradition, but he only ended up with J. B. Bossuet as a deadly enemy who used quasi-Protestant views of the Bible to destroy Simon's scholarly reputation. Simon seemed to many to have tried to destroy Catholic positions in order to save them. In this, he very much resembled another French priest two hundred years later, Alfred Loisy, who began with an attack on Adolf von Harnack's liberal Protestant view of Christian origins and ended up undermining Catholicism. Simon has had many defenders, but Phillips is skeptical of his intent or at least of his influence. At least he does not claim him for non-belief, as did Paul Hazard earlier in the twentieth century. Blaise Pascal was another defender of the Catholic faith who may have weakened it more than he strengthened it. Phillips discusses this possibility only briefly, but one might like to recall that Charles Maurras, that notable ex-Catholic Catholic, deplored the effect of reading Pascal on his faith and hope. Whatever Catholics did in the seventeenth century only seemed to strengthen their enemies. Jansenism may have worked for the unintended yet decisive dechristianization of a once pious Catholic bourgeoisie.

With Jean Delumeau, we need to remember that christianization and dechristianization proceeded together, with some regions and groups getting evangelized in a meaningful way for the first time as others were on the road to abandoning a vibrant faith. Because the Catholic Reformation came so late to France—largely as a result of the religious wars of the sixteenth century—there was no time for vigorous reform to implant itself before libertines, freethinkers, and dissenting Catholics were emboldened to do their worst. Phillips provides no certain answers, but perhaps the culprit is, after all, the traditional one: the Protestant Reformation. Protestantism destroyed French religious unity, enmeshed Catholics in bitter conflict about how to engage the enemy successfully, and weakened the ability of the first Catholic nation and its Most Christian King to respond to the challenges of the modern world. This is not a conclusion that Dale Van Kley would entirely agree with (see *Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution* [1996]), but *honi soit qui mal y pense*.

NORMAN RAVITCH
University of California, Riverside

SYLVIE PERRIER. *Des enfances protégées: La tutelle des mineurs en France (XVII^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles); Enquête à Paris et à Châlons-sur-Marne*. Saint-Denis, France: Presses universitaires de Vincennes. 1998. Pp. 256. 150 fr.

In *ancien régime* France, the death of one or both parents left minor children orphans. The legal system of guardianship (*tutelle*) aimed to protect orphans and their patrimony until they reached the age of majority (twenty-five in regions of customary law). The guardian (*tuteur, tutrice*), usually the surviving parent but at times a close relative, managed the orphan's patrimony (collecting revenues and paying expenses), represented the minor in legal transactions, and saw to the care and education of his or her wards (*pupilles*). The entire process was governed by legal rules and was subject to the supervision of the courts. Drawing on legal documents from two towns that observed different customary laws—Paris and Châlons-sur-Marne—Sylvie Perrier describes in meticulous detail the operation of the system from its initial stages to its completion: the selection of the guardian by an assembly of relatives; the drafting of an inventory of the deceased parent's real and personal property; the arrangements that emerged over time for the minor's education, lodging, and other basic necessities; the periodic consultations between the tutor and other relatives; the remarriage of the surviving parent and its legal implications; the tutor's final financial account submitted either informally to relatives or formally at law; and the possible interruption of the guardianship by the death of the minor or the tutor, or by the orphan's marriage, entrance into the religious life, or emancipation before the age of majority.

Had Perrier done no more than clarify all the rules, procedures, and possibilities that attended guardianship, her study would be an important contribution, owing to the paucity of historical scholarship on the civil law in early modern France. But she accomplishes far more than this, using guardianship as a vehicle to explore a broad range of issues related to family life and childhood. Above all, she investigates how families employed the law in daily, concrete situations to promote strategies intended to preserve the minor's inheritance and to prepare the child for adult life. What emerges from the case studies is less a single,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

overarching interpretation than a series of observations, each grounded in archival sources and the work of other scholars, about such diverse issues as the composition of the network of relatives that assumed responsibility for the child's welfare, the differences in the education of boys and girls, the occasional recourse that relatives had to state authority to discipline unruly orphans, and the great mobility of the children, not only as they moved from one household to another, but also as they entered apprenticeships, boarded at convents, or attended *collèges* and universities.

One theme that is especially well developed concerns the tensions that could arise between paternal and maternal branches of the family as each sought to protect its portion of the child's inheritance from waste, fraud, and improper division. These tensions, and the settling of old scores, tended to surface at certain critical moments in the guardianship, such as when the tutor submitted the financial account, when a child (often supported by one faction of the family) sought early emancipation, and when the surviving parent remarried, which introduced new networks of relatives into the orphan's life and threatened to confound inheritances of different origins. Like a polar star fixed in the constellation of family interests, the preservation of patrimony guided all the major decisions concerning the child's formation. This was so even in the second half of the eighteenth century, when the emotional welfare of children became an increasingly important subject in legal discourse as it did in society at large.

To be sure, the legal papers that Perrier has consulted impose strict limits on how far she can advance the inquiry. Because the establishment of guardianship was a voluntary act not required by law, only families with significant property—nobles, merchants, prosperous artisans, and the like—participated. Only a minority of these families required tutors to present to judicial officials elaborate financial accounts, the most informative documents for tracing the history of particular guardianships. Legal prescriptions varied from one region of customary law to the next, and areas following Roman law (which are not covered in this book) had their own rules and procedures. Because the law generally accorded males the predominant role in making decisions, female voices are muted. By their very nature, court records highlight conflict rather than cooperation in families. But Perrier is well aware of these limitations and acknowledges them at length. In the process, she offers useful lessons for interpreting legal sources. Her circumspection lends credence to her conclusions. This is legal history at its best.

ALBERT N. HAMSCHER
Kansas State University

PIERRE CHAUNU, MADELEINE FOISIL, and FRANÇOISE DE NOIRFONTAINE. *Le basculement religieux de Paris au XVIII^e siècle: Essai d'histoire politique et religieuse.* Paris: Fayard, for Centre de recherches Roland-Mousnier, Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne. 1998. Pp. 619. 198 fr.

Especially since the work of Michel Vovelle, it has been realized that the grand dechristianization that occurred during the French Revolution had its roots in the Old Regime. Vovelle focused on Provence; Pierre Chaunu, Madeleine Foisil, and Françoise de Noirfontaine, in what they term an "essai à trois voix," focus on Paris and the great religious swing that occurred there, transforming the capital from a highly religious city to a dechristianized one. They examine two important potential causes of that change: Jansenism and the Enlightenment.

In studies of other dioceses, Vovelle, Yves-Marie Bercé, and Dominique Dinet have all suggested that an enduring Jansenist episcopate often had an ironic effect; the reduction of outward manifestations of religious belief also reduced inner religiosity. Paris, though, was different; the Cardinal de Noailles was at the fringes of Jansenism, not at the core, and was followed by two archbishops of ultramontane beliefs, especially the intransigent Christophe de Beaumont. The tale of these three prelates, related in detail by Noirfontaine and Foisil, forms the core of the book. They narrate the dispute over the papal bull *Unigenitus* (1713), solicited from Clement IX by Louis XIV as a culmination of the king's anti-Jansenist campaign. Jansenists—clergy and laity—with strong allies in the parlements resisted attempts of both bishops and the government to compel acceptance of this decree. In strongly Jansenist Paris, as Foisil and Noirfontaine show, this led to continuous problems. Noailles, with his Jansenist leanings, was reluctant to accept any of the compromises proposed by the regent and Cardinal Fleury to obtain a superficial acceptance of the bull, while his successors, with their far greater support of it, provoked strong reactions by the Parisian clergy that elicited the support of the Parlement of Paris and led to important clashes between the law courts and the royal government, with consequences that went far beyond the original religious issues. Neither author, though, addresses the question of how these upsets may have contributed to the growing decline in religious practice in Paris in the 1760s. Still, this is a good, informative treatment. Foisil's analysis of the pious, charitable, and completely intransigent Beaumont is the best thing that has been done on this prelate.

Chaunu's contribution consists of highly opinionated essays that precede and follow the more heavily researched work of his co-authors. They are marred by strong, often intemperate language that the other authors avoid; the phrase "Jansenist hydra" occurs at least twice. Denunciation at times obstructs analysis. The first essay concerns the theological ancestry of the papal bull and of Jansenism, as well as the challenges to this traditional Christian theology from philosophy and science. For all the implied ultramontanism of his vehement language, Chaunu has a somewhat Gallican and critical treatment of both the manner in which the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bull was drawn up in Rome and of the way in which Louis XIV tried strongly at the end of his life to compel its observance. The second essay deals with the Enlightenment in an unsatisfactory manner. Rather than attempt to show how Enlightenment ideas may have affected popular religious mentality in the capital, Chaunu gives a highly negative account of the early career of Voltaire, relenting in his language only when discussing the Calas and la Barre cases, neither of which occurred in Paris and one of which was not within the jurisdiction of the Parlement of Paris. The only other philosophe discussed is the theophilanthropic Louis-Sebastien Mercier, whose writings appeared after the great decline in religious observation, and whom Chaunu treats with surprising sympathy. The chapter on Le Clerc de Juigné, the last prerevolutionary archbishop of Paris, based almost entirely on an unpublished work by one of Chaunu's students, is almost haigographic in tone, but it contributes little to the argument because the great swing in religiosity occurred earlier.

Another problem comes with the appendixes. Based on Chaunu's earlier book *La mort à Paris: XVI^e^, XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ Siècles* (1978), and on books by Jean-Pierre Bardet, these are not integrated into the arguments presented. Thus the book's announced promise of three different perspectives leading to the same conclusions is not well fullfilled. Because this reviewer is one of those historians who, like Dale Van Kley, has long believed that the failure of the French government to resolve satisfactorily its religious problems, especially that of Jansenism, was a major cause of later troubles with the parlements contributing directly to the loss of faith in absolute monarchy and indirectly to financial problems, the book's failure to integrate well the problems of Jansenism, the Enlightenment, and the decline of religiosity in Paris is a disappointment.

David Hudson
California State University, Fresno

Gérard Gayot. *Les draps de Sedan 1646–1870.* (Civilisations et sociétés, number 95.) Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. 1998. Pp. 579. 300 fr.

Before its name was linked with military disasters in 1870 and 1940, the French frontier town of Sedan (Ardennes) was best known for its woolen textile industry. For two centuries, the expensive *drap de Sedan* was the fabric of choice for important segments of the European population. The city's lustrous black and blue-black cloth was in steady demand for judges' robes and clerics' cassocks and was considered indispensable for fashionable mourning-wear. The ceremonial robes of the *tiers état* at the opening of the Estates General, the sober frock coats of the postrevolutionary bourgeoisie, and the muted office apparel of nineteenth-century bureaucrats all advertised the skills of the city's merchant-drapers and craftsmen, while more brightly colored Sedan woolens attired elite regiments of the royal and imperial armies.

A typical *manufacture royale privilégiée* of the Old Regime, Sedan's textile industry was established by royal ordinance in 1646, shortly after the largely Protestant fortress town was brought within France's borders. Intended to reduce French consumption of imported fabric, the industry copied popular foreign patterns but remained dependent on shipments of high-quality Segovian merino wool (an expense that regularly accounted for half the total cost of finished cloth). The crown endowed the fledgling industry with tax exemptions, protected it with tariffs, provided precise quality standards and inspections, and lured merchants and artisans (particularly from wool towns in the neighboring Low Countries) to Sedan. Although revocation of the Edict of Nantes and harassment of Protestants seriously retarded the industry's growth, it recovered by the 1740s and the last decades of the *ancien régime* saw a period of sustained prosperity and expansion. The empire inaugurated another twenty years of rising sales and profits, but the growing conservatism of the city's leading manufacturers and their failure to modernize and mechanize the weaving of their expensive fabric led to the industry's gradual collapse in mid-century.

Gérard Gayot's gracefully written and beautifully illustrated text reflects the comprehensive research characteristic of a French doctoral thesis. Students of the eighteenth-century French textile industries will encounter familiar sources generated by the state's relentless oversight—*mémoires*, surveys, and encyclopedia articles by hardworking inspectors, subdelegates, intendants, and *maîtres-jurés*—as well as skillfully exploited municipal and ministerial deliberations, police and notarial files, fiscal accounts, and family and business papers. Although Gayot's coverage of the post-Napoleonic industry is somewhat less thorough, it benefits from the extensive use of an excellent family memoir by André de Neuflize (1784–1836), the last head of one of the city's foremost merchant-draper dynasties.

Interpretively, Gayot demonstrates a dynamic entrepreneurial spirit among the directors of Sedan's "proto-industry," challenging the arguments of Fernand Braudel and William Reddy, among others, that the dispersed and artisanal character of preindustrial textile manufacturing did not yet require the sort of heavy capital investment and factory discipline that characterized industrial capitalism. While the initial stages of production in Sedan (particularly spinning, carding, and weaving) were consigned to a rural cottage workforce, the better-paid and highly skilled finishing trades (on which the reputation of Sedan woolens largely depended)—napping, shearing, fulling, dyeing, drying, and hot-pressing—were not. The artisans who performed these tasks were gathered in large, multistoried mills in Sedan and its suburbs, under close supervision, and carried out their specialized work in designated areas of the building, as fabric

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was moved systematically from one finishing process to the next.

These mills, Gayot argues, were "proto-factories," requiring not only a substantial outlay for construction, tools, and craftsmen but "Taylorist" practices to efficiently manage production and labor. Such methods provoked recurrent labor disputes between owners and militant cloth-shearers (*tondeurs*) as the latter resisted efforts to encroach on their rights as skilled craftsmen. Though they lacked status as a *jurande* (only the merchant-drapers were a recognized *corps* in the industry), the shearers elected delegates, prepared petitions, collected strike funds, and initiated work stoppages to block employers' efforts to compel them to perform unskilled labor, increase the number of poorly paid (and more docile) apprentices in the workshops, and pay them in kind rather than in cash. Shearer resistance was finally broken in 1750, but Gayot presents convincing evidence for the development of a sophisticated corporate mentality in the *tondeurs*' resistance to de facto proletarianization.

This excellent monograph can take its place with respected studies of French towns and industries of the same period by Maurice Agulhon, Pierre Deyon, Maurice Garden, and Pierre Goubert.

David Longfellow
Baylor University

Gilbert Shapiro and John Markoff. *Revolutionary Demands: A Content Analysis of the Cahiers de Doléances of 1789*. Foreword by Charles Tilly. Assisted by Timothy Tackett and Philip Dawson. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998. Pp. xxxii, 684. $75.00.

In addition to offering new insights into the French Revolution, this book is an important cultural document. Because it originated in the 1950s amid budding enthusiasm for quantitative studies and has been in process ever since then, the project opens a window on to the development of the historical discipline as a whole. It does so somewhat laboriously—how many books have front matter the length of an average article?—but never without repaying the reader's attention. Gilbert Shapiro and John Markoff provide a clear introduction to a difficult and ambitious plan of research that has occupied most of their adult lives. Although they refuse to discuss this adventure in personal terms, adhering throughout to a sober and measured social-scientific voice, the case they make includes many instructive lessons about just what can and cannot be learned from this kind of highly financed, collaborative, multi-year project.

The book is divided into four parts: an in-depth discussion of content analysis as a method; a detailed examination of the *cahiers de doléances* as sources; a relatively short section reporting on statistical tests for reliability of coding and document sampling; and a final longer section comprised of individual studies undertaken by various authors using the data archive. An implicit narrative weaves throughout this seemingly matter-of-fact presentation. Part one is about ambitions chastened. The project leaders report their discovery that there is no agreed-upon method of content analysis and tell a tale of constantly frustrated hopes: "so much of the published product of content analyses has seemed either trivial in its impact or based upon subjective procedures patently wanting in minimal scientific rigor" (p. 31). Part two recounts the recovery of nerve as the researchers dig into the richness of the data at their disposal; here they confirm their belief that "despair is premature" (p. 59), that "a general sense of futility" (p. 65) can be overcome with a method that relies on trained human coders using concrete, inductive codes that permit constant revision. Part three somewhat defensively trumpets probable success based on statistical tests of the reliability and standardization of codes and the bias of selection in the *cahiers*. Part four then surprisingly but tellingly settles for fragmentary results. It offers no general interpretation of the French Revolution. Resolution proves to be incomplete, but hope is reaffirmed.

This implied narrative is a faithful representation of the scientific ambitions of quantitative history. No longer claiming, as some once did, that this is the only way to carry out historical research and argument, Shapiro and Markoff nonetheless persuasively maintain that a "quasi-experimental"—that is, systematically comparative and quantitative—method can produce significant, if necessarily partial and provisional, causal explanations. At a time when the status of causal analysis is itself in question, this is important ammunition for those who believe that history can still interact fruitfully with the social sciences, seek causal explanations, and participate in the building of social-science theories.

This book does not, however, follow the usual monographic model, if only because it is so long and detailed. Although at first glance it appears to lay out a thesis, present the evidence, recount tests run on the data, and then advance conclusions, it reads more like two overlapping books. The first three parts are almost entirely focused on content analysis as a method and the particular approach to content analysis developed by the authors. It will be interesting chiefly to those concerned with social-science method. The main virtue of this section (of nearly 250 pages not including notes) is that the authors provide an excellent history of content analysis as a method in the social sciences and offer a convincingly detailed presentation of their own method of constructing a widely usable data bank. The chief defect is that readers uninterested by the ins and outs of social science method will lose heart before they reach the pay-off in terms of analysis. Shapiro and Markoff provide adequate warning, but those who leap instantly to the last part might be disappointed by the "illustrative" and admittedly inconclusive analyses offered there.

Historians concerned with the French Revolution will find a book for them in parts two and four

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(comprising together some 250 pages exclusive of notes and appendixes). Although part two on the *cahiers* might tell them more than they ever wanted to know about these undeniably crucial documents, they will find there a wide-ranging discussion of the convocation of the Estates General and the 40,000 grievance lists produced for it. Systematic study of the *cahiers* as sources provides some important initial findings: in a clever series of comparisons, the authors show that though some groups exercised more influence on the drafting process than others, the *cahiers* did not reflect a slavish adherence to precirculated models or the views of local notables.

The studies in the last part of the book offer many important insights, too many to recount in detail here. But it is significant that Shapiro and Markoff describe them primarily as illustrations of the method: "they are intended to illustrate the variety of purposes to which the data archive can be put and the variety of methods that can be used in its exploitation" (p. 247). Why is it that the hundreds of conclusions drawn here on specific issues (e.g. peasants complained about the seigneurial system too and not just about taxes levied by the state, as some have argued) do not add up to a general interpretation? Are the results incomplete, as the authors sometimes seem to imply, or is there an unbridgeable conceptual gap between the kinds of claims that can be tested (who made which demands and how often and how insistently?) and those that are crucial to any more general interpretation? It is disappointing that Shapiro and Markoff do not explicitly address this issue. They suggest the need for "a new theoretical synthesis" (p. 295) but apparently feel they do not yet have the data needed to propose one of their own. Systematic study helps determine the shape of the pieces, but it has not yet provided the big picture that constitutes the puzzle.

LYNN HUNT
University of California, Los Angeles

YVES LAISSUS. *L'Égypte, une aventure savante: Avec Bonaparte, Kléber, Menou 1798–1801*. Paris: Fayard. 1998. Pp. 614. 170 fr.

This book by Yves Laissus is, in many respects, the definitive study of the French scholars who accompanied Napoleon Bonaparte's army to Egypt and pioneered the modern study of the Orient in Europe. Unfortunately, it is too easy for an English-speaking historian of modern Egypt to find flaws in the work, and this fact may discourage readers who, had they persevered, would have profited greatly from it. I will begin with a discussion of the problems, not because they undermine the study but to get these matters out of the way.

First, Laissus's unrestrained admiration for the French expedition and the work of the savants can lead the reader to overlook the cruel realities of the French occupation. The French were imperialists, engaged in a colonizing venture despite the high-sounding rhetoric of their propagandists. They dealt ruthlessly with the inevitable groundswell of Egyptian opposition that their exploitative policies provoked. Second, the author's unfamiliarity with secondary works in English, especially standard treatments of Ottoman Egypt, makes it difficult for him to situate the French conquest and administration within its Egyptian context.

These are serious deficiencies. They would vitiate most studies, but they do not undermine the value of this work because of the author's enormous mastery of the French side of the story. No one knows more about the savants than Laissus or is more skillful in exploiting their accounts to bring readers face-to-face with the drama of the expedition itself. The aspirations of the military men and the scholars, the ideological fervor that the French Revolution let loose among its devotees, and the unbounded optimism of the mainly young men of talents whom Bonaparte recruited for his mission reverberate throughout the volume. The work captures the daring of the expedition as well as the conceit of the French, who believed not only that they could overwhelm their Mamluk-Ottoman adversaries on the field of battle, as they did at the pyramids, but also that they could win the affection of the local population much as they were doing throughout Europe, through the attraction of their ideals. In all of their schemes, the French military counted on the savants to play decisive, albeit supporting roles. Scholars were to gain knowledge of local conditions so that the French rulers could make Egypt a more productive colony.

Laissus makes clear that Bonaparte enlisted this large contingent of scholars, about 160 men in all, not because of his love of pure knowledge, although he expected many benefits of this kind to occur, but as instruments of French power and facilitators of colonization. Relations between the savants and the military were far from cordial, however. Although Bonaparte doted on the scientists and accorded them special favors, his senior officers grumbled. Tensions came to a head during J. H. F. Menou's tenure as commander in chief. Lacking the legitimacy and charisma that his predecessors, Bonaparte and J. H. B. Kléber, possessed, Menou barely contained the hostility between his civil and military subordinates.

Laissus's decision to organize his study chronologically rather than topically often precludes comprehensive and systematic analyses of some of the most crucial topics. His treatment of the Institut d'Égypt, for instance, the major meeting place and focal point of scholarly discussions for the savants, is dispersed throughout the book. He deals expertly, however with Dominique Vivant Denon's fact-finding travels in Upper Egypt and Jacques-Marie Le Pere's misguided effort to measure the sea levels between the the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. His all too brief segment on the decisions to compile the scholars' researches into a multi-volumed work, eventually entitled *Description de l'Égypt*, is also well done. But one longs for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more overviews of French opinion on Egypt and more sustained analysis of just what the expedition meant to the French and the Egyptians. Was there a prevailing, largely contemptous French view of Egypt and Islam, as Edward Said has suggested in his book, *Orientalism* (1978)? Or did the French see things clearly and objectively? The author's fragmentary discussions, scattered throughout the book, suggest that he found the French savants generally sympathetic to Egypt and lacking deep-seated prejudices toward the Orient. In making use of the travel accounts of C.-F. Volney and A.-F.-M.-R. Savary, for example, the savants noted where these two travelers had gotten things wrong and where they were right. The overall impression that Laissus leaves of the savants in their contact with Egypt is that they were meticulous in their studies and left a reliable record of the people, institutions, and events that they witnessed. But these crucial analytical questions are never fully tackled—a sad lack, because no one is better positioned to deal with them than the author.

ROBERT L. TIGNOR
Princeton University

JOHN I. BROOKS III. *The Eclectic Legacy: Academic Philosophy and the Human Sciences in Nineteenth-Century France*. Newark: University of Delaware Press. 1998. Pp. 323. $49.50.

In the huge body of scholarship that has emerged on the intellectual and institutional history of the human sciences in France, it has been more usual to treat academic philosophy as an obstacle than as an influence on social science. The eclectic philosophy of the nineteenth century is often discussed in order to be dismissed as the body of knowledge against which the first social scientists reacted in order to establish their more scientific views, and philosophers are held responsible for delaying or sabotaging careers or for excluding social-science courses from the curriculum. Historians have often preferred to emphasize an intellectual pedigree that originated with Herbert Spencer, Auguste Comte, and Jean-Marie Charcot than the vague moral idealism taught in the official philosophical syllabus that reigned between 1832 and 1902 in French secondary education.

John I. Brooks III proposes in this book to reexamine the intellectual and pedagogic legacy of academic philosophy with an eye to revealing the substantial influence eclecticism had on the figures who are held to have put the human sciences on truly scientific and positive foundations: Théodule Ribot, Alfred Espinas, Pierre Janet, and Émile Durkheim. When one looks seriously at texts, Brooks argues, one discovers attributions and intellectual debts that have been obscured in the attention that has been paid by recent scholars to the politics of institutionalization and to the broader ideological implications of competing schools of sociological and psychological theory. By focusing more closely on the intellectual and rhetorical aspects of the official philosophical syllabus, Brooks is able to explain successfully not only how eclecticism was assimilated into French social science but why its influence was practically inevitable. In the process of demonstrating this important influence, Brooks provides the clearest account we possess in English of the content of the philosophical culture of nineteenth-century educated elites.

Brooks begins by carefully and economically outlining the structure and function of the post-Napoleonic *université*, the corps of teachers and administrators that staffed secondary and higher education. He discusses the central role played by the philosophical syllabus in providing intellectual unity to the literary option in the curriculum and shows how the eclectic philosopher Victor Cousin set his stamp on the cohorts trained in the two decades between 1832 and 1851, including Janet, Adolphe Franck, and Elme Caro. Although Brooks provides a remarkably thorough précis of the syllabus, his most important contribution in the first section of the book is to show how the synthetic nature of eclecticism enabled its philosophers to endorse empiricism and scientific method along with their better-known embrace of the autonomous moral subject and of a characteristic metaphysical idealism.

There follow chapters on Ribot, Espinas, Janet, and Durkheim and one on various philosophical critics—Charles Renouvier, Elie Rabier, Émile Boutroux—of eclecticism. In each chapter, Brooks traces the give and take between eclecticism and its critics, with useful asides for influences from outside the academy (Comte, Spencer, Darwinism, and German psychophysics). The picture that emerges does not resemble a desperate struggle between an academic monopoly and its enemies so much as a vigorous but tolerant debate between men who shared a large body of common assumptions about method and ideals. Brooks then underlines the doctrinal generosity of the debates by exploring the process by which philosophical degrees and appointments were awarded, where panels of "spiritualist" philosophers awarded chairs to men who were ostensibly their epistemological opposites.

Ribot, Espinas, Janet, and Durkheim all received degrees and university appointments, despite the scientific determinism that served as the basis for their research programs as pioneers of the human sciences. In brilliantly focused reviews of their principal texts and careers, Brooks shows how, to greater or lesser degree, the anti-reductionism, psychologism, and moral autonomy of eclecticism were incorporated into the thought of each man, becoming elements in Ribot's evolutionary psychology, Espinas's biologistic sociology, Janet's studies of psychopathology, and Durkheim's sociology. Brooks is a lucid and fair-minded guide through the brambles of eclecticism; he writes with unfailing clarity about philosophical issues without simplifying or distorting them. He is, above all, always aware that he is writing the history of philoso-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

phy and resists the impulse to convert nineteenth-century meanings into modern equivalents.

This study of the philosophical origins of modern social science in France owes little to the methods of the new cultural history. Brooks only cursorily explores the relationship eclectic philosophy had to political ideologies, literary culture, or the natural sciences. This is rock-ribbed intellectual history where intentions, the continuity of meaning, and causal influence take precedence over textual undecidability, reader resistance, and indeterminacy. It is precisely by taking the philosophy of the past seriously in its own terms that Brooks has helped us better understand how and why contemporaries found eclecticism so necessary to moral speculation and to social science.

ROBERT A. NYE
Oregon State University

PAULA E. HYMAN. *The Jews of Modern France*. (Jewish Communities in the Modern World, number 1.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 283. Cloth $45.00, paper $16.95.

First of a series, edited by David Sorkin of the University of Wisconsin, on the Jews of individual countries in the modern world, Paula E. Hyman's book presents a fine historical survey of the period from the eighteenth century to the 1980s. The book begins with a look at the 40,000-plus Jews on the eve of the French Revolution: Sephardic Jews, mostly on the periphery of the French kingdom in the Bordeaux region in the southwest and in the Provençal communities of the south, and Ashkenazic Jews in Alsace-Lorraine in the northeast. It ends with some sociological observations of a great mass of over 700,000—the largest Jewish population in Europe, apart from the successor states of the former Soviet Union, an agglomeration of well-established French Jews, together with masses of immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe, and, most recently, over 200,000 who have come from North Africa—reminding us that North America is not the only land of Jewish immigration in the modern period, and not the only intended melting pot.

The account presented here, Hyman notes, is to some degree paradigmatic of the history of Jews elsewhere in the West. This history is the history of Jewish emancipation, the final chapters of which remain to be written and which the other volumes promised in the series may perhaps illuminate. In the beginning, there were relatively autonomous communities. Eighteenth-century French Jews were hardly French at all in that they lived their lives within a framework defined by largely self-governing corporations. Tolerated aliens, they were inwardly focused, like the overwhelming majority of their non-Jewish countrymen and women, traditional, accustomed (and largely content) to negotiate their status and privileges with the monarchs of the day. The French Revolution shattered this state of affairs, bringing Jews into modern French society. Jews in France, Hyman notes, "were the first to confront the opportunities and challenges offered by emancipation, the first to grapple with the problem of reconciling a modicum of Jewish particularity with the proclaimed universalism of citizenship in a modern state" (p. 18). Completing that process, Napoleon launched a state-defined supervision for the Jews and articulated for them a state-defined project of regeneration: "the inculcation of civic rectitude and order, the promotion of French and secular learning in general, the encouragement of 'useful professions' among Jewish youth, and the adaptation of Jewish ritual to the aesthetic standards of the French bourgeoisie" (p. 52).

How did this somewhat inauspicious invitation to citizenship affect Jews in France? The answer depends heavily on one's point of view. Skeptical of the highly celebratory accounts of many well-established French Jews, some historians (including myself) have accented the effacement of Jewish identity, the contortions of Franco-Jewish patriotism, and the betrayal of universalistic ideals by French governments and officialdom, particularly during the Vichy period, when a made-in-France campaign against the Jews promoted the persecution of over 300,000 and facilitated the murder of some 80,000. More recently, researchers have highlighted the positive, noting the creation of authentic, varied forms of modern Jewish identity, underscoring the genuine socio-economic, cultural and intellectual achievements of Jews in France and attempting to put into balanced context the occasional outbursts of anti-Semitism, whether in the Dreyfus period, in the 1930s, or in recent years.

Happily, the history of Jews in France has gone past this debate, which was begun under the shadow of the Holocaust and to some degree suffered as a result. Historians are giving new attention to the waves of immigration that have so importantly transformed Jewish life in France, to questions of class and gender, to the diversity of Jewish identities in France, to the lively intellectual ferment within French Jewry since the student uprising of 1968, and to the important shift in the position of Jews in a French society in which *le droit à la différence* has discordantly become part of the national conversation. Balanced and well-documented, Hyman's narrative suggests, at the end, that its theme is moving to the center of attention in an increasingly multicultural and multi-ethnic country. From the margins to the center: the French-Jewish ultra patriots would have appreciated the observation, although their own understanding of French-Jewish history was entirely different from that presented in these pages.

MICHAEL R. MARRUS
University of Toronto

GEORGE E. MELTON. *Darlan: Admiral and Statesman of France, 1881–1942*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1998. Pp. viii, 250. $59.95.

Admiral François Darlan has been the most enigmatic of the Vichy French leaders. Taciturn, unfathomable

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in his switch to the Allied side in November 1942, half forgotten after his assassination six weeks later, he left a more ambiguous image than either Marshal Philippe Pétain or Pierre Laval. Yet Darlan's performance as head of government (February 1941–April 1942) and commander-in-chief of French armed forces (April-December 1942) and his version of *collaboration d'état*—working with the victorious Nazis out of a presumed national interest rather than ideological affinity—are indispensable for understanding the Vichy regime.

George E. Melton gives us a well-documented but flawed study of Darlan. In addition to German, French, and American archives and private papers, he has made good use of American intelligence reports, including hitherto unknown intercepts of Vichy dispatches.

Melton justifiably dismisses the war propaganda image of Darlan as pro-fascist or crassly opportunist. His portrayal of a pragmatist trying to play a weak but authentically French hand under the inauspicious circumstances of partial German occupation is on the right track. Darlan's fixed point was the integrity of the empire, which he defended first by trying to exclude every belligerent, lest others be drawn in, and then, wherever powerful intruders forced his hand, by siding with the one likeliest to restore French sovereignty.

Not all Melton's interpretations convince, however. One wishes he had raised his eyes more often from the blow by blow to survey the world view hidden within Darlan's private memoranda. For the admiral faced redoubtable choices.

When Darlan aligned his undefeated navy with the pro-peace faction on June 15, 1940, was disciplined obedience his only motive? He gave his officers broad political, moral, and material justifications for stopping the fight.

Melton probably underestimates Darlan's eagerness for a sweeping bargain with Adolf Hitler in May 1941: peace and a guarantee of the empire in exchange for supplies and access to French bases at Bizerte and Dakar. He portrays Darlan "foot-dragging" against his own proposal in the fall of 1941, although the record seems to show him trying to revive Hitler's waning interest in it.

Darlan's excruciating choice in November 1942—to abandon resistance to the Allied landing in North Africa and return French Africa to war against Germany (at the cost of German occupation of the Vichy zone)—tempts Melton, as it has most sympathetic biographers (including the best-informed French biographers, Hervé Coutau-Bégarie and Claude Huan), to predate the admiral's switch. Melton says Darlan "hardened" against the German occupation in late 1941 and ended his collaboration policy in early 1942. As armed forces commander after April 1942, however, he continued to prepare French Africa to oppose an Allied invasion, and after the invasion succeeded, he abandoned neutrality only slowly and reluctantly.

Melton's claim that Laval's return in April 1942 "delivered France into the service of Germany" (p. 154) requires him to omit some of Darlan's services to the Axis, such as the 1941 joint Franco-German aircraft production agreement and Darlan's offer of some naval intelligence to Admiral Erich Raeder in January 1942.

Melton compares Darlan favorably to Laval. Both bargained with Hitler for perceived mutual interest rather than out of ideological sympathy. Darlan, in fact, was more eager than Laval to remake France along authoritarian-technocratic lines, in keeping with his naval predilection for efficiency. Melton barely mentions the young antiparliamentary technocrats who advised the admiral. Paul Marion—who, as Denis Peschanski has shown, brought Vichy propaganda close to totalitarian models—goes unmentioned.

Indeed, Melton mostly ignores domestic politics. He makes much of Darlan's Radical-Socialist background, but it is precisely the predominance of disgruntled ex-republicans (like Darlan and Laval) rather than interwar pro-fascists at Vichy that needs explaining. Their itineraries, via the conviction, among others, that war against Germany could only serve Communist interests, were worth more attention. Darlan was surely anticommunist long before winter 1940, when Melton first mentions it.

Melton alludes to Vichy's anti-Jewish measures only to suggest more "foot-dragging" by Darlan. Although the admiral favored relief for Jewish war veterans (as did early Nazi legislation), his government enacted the Second Jewish Statute and the "aryanization" of Jewish property (June-July 1941), both unmentioned here.

Who ordered Darlan's murder? Melton has no proof, but he suspects Charles de Gaulle, of whom he takes a dim view throughout.

Some errors creep in. Camille Chautemps, for example, was not navy minister in 1940 (or ever). The text shows signs of having being crammed into too few pages. Melton has uncovered a wealth of documentation, but his Darlan is not seen whole.

ROBERT O. PAXTON
Columbia University

TONY JUDT. *The Burden of Responsibility: Blum, Camus, Aron, and the French Twentieth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1998. Pp. vii, 196. $17.50.

In *Past Imperfect: French Intellectuals, 1944–1956* (1992), Tony Judt offered "an essay on intellectual irresponsibility," centered around the theme of the hegemony of Communism in postwar French intellectual life. In that book, Judt argued that a belief in the "progressive" character of the Soviet Union and in a Communist-inspired discourse of proletarian revolution exerted an almost irresistible force in France, leading to a blindness to the depredations of Soviet power in Russia and Eastern Europe, a credulous Third Worldism, and a moral tone-deafness that constituted a distinctively French *trahison des clercs*. Judt's new book is something of a sequel to this work.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Although less systematic—it consists of three luminous essays tied together by an introduction on "The Misjudgment of Paris"—it presents the other side of the picture painted in Judt's earlier work, offering reflections on three archetypes of responsibility: Léon Blum, who epitomizes for Judt a kind of political responsibility associated with the distinctive vocation of party politician; Albert Camus, moralist par excellence, who exemplifies an insistent if tragic ethical responsibility; and Raymond Aron, who epitomizes the distinctive intellectual responsibility associated with the world of serious scholarship.

Judt presents balanced and perceptive accounts of these three figures, and in doing so he proves himself to be a master practitioner of the essay form, something with which readers of the *New York Review of Books* will already be familiar. The essays do not strive for comprehensiveness. Instead, each focuses in on a particular angle of vision that is centered on the general theme of responsibility. Blum, the leader of the French Socialist Party from 1920 until his death in 1950, is presented as "the prophet spurned." For Judt, Blum is a flawed politician whose Popular Front government of 1936 was a failure. Yet Blum is also a model of political virtue, a politician with intense republican convictions, a "marked man" who was a vociferous and outspoken antifascist at the same time that his Jewishness made him the butt of vicious anti-Semitic invective, and a socialist seeking to navigate a delicate path between Communism and fascism. Although Blum's political success was limited, for Judt he was a prescient and an honest politician who publicly represented the best in French politics at a time when the world was engulfed by evil.

Camus is presented by Judt as "the reluctant moralist," a humanist and cosmopolitan radical who penned powerful critiques of totalitarianism and defenses of freedom, but whose career was riven with ambivalence: about being a French-Algerian in Paris; about being an "outsider" among the circle of French "mandarin" intellectuals in which he travelled; about being a writer and "man of the theater" who felt himself drawn almost against his will into the world of political controversy. Judt's Camus possesses an exemplary commitment to justice and in particular to the dignity of the working class; yet this is joined to a deeply skeptical temper and an ethic of limits. Above all, it is his iconoclasm and moral independence that most distinguishes Camus, virtues most clearly displayed in his famous public controversy with François Mauriac about the postwar purge of French collaborators, and in his powerful though tortured writings on the Algerian crisis.

There is, finally, Judt's account of Aron, "the peripheral insider." In Judt's view, Aron's chief virtues are intellectual independence and social scientific hardheadedness. While by no means a positivist, Aron was a relentless critic of philosophies of history that absolved individuals of responsibility for thinking and acting for themselves, a student of Max Weber keenly attuned to the power of contingency and to the contingency—and malignity—of power in the modern world. Of the many wonderful quotations that Judt furnishes, none better expresses Aron's intellectual posture than the following: "It isn't every day that a Dreyfus affair allows you to invoke truth against error. If intellectuals want to offer their opinions on a daily basis, they will need knowledge of economics, diplomacy, politics, etc. Whether it concerns deflation or inflation, Russian alliance or entente cordiale, collective contracts or wage rates, the point at issue is less about justice than about effectiveness" (p. 154). In his withering dismissals of grandiose intellectual pronouncments of the sort most favored by his bête noire Jean-Paul Sartre, Aron is for Judt an intellectual hero, and, along with François Furet, to whose memory the volume is dedicated, seems the one to whom Judt is most powerfully drawn.

But Judt makes powerful cases for each of his subjects. If the book has a flaw, it is its failure to offer a more sustained consideration of the category of "responsibility" itself, or to consider the relations and tensions between the different kinds of responsibility epitomized by the different figures. While Blum, Camus, and Aron may each have been exemplary figures, they were surely different kinds of figures who represented different attitudes toward politics and who indeed differed with regard to important political questions. The differences between Camus and Aron in particular would make for a fascinating discussion. Nonetheless, this is an engaging and deeply important book whose very open-endedness is one of its chief virtues. Like Michael Walzer's *The Company of Critics* (1988), it excavates important figures and questions in the history of the left in the twentieth century and develops an important and provocative view about the responsibility of intellectuals.

JEFFREY C. ISAAC
Indiana University, Bloomington

WILLIAM I. HITCHCOCK. *France Restored: Cold War Diplomacy and the Quest for Leadership in Europe, 1944–1954*. Foreword by JOHN LEWIS GADDIS. (The New Cold War History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 291. Cloth $49.95, paper $18.95.

This book by William I. Hitchcock is a valuable contribution to the University of North Carolina Press's "New Cold War History" series, which aims, according to its editor, John Lewis Gaddis, "to restore the Europeans to the central role they played in the origins and escalation of that conflict" (p. x). Hitchcock's title, which correctly suggests he is discussing the restoration of French economic health and consequently diplomatic leadership, also implies the restoration of France to a central position in the historiography of the Cold War from which, he claims, ignoring the work of writers like Alfred Grosser, earlier histo-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rians had dismissed it. "Students of French diplomacy in this period," he says, "have emphasized France's dependence on American economic and military aid, while overlooking the efforts, sometimes successful and sometimes not, to overcome this dependence or at least compensate for it in various ways" (p. 6). Acquaintance with the newly opened diplomatic archives, which he has superbly mastered, suggests to him the need for a positive reevaluation of the achievements of the Fourth Republic, in both economic and diplomatic terms, in seeking the national interest.

Hitchcock concentrates on three major issues: the Marshall Plan, the Schuman Plan, and German rearmament. The author holds that French thinking on international affairs was dominated by fear of Germany's century-long advantage over France, which in 1945–1947 could only be mitigated by control and exploitation of German resources. Even the offer of Marshall aid was treated with suspicion for fear that a powerful Germany would be recreated. Hence, he shows, debate in 1947 in the Quai d'Orsay on the wisdom of fusing the French occupation zone in Germany with the Anglo-American bizone was directly tied to consideration of the possible effects on France's role in the European economy that would be produced by acceptance of Marshall aid. Already, a federal Germany within a Europe moving toward federalism was seen by the Quai's Europe office as an alternative to a strong, unified German state. But, as Hitchcock emphasizes, French acceptance of a federated Europe would only take place when it was clearly in the French national interest. Already in 1948, "by embracing European integration in a way that Britain refused to do, France sought to establish itself as the de facto arbiter of European economic reconstruction, and thus offset the crippling disadvantages that economic dependence and military weakness had placed on French diplomacy" (pp. 100–01).

The Berlin blockade, far from arousing sympathy in France, made Schuman feel it "very regrettable that the inhabitants of Berlin are represented as heroes in a fight for liberty" in a wave of resurgent German nationalism (p. 105). Schuman's decision, in May 1950, to espouse Jean Monnet's proposal for a pooling of German, French, and other European countries' coal and steel was taken not solely because it benefited France economically but also because it provided a way acceptable to Germany for France to exercise ongoing control over German resources. Here, as the author constantly emphasizes, the language used, that of planning and productivity, made acceptable to its partners France's broader security goals.

For Hitchcock, the French Foreign Ministry archives, which he thinks insufficiently used by previous researchers, show that France abandoned its blatant attempt to control German rearmament through a European Defense Community inspired by the ideas of the Schuman Plan when it became obvious that its long-term national strategy could be better achieved by avoiding constraints on French military sovereignty while building in restrictions on Germany through the Paris accords of October 1954. But concentration on the diplomatic archives has somewhat over-emphasized the realpolitik, especially of leaders like Monnet and Schuman, while the supranationalism of younger leaders like Robert Marjolin and Christian Pineau was essential to French involvement in European integration. Moreover, Hitchcock is wrong to state that France "sought to build a transnational consensus in favor of stability without resolving fundamental and persistent national antagonisms" (p. 208). Both France and Germany made a serious effort to bring about a rapprochement of their peoples by linking employers' federations and trade unions, founding Franco-German chambers of commerce, uniting Christian Democrats in the Nouvelles Équipes Internationales and Socialists in the Mouvement Socialiste pour les États-Unis d'Europe, twinning cities, forming Franco-German cultural societies, and above all organizing exchange visits by thousands of French and German students. Today's European Union is far more than a new arena for national squabbles, as he suggests was the case with integration in 1954.

FRANK ROY WILLIS
University of California, Davis

HENRY KAMEN. *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 369. $35.00.

This is the third edition of Henry Kamen's classic history of the Inquisition. The principal conclusion of the first edition (*The Spanish Inquisition* [1965]) was that the Inquisition was a weapon of social warfare used mainly to obliterate the *conversos*—converted Jews—as a distinct class capable of offering social and economic competition to "Old Christians." This was a compelling hypothesis, powerfully stated, and it influenced an entire generation of historians. I found the second version (*Inquisition and Society in Spain*, [1985]) perplexing: inasmuch as I was one of those convinced by the original statement, I perceived it as a whitewash that sought to exculpate the Inquisition, and I could not understand what motivated the apparent moral flip-flop between the first and second versions. On that score, the present, third version is more clearly articulated and also more successful, I think, in assessing and integrating the vast corpus of Inquisition historiography that has appeared over the past thirty years. The most important finding of the portion of research that can justly be labeled "revisionist" is that the Inquisition, as an bureaucratic institution, was not the intrusive, all-powerful behemoth as typically it had been portrayed but was institutionally flawed, only sporadically effective both temporally and geographically, and not ideologically monolithic.

All that is well, but Kamen takes great pains both to establish his own moral distance from the Inquisition and its zeitgeist and to exonerate and exculpate. He

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is one of a number of authors who argue that neither Ferdinand nor Isabella were anti-Jewish, nor—for that matter—anti-Muslim (p. 26); nor did they subscribe to any "deliberate policy" to impose religious uniformity (p. 61). But Kamen supplies no other plausible explanation for the expulsion of the Jews or the war against Granada or the persecution of Muslim minorities. After describing the ruthless extirpation of Protestantism, he concludes the Spanish reaction was "almost humane" compared to religious persecution in other countries. With regard to the impact of censorship, the Inquisition was not unique in Europe in imposing thought control, nor can it be blamed for fossilizing academic culture for 300 years (p. 133). Kamen denies that Spain was cut off from contact with the outside world, then admits the "unquestionable isolated state of peninsular culture" (p. 135). After relating horrible details of imprisonment, he concludes that prison conditions were not all that bad (p. 192), then goes on to state that the proportionately small number of executions among all cases is an effective argument against the "legend of a bloodthirsty tribunal" (p. 203). The facts ought to speak for themselves, rather than requiring adornment with constant exculpatory pleas.

The Inquisition was one of a number of institutions that were complicit in creating a paranoid society. In attempting to demonstrate that the Inquisition's institutional reach was limited, revisionist historians have been reluctant to admit that its psychological reach might not have been so limited. In a recent review in this journal (April 1999, p. 624), Kamen claimed that "One of the most serious defects of the majority of recent studies on the medieval and early modern Inquisitions is that they base themselves squarely on the available documentation." Some of the conclusions of revisionist historiography mentioned above arise from a historical discourse that lacks social-psychological depth. That the tribunal censored only a tiny percentage of publications, for example, may not have mitigated the fear of reprisal with which authors had to live. Its institutional reach was not coterminous with its psychological reach. Absent such analytical frameworks, we have little recourse but to believe what the documents state.

THOMAS F. GLICK
Boston University

MICHAEL RICHARDS. *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936–1945*. (Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare, number 4.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 314. $59.95.

Michael Richards's book is a sober and meticulous scholarly analysis of how the Nationalist regime—beginning with the military uprising against the legitimately constituted Republican government and during the early years of Generalissimo Francisco Franco's reign—imposed its particular brand of economic self-sufficiency on the Spanish population. At the same time, the author permits us to see through the regime's policy of autarky and to view the sordid, genocidal vengeance underlying the plan of action carried out by the victors.

Richards illustrates how the system functioned based on its propagation of historical myths and symbols and on its "verticalism" (p. 67), or its rigid system of hierarchy. Richards points out with myriad examples how the "psycho-pathological language" (p. 48) employed from the very beginning of this military "crusade" helped to brainwash Franco's supporters into thinking that their fellow citizens were inferior, the subaltern "other," a race apart. Franco became the leader of a new Reconquest, a modern-day religious crusader second only to El Cid in his faith and bravery. He and the other insurgent generals had staged a coup in order to rid Spain of the "red hordes," a subhuman species, part of what Franco had labeled "bastard Spain," which had "decadent customs and appetites" (p. 22). The "other Spain" was composed of unclean Marxist heathens who were somehow connected to the Semites, thereby justifying this second Reconquest. Also, in keeping with the mythology of Spanish mysticism, Catholicism justified all: systematic liquidation of Franco's enemies was nothing more than the "purification" of Spain, a rebirth of fanatical Christian values that had originally led the Catholic kings in the late fifteenth century to establish the Inquisition and thereby destroy the most brilliant hybrid culture of the Western world, where Arabs, Christians, and Jews had lived and worked together in harmony.

Richards's book is a grimly fascinating account of how the regime perpetuated a climate of self-righteous criminality. He describes the manipulation, incarceration, torture, and liquidation of the vanquished and how these tactics were not only justified but deemed necessary. The engineers of the regime managed to instill silence in the "other Spain," requiring more productivity for substandard wages. They produced a mass of sick and starving people, who could not feed themselves and their families in spite of holding down several jobs. Richards points out that a large part of the problem stemmed from the fact that the black market, which made food and other basic necessities available to those who could afford them at outrageous prices, was not only tolerated but often managed by profiteers connected to the government. In addition, staples were being sent to other countries (especially Germany) to pay war debts or reap extra profits, while Spaniards—unable to buy even bread—starved.

The regime attempted to erase public memory and replace it with Manichean "truths": the victors were good and the vanquished evil. Urban life was denigrated (since the largest cities, Madrid and Barcelona, had been bastions of Republican sympathy and had resisted the Nationalists until the end of the war), while poverty and the peasant life were extolled as virtuous. Conforming Catholics were true Spaniards, while those who had replaced religious faith with

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

political ideology and unionism had to be eradicated. Autonomy was anathema, and Spain's other cultures—especially the Basque and Catalonian—disappeared from view. Castilian was the only legitimate language and Castile's history provided the values and lessons for the "new" Spain.

The regime used every means of coercion available and even devised some that can be classified as diabolical. Franco commissioned the famous monument to himself, the Valley of the Fallen, using his enemies to construct this architectural tribute to megalomania. Adolf Hitler's influence was pervasive. Richards points out that, early on, Franco declared that he did not want the surrender of his enemies but rather sustained repression and systematic genocide: "In 1937 Franco made clear . . . that victory for him meant the annihilation of large numbers of Republicans and the total humiliation and terrorisation of the surviving population" (p. 35). Marxists were analyzed clinically, as though their ideologies were a physical disease. Women were inferior and were placed on the same level as children and animals.

In his final chapters, Richards describes the elaborate religious pageants staged by the church, which he refers to as "Catholic-fascist gigantism" (p. 155). From the other perspective, Richards analyzes how the defeated Spaniards created a network of psychological resistance against the mythologies of the regime and outlines events that led, in the 1950s, to the easing of the most intensive methods of repression. This book is a brilliant examination of how Franco and his advisors carried out their brutal campaign to silence and destroy their enemies while, with self-righteous breast-beating, they attempted to claim their place in history as the saviors of Spain.

SHIRLEY MANGINI
California State University, Long Beach

LAURA DESFOR EDLES. *Symbol and Ritual in the New Spain: The Transition to Democracy After Franco.* (Cambridge Cultural Social Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 197. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

Spain's successful transition to democracy after the death of General Francisco Franco has attracted the attention of social scientists hoping to develop a model applicable to other societies undergoing political democratization. In recent years, leading interpreters of the Spanish transition have focused on the role of elite consensus, negotiation, and strategic gamesmanship in establishing the new rules of social and political order and in consolidating the institutions through which conflict is mediated. Laura Desfor Edles argues that any useful model of democratic transition must also take into account the effect of culture—that is, of the dominant symbolic framework and its meanings—on political decision making and behavior. Unlike earlier culturalist theories, which made democratic consensus dependent upon the gradual development of a "civic culture," the new cultural sociology analyzes the ways in which political actors draw upon accepted cultural symbols and representations to construct the political environment in which democratic values and institutions can operate.

Edles's study is based on her reading of five representative dailies—particularly *El País*, Spain's leading newspaper and a key player in the transition—during three crucial periods: March-June 1977 (when the first democratic elections were held); October 1977 (when the so-called Moncloa Pacts sealed a consensus on economic and social policy); and the summer and fall of 1978 (when representatives of the major political groupings drafted the new constitution). By analyzing media commentary during the "period of consensus" when Spanish elites laid the foundation for the new political order, Edles is able to identify the cultural parameters of legitimate political action in an environment in which "democracy" was the new civil religion. Edles contends that the Spanish transition followed the pattern of archetypal ritual processes, characterized by distinctive phases of separation, liminality, and reaggregation, during which core representations or "symbols of the sacred" facilitated the resolution of divisive issues. Three such representations dominated political discourse during this process: "a new beginning," marked by the death of Franco and the rise of a new generation of political elites, including King Juan Carlos I; "national reconciliation" and *convivencia*, or social peace and tolerance; and "democracy," a catch-all term connoting popular sovereignty, compromise, non-violence, and modernization. The "profane" opposites of these sacred representations were the Spanish Civil War and the Franquist dictatorship, whose memory decisively shaped the political culture of the transition.

The strongest parts of Edles's book show how different political actors made use of the sacred symbols of the transition with greater or lesser degrees of skill. Her close reading of speeches, editorials, and political programs reveals the strands of shared meaning within the core representations, as well as their multivocal character, and demonstrates their operational effect in the three decisive periods selected for study. In these chapters, she persuades the reader of the value of including cultural factors in analyses of elite political behavior.

Historians will wish, however, that Edles had asked additional questions of her material. The sketchy historical overview at the beginning of the book does not adequately explain the origins of the core representations that made possible the period of consensus. If, as she argues, the memory of the Civil War was decisive, then it seems important to ask how that memory was shaped, as Paloma Aguilar Fernández has done in *Memoria y olvido de la guerra civil española* (1996). Another question, admittedly difficult to answer, concerns the degree to which the core symbols that dominated elite political discourse were broadly

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shared in Spanish society. Confronting this question would have forced Edles to deal more directly with the role played by popular opinion in elite decision making. Finally, many historians may be mystified, as I was, by the diagrams that purport to clarify the links among the core representations and their relationship to the sacred-profane dichotomy central to her analysis. The diagrams merely exacerbate the author's tendency to reify the heuristic framework she has adopted. Her book is most convincing when it focuses on the textured and multivalent texts that lie at the heart of her study.

CAROLYN P. BOYD
University of California, Irvine

CHARLES H. PARKER. *The Reformation of Community: Social Welfare and Calvinist Charity in Holland, 1572–1620.* (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xv, 221. $59.95.

A religiously pluralist society emerged in the Dutch Republic in the period from the revolt against Spain to the early seventeenth century. The Calvinist Reformed Church enjoyed a privileged position, but in practice other Protestant groups were allowed freedom of worship, and Catholics had freedom of conscience at least. This situation created peculiar problems for the organization of charitable provision and especially for poor-relief. This study by Charles H. Parker examines the development of poor relief systems in the six leading towns of the province of Holland—Dordrecht, Haarlem, Delft, Leiden, Amsterdam, and Gouda—in these years, and its chief theme is the tension between a tradition of municipal charity that was strong in all these towns and the confessional poor relief championed by the Reformed Church. Town governments sought to centralize poor relief under their own control, while Reformed consistories tried to maintain separate diaconal charity for their own members.

Almost half of the book is taken up with the development of poor relief in these towns in the late middle ages and the sixteenth century up to the revolt. Parker argues that the urban magistrates saw their towns as Christian communities under their care, and he plays down the influence of the new humanist ideas about charity that were put forward in the early sixteenth century, notably by Juan Luis Vivès, although other historians have seen these as setting the agenda for the next century or more. After the Dutch Revolt, this concept of communal charity was challenged by the confessional priorities of the leaders of the Reformed Church. In sharp contrast to countries and towns where the church had been reformed from above by the political authorities and the whole community was deemed to be part of the new Protestant church, conformity to the official church was not enforced by the civil authorities in the Dutch Republic. In any case, the years of persecution had given Dutch Calvinism something of a sectarian stamp, and the Reformed Church tended to give a higher priority to preserving doctrinal purity and strong discipline in its congregations than to increasing its membership. In consequence, the Reformed Church made only slow progress in terms of membership after the revolt, with a significant proportion of the population having different religious loyalties—or none. Parker argues that, in these circumstances, maintaining a separate poor-relief system that was controlled by the deacons of the church, restricted to church members, and dependent on subjection to consistorial discipline became of great importance to the Reformed Church.

This confessional view of charity came into conflict with the centralized municipal poor relief favored by the governments of the towns, and the outcome of the clash varied significantly from place to place. In Amsterdam and Haarlem, the Reformed Church was able to set up and maintain a separate poor-relief system for its own members. In Leiden and Gouda, in contrast, diaconal poor relief was incorporated into a municipal system controlled by the town government; while in Dordrecht and Delft, the diaconate was given responsibility for poor relief for the whole town, including both members and non-members of the dominant church (in the case of Delft, control shifted to the town government in 1614). Parker stresses that in none of these towns was it necessary to be or become a member of the Reformed Church to obtain help, and he challenges the view that the progress of Protestantism in the Dutch Republic was secured, at least in part, by linking poor relief to membership of the Calvinist church. Indeed, the Reformed consistories were concerned to prevent people from joining the church for the wrong reasons, both to maintain the purity of the congregation and to limit financial demands on the diaconate.

Parker also sees these Dutch cases as evidence against the theory that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries charity throughout Europe was becoming increasingly secularized. Whether they will bear this weight of interpretation is far from self-evident, and his argument here is too brief to convince. In general, this is a very useful brief survey of a complex subject—indeed perhaps too brief, as at some points Parker's arguments might well have benefited from further explication.

J. L. PRICE
University of Hull

THOMAS MAX SAFLEY. *Charity and Economy in the Orphanages of Early Modern Augsburg.* (Studies in Central European Histories.) Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press International. 1997. Pp. xiii, 350. $70.00.

One opens a book about the history of orphanages in an early modern European city expecting to read yet another chilling account of neglected children and scandalously high mortality rates. But this is not such a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

book, for the orphanages of Augsburg were not that kind of institution. Thomas Max Safley's meticulously researched study makes clear that the orphanages of this German city were not to be confused with foundling houses, where abandoned or pauper children were maintained at the lowest possible cost to the community. By contrast, the children who were placed in the orphanages of Augsburg were generally the sons or daughters of established householders. Although their families could no longer care for them, the orphans almost always had some relatives who took an interest in their well-being. Usually, moreover, they arrived at the orphanage with small inheritances, which the administrators were required to preserve and use for their benefit.

These circumstances account for the fact that this is not only a book about charity in early modern Europe but also a book about capitalism. The administrators of Augsburg's orphanages were expected not merely to keep their charges alive and well but also to prepare them for fruitful lives as adult participants in the city's economic system. Although the orphanages received some financial support from the city, the available resources were modest. So the administrators constantly searched for ways to maximize institutional income. They had to invest the orphanage funds shrewdly and purchase food and other necessities at the best possible price. In short, the orphanages were required to operate successfully in the financial and commodity markets of early modern Augsburg. At the same time, however, as major players in the marketplace, the orphanages themselves contributed to making the city's economy ever more capitalistic.

A thesis like this inevitably requires Safley to address the old and irresolvable problem of defining capitalism. Certainly, he concedes, the orphanages were not capitalistic in the sense that they undertook the production of goods for profit. They did, however, engage in "those procedures, whatever they may be, required to operate successfully in a market-driven economy" (p. 11).

Yet capitalist values did more than guide the investment and purchasing policies of the orphanages, for the administrators also tried to inculcate such values in the children themselves. Each orphan, after all, was eventually supposed to become self-supporting. Upon reaching adolescence, boys were normally apprenticed to craft masters, while girls were usually placed as household servants. The orphanage routine was designed to instill in each child the customary bourgeois virtues of diligence, punctuality, and obedience so that he or she could be integrated more willingly and effectively into the adult world of work.

Based on the detailed administrative records of the Augsburg orphanages, the book describes with precision the daily round of education and training to which the orphans were exposed. Certainly Safley would argue that the imposition of social discipline was among the main objectives of these institutions. But he avoids any implication that the children were treated as interchangeable cogs in a heartless system of repression. Quite the contrary: the orphanage administrators took great pains to determine the individual children's abilities and preferences so as to place them with masters or mistresses to whom they might be suited. But these, of course, these were children with adult relatives who took some interest in their welfare; the anonymous pauper children in Augsburg's foundling hospital were not likely to receive the same level of care.

A subtheme of the book has to do with the religious values that undergirded the treatment of orphans. Augsburg's population included both Catholics and Protestants. The city orphanage was established in 1572 for children of both faiths, but in 1649 it was divided into separate Protestant and Catholic institutions. Safley advances some suggestive but by no means conclusive observations about differences between Catholic and Protestant attitudes toward philanthropy and strategies of institutional investment. But these differences were outweighed by the common patterns he identifies.

Although some topics, such as the functioning of Augsburg's land and commodity markets, are covered in more detail than may be needed to support the author's main arguments, the book is also enriched by a number of vivid case studies drawn from records concerning the orphanage staffs and the orphans themselves. Safley contends that charity is best understood not in abstract terms but as a constantly evolving system of everyday practice, and he demonstrates this effectively by showing how some major philanthropic institutions actually functioned in a society of limited resources that was slowly but irreversibly moving toward a modern capitalistic order.

CHRISTOPHER R. FRIEDRICHS
University of British Columbia

ROBERT R. TAYLOR. *The Castles of the Rhine: Recreating the Middle Ages in Modern Germany*. Waterloo, Ontario: Winifrid Laurier University Press. 1998. Pp. xvii, 389. $54.95.

Robert R. Taylor's study of the nineteenth-century restoration of medieval fortresses along the Rhine river makes a significant and well-focused contribution to the history of heritage and historical consciousness in Germany. Taylor is the author of two useful and neatly executed histories of architecture in its cultural and political contexts, one on architecture and Nazi ideology, the other on the construction (literally) of Hohenzollern Berlin. His new book provides another instance of "architecture as propaganda" (p. xiii): in this case, specifically, the restoration of a certain species of architecture as propaganda for a variety of dynastic, social, touristic, and, of course, national interests. He builds his history of castle restoration and castle mania (*Schwärmerei*) through a series of examinations of specific castles, each of which exemplifies certain aspects of this multifaceted historical phenom-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

enon. Taylor's castles range up and down the Rhine (not that actual geographic placement seems to be a factor of any great consequence, provided of course that the castle in question was sufficiently picturesque) and across a century of restoration work, from the 1820s to the 1930s. His argument, in a nutshell, is that castle mania reflected the sweeping political, cultural, social, and economic changes in the nineteenth century" (p. 20), providing a nearly inevitable focus for a growing mood of nostalgia, political and social conservatism, and a backward-looking national pride.

Historians familiar with the basic contours of modern German historiography will find no surprises in this line of analysis, but they will discover a wealth of illustrative detail on the castles themselves, their medieval origins, and their modern transformations. They will find also a conscientious inventory of nineteenth-century social and political tensions, which Taylor perfunctorily and unpersuasively associates with the mundane decisions about whether to rebuild a buttress or leave it in picturesque, if surreptitiously shored-up, half-decay. Taylor does successfully establish the gradual evolution of attitudes toward meddling in the castle ruins, from an early nineteenth-century willingness to rebuild and refashion freely to late nineteenth and early twentieth-century scruples about authenticity. He attributes this evolution to the emergence of "improved historical knowledge resulting from scholarly research" about the origins of the castles (p. 237), an uninspiring, if unassailable, argument. Indeed, this kind of argument illustrates the book's virtues as well as its shortcomings. Taylor is not one to raise his own castles through speculative imagination, but his explanations often fall flat, for all that they are firmly grounded in the factuality of stones and public utterances. Who can disagree that better historical research could have affected historical preservation efforts, but at the same time, we would also like to know why people in a position to make decisions about buttressing should gradually prove receptive to a different set of arguments about it. This kind of question is never answered, indeed rarely if ever posed in Taylor's account. The author instead relies on a species of assertiveness, by which a particular castle is said to symbolize this or that (nostalgia, longing for medieval courtliness, national pride, dynastic strength, take your pick) for this or that set of people. And why? Because they said so. These are unassailable, but also ultimately unproven, and hence uninteresting, theses.

Taylor's book, indeed, illustrates one of the pitfalls of the cultural history endeavor, and that is the tendency toward passivity and banality. We are left with a strong sense that all the action is happening elsewhere, and that castles, despite the bustle of workmen, preservationists, and ultimately tourists, are calm reflecting pools to the real drama of lives lived elsewhere. And not very good reflecting pools either, for they mirror back to us, despite what Taylor asserts about their responsiveness to "political, cultural, social, and economic changes in the nineteenth century" (p. 20), a nearly undisturbed image of themselves, with only the people in the reflection changing slightly from time to time. Culture is, as we historians like to say we have learned from the anthropologists, a realm of symbolic action, but apart from some cement being slapped onto tumbling walls, and some tramping around looking for good views, there is lots of symbolism and no action here. One feels this emptiness of symbolic space particularly when the issue of nationalism arises, as it does pervasively throughout the latter half of the book. Taylor assures us that "by 1900 all ranks of society, including many of the poorest, were permeated by nationalistic feeling" (p. 236), that "elites, themselves now imbued with national pride, saw nationalism as a useful tool" (p. 237), and that above all there existed a "spontaneous national reverence for ruined castles" (p. 219). It is certainly safe enough to assert that German tourists were feeling their national pride, experiencing their national community, expressing their national identity every time they left the comfort of the restaurant to get a better view of the watery depths of the Rhine, but these seem to be feelings too easily acquired and held. Perhaps, after all, people were just looking for something to do on the newly important weekend. For all that they symbolized any number of seemingly important cultural things, Taylor cannot successfully argue that castles made a difference in any of those things or in any way altered the course of the history of anything but themselves. Perhaps that does not matter. The castles existed, and lots of people came to them, wrote about them, paid money and expended effort to see them in better repair. And one will not find a better, more conscientious account of such matters than Taylor's book.

Celia Applegate
University of Rochester

Peter Exner. *Ländliche Gesellschaft und Landwirtschaft in Westfalen, 1919–1969*. (Westfälisches Institut für Regionalgeschichte, Forschungen zur Regionalgeschichte, number 20.) Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1997. Pp. xiv, 556. DM 78.

Too much German history is still bound by the obvious political breaks, which is particularly inappropriate for social history. Peter Exner's study of rural society and agriculture in Westphalia is therefore to be welcomed for its view of change and continuity from the Weimar Republic to the Federal Republic of the late 1960s. His analysis bears comparison with the study of Schleswig-Holstein by Timothy Alan Tilton (*Nazism, Neo-Nazism, and the Peasantry* [1975]). Like Tilton, Exner concentrates on the final years of the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, and the development of postwar agrarian society and politics.

Exner's theoretical base is an exploration of modernization theory (particularly the supposed "modernizing" features of National Socialism) and a Weberian approach to local status and power. His rich empirical

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

material derives from three case studies of villages in rural Westphalia. From mainly local archives he has been able to reconstitute landholding, religious affiliation, marriage patterns, family structures, festivities and associations, and political behavior and personnel in the three communities. This is thorough scholarship, but the text is sometimes overburdened with precise figures and percentages, repeated in turn for each of the villages. Similarly, the detailed reconstruction of local office holders makes some sections heavy going. The tables in the appendix already run to thirty-six pages, but there might have been more, to allow the arguments in the text to shine through more strongly.

Nevertheless, Exner has interesting things to say. He is particularly good on relations between the settled populations and wartime and postwar incomers. Although the political context was different, his work complements recent investigations of pressures on the village milieu in the Soviet zone. Exner discusses how far refugees and expellees from eastern Germany were assimilated (or not) into the local economy and society. Two of the villages were overwhelmingly Catholic and the third predominantly Protestant. This led to tensions and problems when newcomers from the other denomination arrived. It was not just a question of religion, since there remained differences, for instance, between Westphalian Catholics and those from Silesia. The influx affected educational provision for the respective religious minority and also the "transparency" of local politics.

Exner gives vivid examples of the changes that became necessary. Whereas in the past matters of public importance in Catholic villages had been announced or posted in church after Mass, they now had to be made known to new Protestant residents by other means. Similarly, the notables who controlled the local authorities were used to meeting on Sunday in the tavern owned by one of their number. After the war, this practice began to change so that more open sessions were held instead on weekday afternoons. Despite these adaptations, Exner emphasizes the resilience of the notables, mainly the larger farmers of the district. Indeed, one of his main arguments against National Socialism as a modernizing force is that local power structures and communal life weathered the politically inspired intrusion of the Nazis and returned rapidly after 1945 to their earlier patterns. By the mid 1950s, it was also possible for persons compromised by their Nazi membership to reenter public life, usually as members of the Christian Democrats (CDU).

Exner attributes the modernization of rural West Germany primarily to the economic and technological changes taking place from the 1950s. Work opportunities in the towns, declining birth rates, mechanization and intensification of agriculture, rationalization of landholding, expansion of transport and media communications, and the growth of sport and leisure all contributed to a transformation and opening up of the village. The book has many other illuminating aspects: the "flight from the land" that, contrary to Nazi ideology, took place in the 1930s; the increasing burdens on women farmworkers during the war and afterward; the suppression of the shooting associations (*Schützenvereine*) during the Third Reich and their reflorescence in the Federal Republic; the postwar decline of Center Party dominance of the Catholic milieu in the face of CDU growth; and the problems and opportunities of intermarriage between members of the native population and eastern newcomers. Despite its importance to Exner's argument, the economy is perhaps not as well covered. The tabular information is full, but the treatment of the agricultural crises of the Weimar Republic is fairly cursory. Exner has not been able to analyze individual farm accounts, and there is no discussion of the reception of the Reich Hereditary Farm Law of 1933. These matters have been treated elsewhere, however, and Exner's contribution to our understanding of village society under pressure is an important one.

JONATHAN OSMOND
Cardiff University

DALIA OFER and LENORE J. WEITZMAN, editors. *Women in the Holocaust*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1998. Pp. vii, 402. $30.00.

Historians often distinguish the Holocaust from the other great massacres of history by citing the perpetrators' lack of consideration for age or for gender: men, women, and children were condemned to a common fate. Recent scholarly work on the Holocaust has called into question most general assumptions about victims and has pointed out the many differences in the treatment of different ethnic, religious, or political groups among them. Only lately, however, have historians launched similar inquiries into the specific experience of women victims, and the assertion of gender difference has proved far more controversial than that of other forms of diversity, prompting charges that the intrusion of a "feminist agenda" profanes the sacred memory of common suffering. Dalia Ofer and Lenore J. Weitzman assert, to the contrary, that the study of women will lead to "a richer and more finely nuanced understanding of the Holocaust" (p. 1). The essays here originated as contributions to an international workshop held in 1995; they include both scholarly articles and testimonies of female Holocaust survivors.

The volume is organized into four sections: "Before the War," "Life in the Ghettos," "Resistance and Rescue," and "Labor Camps and Concentration Camps." Although some articles focus on prominent individuals—for example, on Gisi Fleischmann, who as a member of the Slovak Jewish Council was the only woman to hold such a position anywhere in Europe—the authors all acknowledge that the extremely patriarchal Jewish culture of Europe allotted few such leadership roles to women, and thus they emphasize chiefly women's struggle to deal with the conditions of everyday life. These, of course, were anything but

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

humdrum, for they included first dispossession, persecution, confinement, and deprivation in every form and ultimately death or precarious survival in an environment—that of the extermination camp—that inflicted forms of physical and psychological torment that were unprecedented in human history.

What was distinctive about the experience of women? The authors establish that, just as the two genders were divided by the strict prescriptions of prewar culture, so the female and male victims of the Holocaust endured "different horrors in the same Hell" (p. 327). In the German Jewish communities of the 1930s (as described by Marion Kaplan), Jewish women had fewer opportunities to emigrate and were more often tied down by the care of elderly relatives; thus they constituted a majority of those ultimately deported. In the Eastern European ghettos, women bore the burden of providing for their own children and also (through social services) for the destitute. In resistance movements, women, who were less readily identifiable as Jews than men, were in demand as couriers and underground workers; among the few Jews who "passed" as Gentiles, women were predominant for the same reason.

In the camps, women were exposed to gender-specific forms of cruelty and murder dictated by policies that imposed a multitude of sexual humiliations, that condemned mothers of infants to instant death, and that forced mothers, more often than fathers, to witness the death of their children. Women may also have had some advantages—greater biological resistance to starvation, greater cultural awareness of hygiene and ability to form social groups—that, though of marginal significance to their survival, nonetheless shaped their experience. Along with earlier works, such as Carol Rittner and John K. Roth's edited collection, *Different Voices: Women and the Holocaust* (1993), this volume establishes that although "racial" and particularly Jewish identity was the most important factor in determining the fate of victims, gender was also significant.

The theoretical contribution of this volume is limited by its restricted coverage. Despite the promise of the title, the essays do not discuss all the women involved in the Holocaust. Apart from one article (by Gisela Bock) on female perpetrators, all the essays concern Jewish women. A comparison of the fate of Jewish women to that of other female victims would have shown how gender interacted with other aspects of identity, such as ethnicity, religion, or politics, to determine individual destiny. For example, women of the group designated as "gypsies" were not routinely separated from men in the concentration camps, and female homosexuals were not persecuted as severely as males. Neither of these groups is mentioned here.

Moreover, both the very limited discussion of women as perpetrators or bystanders and the overwhelming emphasis on victimization unintentionally perpetuate the myth that pervades much Holocaust literature: that the victims, because they were innocent (in the sense that they did not deserve their fate), must also have been good. Indeed, all of these narratives—whether scholarly articles or survivor testimonies—describe behavior that was usually dutiful and self-sacrificing and sometimes heroic. Even acts of self-preservation, such as the decision to leave the ghetto and attempt to "pass" as a Gentile, are endowed with positive moral significance as forms of resistance. Yehuda Bauer's portrayal of Fleischmann emphasizes only her efforts to save Jews and does not even touch on the moral issues raised by her position as a member of a Nazi-appointed Jewish Council. Few essays explore those aspects of the camp experience so well evoked by Primo Levi's term "the gray zone," which referred to the complex involvement of both camp personnel and inmates in the enforcement of the murderous regulations. A more rigorous account of female victims, and a fuller coverage of female perpetrators and bystanders, would have demonstrated not only women's victimization but also their responsibility and would thus have linked these individual stories to broader discussions of the ethical issues raised by the Holocaust.

The aim of women's or gender history is not simply to add factual material on women but to revise the mainstream view of history to take into account the experience and points of view of more than half of the human race. This volume does offer some such revisionist perspectives. For example, as Weitzman and Renée Poznanski point out in their essays on women's resistance, the accepted definition of "resistance" is highly androcentric: violence and armed combat, even if militarily insignificant, unsuccessful, and unproductive, are glorified as the ultimate assertion of individual and collective honor. The inclusion of nonviolent forms of resistance that were practiced chiefly by women, such as the saving and care of Jewish children, broadens our understanding of the entire concept. In general, however, these articles offer factual material that, although in itself fascinating, serves to supplement rather than to revise mainstream scholarship. Perhaps this is due to the limitations of the anthology form, which offers a diversity of views but no synthesis. A history of the Holocaust that includes both women and men as victims, perpetrators, and bystanders has yet to be written.

ANN TAYLOR ALLEN
University of Louisville

JEFFREY HERF. *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. 527. $29.95.

This book by Jeffrey Herf explores the ways in which Nazism was understood by anti-Nazi German political leaders during the Third Reich, and how they interpreted it during the postwar era and in the subsequent history of East and West Germany, with special attention to the ways in which "the Jewish question" was treated. The book devotes approximately equal atten-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion to East German and West German developments, emphasizing the decade after 1945.

By carefully examining the published articles and speeches of German Communist leaders who returned in 1945 from exile in Moscow, Herf shows that at first they publicly addressed the high degree of support for Adolf Hitler and Nazism among most segments of the German population. This recognition, he argues, increased their already ingrained suspicion of democracy, and confirmed their belief in the need for an educational dictatorship. In the immediate aftermath of the war, especially in the press coverage of the Nuremberg trials, the persecution of the Jews received some attention, although it was always subordinated to the Nazi persecution of German Communists and of the Soviet Union.

Herf examines in detail the case of the German Communist, Paul Merker, making extensive use of the archives of the Stasi to explore the path not taken in East Germany. Unlike most of the core leadership of the German Communist Party, he spent the war years in Mexico City rather than Moscow. There he wrote an extensive analysis of National Socialism that highlighted anti-Semitism as an autonomous factor and more than just the instrument of capitalist reaction proclaimed by the Comintern. After the defeat of Nazism, Merker returned to what was then the Soviet-occupied zone and resumed his position of leadership in the party. Although not a Jew and in most respects an orthodox Stalinist, he wrote and campaigned against anti-Semitism and on behalf of the restitution of Jewish property and East German support for a Jewish state.

At first, these positions were regarded as heterodox but not treasonous. Matters changed with the increasing antagonism of the Cold War, the consolidation of Communist control in the eastern zone, and the increasingly rigorous Stalinization of public life there. A crackdown on Jews in the Soviet Union was followed by a wave of show trials throughout the eastern bloc, directed at those who, like Merker, were suspect by virtue of their time spent in the West. Merker was imprisoned for two years while preparations were made to put him on trial as the "German Slansky." Although he was ultimately freed, the treatment that he (and others) received set the tone for subsequent official East German memorialization of the National Socialist era. Communists were portrayed as the main victims of National Socialism, and the singular persecution of the Jews was barely mentioned. The legacy of antifascism became support of the East German state and rigorous adherence to the Soviet foreign policy line. In the official East German interpretation, only the German Democratic Republic was truly antifascist, having destroyed the preconditions of fascism by the elimination of capitalism. The Federal Republic, by contrast, was treated as a continuation of Nazism by other means.

Herf explores the West German case by focusing on public statements by the most important figures in the three major parties. In a new democracy in which a majority of people had supported the previous regime, there was a trade-off between garnering votes and penalizing active cooperation with the defeated regime: stigmatizing erstwhile Nazis could drive away voters needed in closely contested elections. It was the strategy of Konrad Adenauer, the leader of the Christian Democrats, to downplay the issue of personal responsibility and individual justice for those who had been active National Socialists in order to integrate them into the newly established democracy, while rhetorically accepting national responsibility for the crimes of the Third Reich and paying substantial reparations to individual Jewish victims and to the State of Israel. By contrast, Theodor Heuss of the Free Democrats, who became the first president of the Federal Republic, repeatedly focused on the issue of German guilt and responsibility, although his party, with a rather compromised constituency, studiously avoided these issues. It was the Social Democratic leader Kurt Schumacher (who had spent most of the Third Reich in concentration camps) who most consistently insisted on the exclusion of former Nazis and the payment of reparations to Jewish victims of the Third Reich. In a brisk overview of developments since the 1950s, Herf shows that the Holocaust and the crimes of the Nazi era assumed an ever greater place in the public memory of the Federal Republic.

The book is particularly strong on the relative weight and interpretation given to the Holocaust by the major forces in German political life, east and west. (In this sense, it makes for an instructive pairing with Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* [1999]). Although Herf notes that each political figure interpreted the experience of National Socialism in keeping with his previous ideological predilections, he does not devote much attention to the domestic policy implications which they drew: for Adenauer, the strengthening of the churches as well as the restoration of "bourgeois society"; for Schumacher, socialization of the means of production. The memory of the Third Reich was, of course, contested beyond the terrain of national politics, but it is on that terrain that one must begin, and Herf has mapped it out clearly and reliably. (Hartmut Berghoff, "Zwischen Verdrängung und Aufarbeitung: Die bundesdeutsche Gesellschaft und ihre nationalsozialistische Vergangenheit in den Fünfziger Jahren," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* [1998]: 96–114, provides a useful overview of recent scholarship that complements Herf's study.)

In the past decade, many more societies have faced analogous issues of coming to terms politically with a discredited regime in which many citizens participated. Herf does not draw on these cases, but his book provides an account that might be used by others for comparative purposes.

JERRY Z. MULLER
Catholic University of America

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ULRIKE OFFENBERG. *"Seid vorsichtig gegen die Machthaber": Die jüdischen Gemeinden in der SBZ und der DDR 1945 bis 1990.* Berlin: Aufbau. 1998. Pp. 334. DM 46.

Despite their radically different political systems, the social and political location of Jews in both German states after World War II shared characteristics that were not to be found in any other Jewish diaspora. In both states, the question of the assets of Jewish victims, notably real estate, played a fundamental role in the ways in which Jewish communities were reestablished; in both states, little reparation or restitution was made at first, and both West and East Germany used their Jewish citizens for ideological labor in pursuit of their respective political goals. The only difference was that the East German regime used its Jews just about as crudely as it could, and many Jewish functionaries seem to have felt quite happy in their subservient roles. In this study, Ulrike Offenberg sketches the end of the Nazi-dominated Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland (Reich Association of Jews in Germany) in May 1945, the early beginnings of Jewish communities in the East, and how their later subservient political role evolved.

In the months following the defeat of Nazi Germany, and before the two Germanies became fully separate, a great variety of Jewish communal life began to develop, usually around some of the ruined or damaged synagogues or community centers that could still be put to use. In Berlin alone, at least four different Jewish communities were at first set up; these were gradually, however, forced under one roof, not without considerable pressure from those Jewish groups with better access to political power. One of these groups was dominated by the old Reichsvereinigung, individuals who had survived in Berlin, mostly as Gestapo collaborators. Others had returned from concentration camps, but the majority were Jews living in "privileged mixed marriages" whose non-Jewish spouses had saved them from being deported. As in West German Jewish communities, where the first generation of community leaders, actually charismatic mediators, had left the stage within about seven years, largely on the grounds of an inhospitable and anti-Semitic climate, we find a curious parallel in the East, where in the course of the Slansky trials the entire East German Jewish leadership fled to West Berlin in 1953. One of these remarkable figures was Julius Meyer from East Berlin, Orthodox Jew, Communist, and Zionist all at once, who subsequently emigrated to Brazil. In both East and West, strong leaders were replaced largely by spineless opportunists; in her scathing judgment, Offenberg may not realize that the second generation of West German Jewish leaders exculpated their government and their state much in the same way as their counterparts in the East.

With the Cold War at full intensity in 1953, Jewish communities in both Germanies and especially in East and West Berlin were cut off from each other, and in the wake of the anti-Semitic campaigns in the East, they were also cut off from their supportive environment when both the West and the East German governments went after the formidable VVN—the association of the victims of Nazism that was also home to non-religious Jews, politically persecuted individuals, and other Nazi victims. In the West, in 1948, the VVN was undermined because it was allegedly Communist-dominated; in the East, because it was thought to encourage factionalism and to favor the Jews.

Offenberg relates the decline of the Jewish community through death and emigration, and she describes the long years of its leadership's servility. Periodically, members were called upon to issue statements on behalf of the East German regime and to denounce West Germany. The only instance where the regime could not depend on the leadership's support was when they sought signatures for anti-Israeli statements. Nothing characterizes the state of health of East German Jewry better than the small community in Halle, where over many years a non-Jewish woman, the daughter of a member of the SS-Einsatzkommando, politically well-connected and backed by the national Jewish leadership, made herself the chair of the community, leading phony religious services from which most of the membership was barred and burying her parents in the Jewish cemetery.

All of this began to change only in the last years of the regime. A certain revival of Jewish consciousness developed among people whose parents had returned to East Germany not as Jews but as "anti-Fascists." An American rabbi was appointed in Berlin, and—surely the most spectacular development—Offenberg's spouse managed, from West Berlin, to resuscitate Berlin's second, neo-Orthodox community, which before the war had its seat and its real estate mostly in East Berlin. He accomplished this feat from one side of the wall to the other and succeeded despite the determined resistance of both East and West Berlin Jewish leaders, who saw their monopolies of Judaism endangered and who did not want to give up claims to this congregation's real estate.

But Offenberg, who acknowledges her personal bias, is not the right person to describe this episode, which presents her husband as a shining knight and his opponent, the chair of the East Berlin Jewish community, as the prince of darkness. For example, she condemns the latter for supporting the anti-Israeli statements of his government but fails to acknowledge that her husband supported ultra-left, anti-Israeli positions in the very same years, from the safe haven of West Berlin. It would have helped if she had given the section to someone else to write. This is the only major flaw in her book, a fine study especially in light of the fact that the director of the Centrum Judaicum in Berlin, an old opponent of her husband, appears to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have refused her access to most of this institution's important archival collections.

Y. Michal Bodemann
University of Toronto

Erik Carlsson. *Sverige och tysk motståandsrörelse under andra världskriget*. (Bibliotheca Historica Lundensis, number 89.) Lund: Lund University Press. 1998. Pp. 432. 248 KR.

Swedish historian Erik Carlsson's dissertation book is a review of the contacts between the principal circle of upper-echelon opponents of Adolf Hitler's regime in Germany and an equally small group of Swedish individuals and organizations. Based on an extensive and meticulous review of archival sources, Carlsson has fleshed out what has been previously known only in outline. Although there is little that is genuinely new in this work, it provides far more information than any earlier single source. (For example, W. M. Carlgren's *Swedish Foreign Policy during the Second World War* [1977] devotes two paragraphs to the topic.)

The book is built around three main sections. An introduction surveys the nature of the German resistance, provides the obligatory explanation of methodology, and reviews the literature. The second and longest part, divided into twelve chapters, describes contacts made between August 1939 and July 1944. Each chapter is based on a chronological unit within the larger context of the war's history: the first months of the war; the fall of Denmark, Norway, the Low Countries, and France; the first six months of the German campaign in the Soviet Union; and so on until the failed attempt on Hitler's life in July 1944. Each chapter blends the war's history with accounts of resistance contacts, a linkage Carlsson sees as vital to understanding the variations in the German resistance's activities and the nature of the communications with the Swedes and others. Throughout, documentation is extensive and useful. The book concludes with a bibliography, summary (in German), and index of persons.

In treating the German resistance, Carlsson focuses principally on the Kreisauer Circle and especially on leading figures such as Carl Goerdeler, Helmuth von Moltke, Adam von Trott zu Solz, Eugen Gerstenmaier, Theodor Steltzer, and Hans Lukaschek. He also notes other individuals who had contact with Swedes in Berlin and/or in Sweden, including Dietrich Bonhoeffer. In terms of Swedes, the central actors include members of the ecumenical Sigtuna Group, business leaders Jacob and Marcus Wallenberg, the military attaché staff at the Swedish embassy in Berlin, and *Svenska Dagbladet* editor Ivar Anderson.

In general, Carlsson is most concerned with the nature, extent, and importance of the German resistance's Swedish connections. He draws a number of conclusions. There were many bases of contact. At considerable risk, members of the resistance traveled to Stockholm and met with Swedes, in some instances clearly passing along important information. Wartime information, mainly of a military nature, was provided to the staff at the Swedish embassy in Berlin, and this was regularly forwarded to Stockholm. This material was sometimes useful to the Swedish government in its dealings with the Nazis. The Swedish government was routinely aware of the resistance's hopes and intentions. Sweden was used as an intermediary between the resistance and the Allies—who generally showed little interest in the movement. Neutral Sweden provided one of several outposts for the resistance's activities, but it was generally less important than Switzerland or the Vatican.

Although interesting, Carlsson's work breaks little new ground, as he admits. Its value lies in the elaboration it provides about already known events, in the collection of the story in a single monograph, and in the resources Carlsson has opened. Unfortunately, although the scholarship is solid, Carlsson's organization and style are far from engaging. Chapters are divided into sections built around specific moments or meetings, each set off by a bold-faced heading. No central hypothesis or argument holds the work together. The result is an episodic telling of the history rather than a coherently flowing narrative.

Carlsson's study is significant because it adds to the growing number of topic-focused books on Sweden and World War II that have been published over the last twenty years or so. Most important in this regard are the nearly twenty dissertations produced by the *Sverige under andra Världskriget* (SUAV) project in the 1970s and the works of Steven Koblik and Paul Levine on Sweden and the Holocaust.

Byron J. Nordstrom
Gustavus Adolphus College

Maija Runcis. *Steriliseringar i folkhemmet*. [Sterilization in the Swedish Welfare State]. Stockholm: Ordfront. 1998. Pp. 371. 340 KR.

The current Swedish government is considering paying compensation of approximately $22,660 to victims of a forty-year forced sterilization program. From 1936 to 1976, nearly 63,000 people, mostly women, were sterilized. A recent government investigation stated that it was unclear how many people had been sterilized against their will, citing estimates from 6,000 to 15,000. Some of these operations were required for release from confinement or to qualify for public assistance. Taking its inspiration originally from eugenic and racial biology theorizing, the program soon began to move against vulnerable people accused of antisocial behavior. Until 1997, this program went relatively unnoticed by domestic and foreign observers of Swedish society; then it exploded into the headlines in a series of embarrassing revelations. Maija Runcis's book examines how this phenomenon developed, expanded, and then subsided in the emerging Swedish welfare state, the "people's home."

The core of her book consists of an analysis of a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sample of the records of the medical and social service commissions charged with implementing the sterilization campaign. Runcis reports on a sample of almost 1600 cases; picked at random, these files should be representative. They show clearly that women bore the brunt of society's intervention into reproduction; almost ninety-five percent of those sterilized were women. Runcis also shows compellingly that the original motivation to "cleanse" society of the "feebleminded" broadened into a willingness to sterilize for socially or morally offensive behavior. Local committees (there were significant regional variations in implementation of the laws) sometimes chose to recommend or impose sterilization of "gypsies," women who could not provide for numerous children, or sexually promiscuous women.

How did this policy come into existence? Sweden, like other major Western nations, had its own discussion about "genetic hygiene," a discourse that enjoyed considerable academic and political respectability on both the left and the right. Proponents of sterilization sought to prevent hereditary mental disease from being passed on to future generations, even though evidence at this time for the heritability of mental conditions was weak. Traditional liberal reservations about individual rights frustrated the first initiatives in the mid-1920s. By 1932, however, when the Social Democrats took office, a new commission of inquiry recommended sterilization for "social-prophylactic" reasons. The original 1934 law allowed sterilization on grounds of mental infirmity and social incapacity; in practice, Runcis argues, it was directed against the weakest and most vulnerable groups in society, often focusing on their inability to provide for themselves or on their sexually deviant behavior. The law did not allow for sterilization as a means of birth control, although Sweden legalized abortion in 1938. In 1941, a second sterilization law expanded the scope for intervening against antisocial behavior and "shiftless" women in particular.

The application of the sterilization laws, Runcis persuasively demonstrates, targeted women rather than men and concentrated on the socially marginal with little prospect of defending themselves. Doctors, social workers, the directors of youth detention centers, and local poor relief committees implemented the statutes with negligible fear of judicial review. Runcis cites cases of women indicted as parasites on the newly expanded social benefits or for engaging in sexually "loose" behavior. Her marshaling of the evidence is powerful and her case that the sterilization laws, as implemented, discriminated viciously against women is compelling.

Less successful, I think, is another theoretical strain that goes to the political bearing of her argument. Runcis notes that most studies of the development of the welfare state treat it as a progressive consequence of modernity and democracy, a benign means for incorporating the poor and the outcast. The welfare state is regarded as having been born from the workers' struggle for justice and equality and consequently as embodying the concerns of women and the hitherto socially powerless. Scientific humanism and expert knowledge replace formal legal equality. Runcis rejects this perspective, emphasizing the conflict between the state and the citizen. Social policy becomes a means of exercising power, of disciplining and punishing the weak and deviant. Individual rights are trampled in the drive toward social goals. The Swedish Social Democrats bear the responsibility for the sterilization policy and its implementation. The importance of the individual as against the collective, the necessity of legal and judicial safeguards against well-intentioned but misguided public policy—these themes run through and inform Runcis' study.

Certainly there is much to be said for these arguments. They properly emphasize the claims of the disadvantaged, and they raise the important issue of the relationship between the sterilization laws and the Social Democratic welfare state. Runcis is at pains to establish this relationship. She notes the theoretical contribution of Alva and Gunnar Myrdals, though she cites secondary sources rather than *Crisis in the Population Question* itself, and her interpretations are not always obvious. She cites the contributions of Social Democrats to the passage of the sterilization laws but rather downplays the role of Olof Palme and Social Democratic women parliamentarians in bringing them to an end (and in establishing the rights of women). She records the participation of local Social Democratic officials in the administration of the sterilization laws but passes over the political complexion of the doctors at the center of administration. She gives minimal attention to the social refusal of sterilization to those voluntarily seeking it as a means of birth control. She offers no explanation of the seeming conspiracy of silence over the practice of sterilization; could it be that liberal politicians and jurists were wholly ignorant of this phenomenon?

These objections to the political tenor of Runcis's argument should not detract from its overall value as an expose of the hitherto little-known Swedish sterilization laws. She is at her best in recording the specifics of individual cases and the systematic discrimination against women. A more satisfying explanation of the phenomenon as a whole, however, will have to consider its premodern roots and the capacity of society as a whole, not just the Social Democratic portions of it, to embrace oppressive theories and practices.

Tim Tilton
Indiana University

Jussi Pikkusaari. *Vaikea vapaus: Sosialidemokratian häviö kirkolle 1850-luvulta 1920-luvulle käydyssä Suomen kulttuuritaistelussa* [A Difficult Freedom: Social Democracy's Defeat to the Church in the Finnish Cultural Struggle]. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 32.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1998. Pp. 438.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In Finland, as in the other Nordic countries, the social, political, and ideological shifts that affected Europe at the turn of the twentieth century took the form of a confrontation between the traditional, agrarian way of life and the emergent urban and industrial society. In this study, Jussi Pikkusaari explores the challenge by the Finnish Social Democratic Party to the societal hegemony of the Lutheran Church and its hold on private lives.

This study has a very wide focus. First, it covers a period from the middle of the nineteenth century, when an organized Social Democratic movement was only just beginning to take shape in Finland, down to the 1920s, after Finland had achieved independence. Moreover, Pikkusaari grounds his arguments in processes subsequent to World War II. Although this is evidently deliberate, since the author wishes to state clearly his own position, it leaves the reader somewhat confused.

Second, understanding the ideological confrontation between the Lutheran Church and the Social Democratic Party requires a thorough familiarity with the internal development of both organizations throughout the period under investigation. For this reason, the book is a long one. Another reason, however, is the author's highly personal, rambling style. It sometimes seems as if he is writing more to satisfy his own curiosity than to present a coherent analytical history of ideas.

Third, this study sets out to explore on a very broad front an extended period in Finnish intellectual history, contextualizing it in the historical processes that eventually led to the country's independence. Although Pikkusaari is aware of the problematic nature of his central concepts, describing the tug-of-war for souls between Lutheranism and Social Democracy as a *Kulturkampf* requires rather more careful analysis.

I respect the author's intellectual courage in taking on such an ambitious theme. Undoubtedly, however, a sharper focus in terms of topic and period would have given his conclusions greater impact. Pikkusaari's findings are important. He argues that the labor elite, otherwise committed to a mass movement and a collective mentality, made a ill-judged choice in demanding that religion should be declared a private matter. Paradoxically, challenged by socialist ideology, the church defended its position by appealing to its traditional close relationship with the state, i.e. a normative (and collective) mentality. The Social Democrats' aim was to encourage as many as possible to resign their church membership, but they were unable to achieve their demand for individual freedom in religious matters. When, after independence, it became possible in the early 1920s for individuals to resign from church membership, remarkably few people did so.

The effects have been far-reaching. Even today, the overwhelming majority of the Finnish population are registered members of the Lutheran Church, which has thus retained a central position of influence in the country's political, cultural, and intellectual life. Pikkusaari's study offers an important basis for analyzing this contemporary situation, and he examines a number of previously ignored aspects of late nineteenth-century Finnish history. He has made extensive use of contemporary documentation and the scholarly literature, but his approach to interpreting these sources, and the conclusions he draws, leave many questions still open.

KEIJO VIRTANEN
University of Turku

JUKKA RANTALA. *Sopimaton lasten kasvattajaksi! Opettajiin kohdistuneet poliittiset puhdistuspyrkimykset Suomessa 1944–1948.* (Bibliotheca Historica, number 26.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1997. Pp. 297.

Jukka Rantala's study of the attempted political purge of teachers after World War II in Finland is part of a larger historiographical reevaluation of the country's immediate postwar history. Having lost the war against the Soviet Union in 1944 but avoided occupation by Soviet forces, Finland found itself in a unique situation in the Soviet area of influence. The Soviet spokesman of the Allied Control Commission, Colonel General Ždanov, saw the victory of the Communist Finnish People's Democratic Union in the parliamentary elections of 1945 as an opportunity to guide Finland into a new era of democracy. The previous year, the far left had called for a democratization of society, which meant that "teachers would have to respect working-class values." The far left's strategy was to change the personnel in the upper echelons of society, expecting that these changes would trickle down to the lower levels.

Although the Finnish People's Democratic Union won the elections, it had to cooperate with both the Social Democrats and the conservative Rural Party, one of the leaders of which was the future president of the Republic, Urho Kekkonen. As part of their program for a new Finland, the Communists engaged in efforts to democratize public education. In the official rhetoric, this consisted of getting rid of "incompetence," "political bias," and the "oppression of working-class children." As part of this political project, leftist political parties and organizations such as the Finnish Communist Party, the Finnish People's Democratic Union, and the Finnish-Soviet Society engaged in political purges of the comprehensive school teachers' corps. Textbooks also had to be cleansed of patriotic, anti-Soviet, and pro-German tones.

From a macrohistorical point of view, the scope of the purges was limited. Only about 200 primary and grammar school teachers out of a total of about 23,000 were subjected to pressures. At the level of attitudes, however, the whole profession was deeply affected by the purge attempts. In order to study these effects, Rantala examines the purge attempts in the parish of Vampula in western Finland. In Vampula as in other

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

parts of Finland, workers had held negative views of the school system and its employees at least since the civil war in 1918, after Finland's independence from Russia. After the war, the conservative White forces that had beaten the Reds had used public education in efforts to unify the nation. For many workers who had sympathized with the Reds, teachers were in the service of conservative, middle-class forces.

Finnish legislation proved to be a stumbling block to the far left's strategy. As civil servants, teachers could not be fired unless they were unable to work, were too old to work, or had committed a felony. Further, support for the policies of the Finnish People's Democratic Union was by no means unanimous among civil servants and members of local power structures. In Vampula, the headmaster of the Kukonharja village primary school was especially targeted. In the 1930s, he had been active in the extreme rightist Lapua movement and acted as the local commander of the rightist Civil Guard. The local worker's association organized a citizen's meeting and received support from the Communist Party district secretary. As the village council had no mandate for dismissal, the purgers contacted the Ministry of Education and its Board of Education. The board sent a primary schools inspector to clear up the accusations of political bias directed at the headmaster. But not even the inspector could dismiss him. In this desperate situation, the People's Democrats turned to the Security Police, controlled by the party since the end of the war. The Security Police could not force the teacher to resign, however.

Why did the purge fail? Rantala's macrohistorical answer is threefold. First, the far left parties did not have a clear plan for purging the teachers' corps. Second, the legal status of civil servants prevented them from being expelled from their jobs. Third, many school officials, teachers, headmasters, and Education Ministry employees had bourgeois backgrounds, and they succeeded in foiling the attempts of Communist ministers to purge the teachers' corps. Finally, the Soviet Union did not demand strongly enough that the purges be implemented. The Soviets had decided to back conservative president J. K. Paasikivi. For their part, the Finnish Communists failed to monopolize relations with the Soviet Union because they were in a coalition government with the Rural Party.

In his study, Rantala demonstrates that the role of local power structures and microrelations can be determinant in the failure of political purges in specific populations, in this case Finnish teachers. Rantala's study could have profited from more explicit comparison with the postwar education controversies in countries such as Germany; however, it is a stimulating study on a little-known subject and a valuable contribution to scholarship on postwar Europe.

Niilo Kauppi
Academy of Finland/Center for European Studies, Harvard University

Giovanni Ciappelli. *Carnevale e quaresima: Comportamenti sociali e cultura a Firenze nel rinascimento.* (Temi e testi, nuova serie, number 37.) Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura. 1997. Pp. 372. L. 75,000.

Since the publication of *Rabelais and His World* (1968), Mikhail Bakhtin's account of carnival in the popular culture of the medieval and Renaissance period, there have been numerous studies of this phenomenon. It is generally represented as much as a state of mind as a particular festival that occurred on a specified date. Giovanni Ciappelli reasserts the link between carnival and Lent and between these events and Christian observances. Although chapter four of his book takes up, under the auspices of "the anthropological approach," such familiar themes as the role of youth in carnevalesque episodes not immediately associated with pre-Lenten revels, most of the discussion of carnival is set firmly within the frame of the liturgical calendar, discussed in chapter one, with its primary focus on Lenten privations, preceded by a brief period of license.

Ciappelli's refreshing recognition of a fundamental aspect of the medieval view of these festivals is based on extensive reading, reflected in the useful bibliography, on precept and practice in the primary sources relating to Florence, and of a wide variety of studies of devotion and diversion in this period. Interesting excurses consider the particular qualities of the carnivals of Lorenzo and Savonarola. The tables provide information on manuscripts containing calendars or schema for calculating the date of the movable feast of Easter to which the observance of Lent and carnival are tied, and the dates on which they fell between the years 1300–1500.

The heart of the book is chapters two and three, dealing respectively with "private" and "public" behavior. Chapter two is concerned mainly with practices relating to food, sex, and devotion. It addresses the contrasting expectations for carnival and Lent but dwells mainly on the austerity prescribed for the forty-six days preceding Easter. Chapter three, while describing performances and processions associated with the series of religious festivals that make this period the most active and intense of the Christian year, including the feast of the Annunciation marking the Florentine New Year, concentrates on the carnival activities of mock battles, jousts, and tournaments. These chapters present much interesting information on their subjects in an unaccustomed context; several times the author is able to offer an explicitly different perspective on Florentine rituals to that proposed by Richard Trexler in his pioneering work on this subject, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (1980).

Ciappelli does not propose an alternative vision, however. The conceptual conservatism of his work is clearly reflected in its structure. The author acknowledges that the distinction between private and public behavior cannot be absolute and may not fit with many readers' perceptions of this society; he justifies it as

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

useful for classifying his subject matter. But much material can only be fitted into this Procrustean bed with significant distortion. Student riots at the University of Florence are appended to private behavior, although Ciappelli defines public behavior as collective action in civic space. Manifestations such as jousts and tournaments, intimately related to the image and honor of the lineage, are slotted into the public section, although Florentine usage contrasts the private interests of individual and family with the public concerns of the state and government, and the author himself classifies the behavior of the family as private, because relating to only a few individuals (pp. 15–16).

The question of whether it was possible in practice to distinguish between public and private interest was one of the most contested issues of *quattrocento* self-definition, as citizens reflected upon how to meet a variety of often conflicting obligations. The appropriateness or otherwise of historians' applying a conception of public versus private to the explanation of Florentine behavior in the Renaissance is an equally contested question in the historiography of this society. Thus, it seems a pity that Ciappelli chose not to take up the challenge presented by the resistance to classification, as either public or private, of behavior during carnival and Lent to ask what light the observance of these festivals might shed on the structures of Florentine society expressed in action at these sharply contrasting moments of pious restraint and playful release.

DALE KENT
University of California, Riverside

EMANUELE CUTINELLI-RÈNDINA. *Chiesa e religione in Machiavelli*. (Piccola biblioteca di storia, number 2.) Rome: Istituti editoriali poligrafici internazionali. 1998. Pp. 334.

The prevailing view in the first half of the twentieth century—that the revival of ancient paganism was at the core of the Italian Renaissance—has given way in the second half to the opposite view that the Renaissance was essentially a Christian age. The leading scholar of the period, Paul Oskar Kristeller, also demonstrated that a considerable number of thinkers allegedly responsible for promoting paganism were actually in the service of the church, some in minor ecclesiastical orders. Casting aside ideal types of Renaissance man and modernity, while drawing on an inexhaustible abundance of manuscript and archival sources, historians have established that the Renaissance was marked by a fusion of medieval Christianity and *studia humanitatis* (grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy) grounded in ancient Greek and Latin.

Niccolò Machiavelli does not fit into the new historiographic dispensation easily. His unflinching anticlericalism, his oft-repeated accusation that the divisive policies and behavior of the papacy made Italy vulnerable to foreign interventions, his admiration of the puritanical religion of archaic and republican Rome, and his apparent embrace of Averoës's conception of the eternity of the world and comparable Lucretian views eventually landed him on the Index of 1564 as a heretical author. Today, *The Prince* has become standard reading in college courses, where Machiavelli is typically treated with deifying reverence as a radical political thinker. To be sure, universal agreement about Machiavelli's religious convictions is lacking. In his portrait of *Machiavelli in Hell* (1989), Sebastian de Grazia argued that, upon close inspection, Machiavelli's anticlericalism was in reality conventional and very Florentine, driven not by heretical beliefs and hatred of priests but by religious conservatism.

Emanuele Cuttinelli-Rèndina's study is aimed at showing that Machavelli's reflections on the papacy as a temporal power and on religion as a potentially potent political weapon, though not systematic, were nevertheless central to the development of his conceptions of politics, war, and history. He insists that Machiavelli did not approach the papacy as an abstract entity but as an earthly institution inextricably entwined in the themes of *virtù*, *fortuna*, and political decline. The author is critical of scholarship that attempts to decipher Machiavelli's religious views by a reading of select passages or pungent aphorisms. Machiavelli's conception of the politics of religious belief and institutions, he emphasizes, was informed by his experience as a diplomat and as second chancellor of Florence. Cuttinelli-Rèndina's study, however, is not about external issues. It is largely a microanalysis of the passages devoted to religious themes in Machiavelli's principal works and to marginal and polemical observations punctuating Machiavelli's diplomatic and personal correspondence. On the whole, his ability to negotiate Machiavelli's protean conceptual vocabulary and imperious temperament is exemplary.

According to the author, all of Machiavelli's writings—theoretical, polemical, and personal—consistently point to the positive, indeed necessary, role played by religion in establishing and reinforcing political authority and stability. Unfortunately, Christianity was structurally incapable of imitating the accomplishments of ancient Roman religion. Yet even Girolamo Savonarola, whom Machiavelli described in a letter to Ricciardo Becchi (May 1498) as a two-faced opportunist and audacious demagogue, ultimately became an example of the efficacy of religious discourse. By the time Machiavelli was drafting *The Prince*, he believed that the papacy was the only Italian principality capable of acting with political autonomy and of contending with the other players in the peninsula (Spain, France, the Swiss, and the Holy Roman Emperor). Dismissing Jacob Burckhardt's observation about Machiavelli's secret hope that Cesare Borgia's ferocity and success would undermine the papacy, Cutinelli-Rèndina maintains that Machiavelli had certainly grasped Borgia's role in restoring papal power

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

under the rule of Alexander VI and Julius II. Although the eleventh chapter of *The Prince*, which focuses on ecclesiastical principalities, breaks with the traditional mirror-of-princes genre, the author notes affinities between this celebrated chapter and the treatment of the papacy's temporal power by earlier writers.

The assessment of the *Esortazione alla penitenza*, a sermon on penitence composed by Machiavelli in the early 1520s for a confraternity, is refreshingly balanced. Some scholars believe that the *Esortazione* constitutes a late but firm statement of Machiavelli's piety, while others view it as a testament to his impiety and propensity for ironic gestures. Peter Godman has recently connected the *Esortazione* to Leo X's call for penitence in the bull *Exsurge Domine* (1520) condemning Martin Luther's writings. For his part, Cuttinelli-Rèndina places the *Esortazione* within the setting of lay preaching and highlights the Christian, Neoplatonic, and humanistic background of Machiavelli's reflections on man as God's privileged creature.

This book, which makes a strong case for the "privileged position" of religion and the papacy in Machiavelli's map of the world, is one with which scholars will have to reckon.

JULIUS KIRSHNER
University of Chicago

MARINA ROGGERO. *L'alfabeto conquistato: Apprendere e insegnare nell'Italia tra Sette et Ottocento*. (Saggi, number 494.) Bologna: Mulino. 1999. Pp. 322. L. 38,000.

Marina Roggero is well qualified to write a work on late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Italian education. She is known for such studies as *La scuola in Italia dalla Controriforma al secolo dei lumi* (with D. Balani) (1976); *Scuola e riforme nello stato sabaudo* (1981); *Il sapere e la virtù: Stato, università e professioni nel Piemonte tra sette e ottocento* (1987); *Insegnar lettere: Ricerche di storia dell'istruzione in età moderna* (1992); and related articles. The overarching purpose of this book is to explore the gradual availability of the three R's to the Italian rural population around the turn of the nineteenth century and the subsequent emergence of the whole "problem" of education for the lower classes. Those decades would see some of the early attempts to extend literacy from small privileged and professional groups to larger segments of the population. In exploring this transition, Roggero is sensitive to the ambiguities and difficulties of a process of educational modernization that generated mixed responses among contemporaries. Although governments were increasingly inclined to promote literacy, state educational policies were also expected to manage social tensions and uphold the established order. Wider educational opportunities for the lower classes also ran up against established attitudes, with some rural inhabitants, for example, seeking to defend older educational practices that were more compatible with child labor, widespread poverty, and the hegemony of the church. And although members of the ruling class may have been genuinely concerned with the abysmal ignorance of the lower classes, they also feared the social dislocation that could result from an expansion of education.

To explore these issues, Roggero focused deliberately on the countryside. As she admits, concentration on urban education would in all likelihood have revealed sharper transitions and more consensus. By focusing on the countryside, however, Roggero was able to explore more nuanced and complex responses to educational change among a larger segment of the population. For example, a great deal of anxiety and resistance was generated by proposals for educational reforms and institutions that were not always meaningful to peasants and villagers. In exploring this encounter between educational reform and local needs and traditions, the author had to contend with daunting challenges: the diversity of needs and traditions throughout the peninsula; social, cultural, and political fragmentation; and widely dispersed sources. Nevertheless, Roggero has succeeded in weaving a rich account of reading, writing, arithmetic, mentalities, and reforms in education. The result is a book that furthers the reader's understanding of the chasm that separated small educated elites from the illiterate masses and brings into focus some of the characteristics of an illiterate society just beginning to make a transition to literacy while still possessing traditional (but valued and meaningful) means of learning and communication.

Part one of the book sets the stage with a discussion of elementary education during the *ancien régime*, with separate chapters devoted to the three R's. Part two focuses on the emergence of the new education, with chapters on the target population and the implementation of new policies. Part three is devoted to the teaching profession, with chapters on the teaching body, professionals and free-lancers in education, and the teacher selection process. An epilogue discusses the "qualitative" aspects of supply and demand in education at the turn of the nineteenth century. Part one is essentially historiographical and methodological, draws extensively on secondary sources, and offers useful comparisons and contrasts with developments outside Italy. The rest of the book is based on primary sources, including a fortunate and exceptional discovery—the private archive of a Piedmontese teacher—and an exhaustive exploration of the massive body of reports and statistics compiled during the Napoleonic era. Through a qualitative rather than quantitative reading of the evidence, Roggero reconstructs for the reader a world that is fast disappearing from collective memory. The author's eloquence and effectiveness in this respect are particularly noteworthy. Another merit of Roggero's work is that it places this period in the history of Italian education firmly within the context of European education. Unfortunately, while the text is meticulously documented through extensive references to secondary and archival sources, a bibliography is conspicuous by its absence. Still, much of what

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Roggero has to say about the ambiguities and complexities of educational reform in rural Italy in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is illuminating and will be of value to anyone interested in the history of modern Italian education.

ELMIRO ARGENTO
Douglas College,
New Westminster, B.C.

ROBERT MALLETT. *The Italian Navy and Fascist Expansionism, 1935–1940.* (Naval Policy and History, number 7.) Portland, Oreg.: Frank Cass. 1998. Pp. xiv, 240. $24.50.

Over the last decade or so, revisionist historians have tried to re-cast the image of fascist Italy in World War II. Led in Italian by the great but increasingly conservative and patriotic biographer of Benito Mussolini, Renzo De Felice, and in English by James Sadkovich, these historians have sought to locate a war in the Mediterranean in which the fascist regime was a serious player and one with a certain dignity in identifying and defending its own interests. In *Mussolini l'alleato*, 1940–1945 (1990–1997), the last and unfinished volume of his biography, De Felice declared that the real problem of the Mediterranean conflict from an Italian point of view was Nazi Germany's perverse refusal to see its significance. In a more rational world, De Felice seemed to imply, the Mediterranean would indeed have been accepted as the epicenter of the great conflict.

Such parochial or wrong-headed views duly get short shrift from Robert Mallett in his competent if rather plain archival study of the Italian navy's role in the coming of World War II. For Mallett, the story has two faces. There was the navy, led by its chief of staff Admiral Domenico Cavagnari, which had fascist war thrust upon it and in response believed, obeyed, but generally could not see how it could usefully fight. As Mallett puts it in his conclusion: "The navy entered the war in trepidation, its programmes incomplete, with no clear objectives, and with a defensive war plan wholly inconsistent with the expectations laid down by Mussolini" (pp. 193–4). The *Marina militare*, he earlier explained, was a service with "woefully outdated" mines, "limited and backward" anti-submarine technology, few destroyers and those incapable of operating at night as was required, and torpedo-boats of "dubious sea-worthiness" and "limited . . . range" (p. 172). Driven by Cavagnari's own "Jutland complex," the fascist navy had built battleships when aircraft carriers were needed; it could call on no serious war plans and had not envisaged how to take Malta. It had scarcely begun a proper consideration of collaboration with the Nazi German fleet. And, despite its limited strength, the navy made impossible demands on Italian industry and the Italian economy. For all Mussolini's talk of marching to the Atlantic and Indian oceans, in June 1940 the navy could not defend Genoa from attack by the collapsing French. Here was a force ill-equipped even for one day as a lion.

Mallett's second emphasis is an "intentionalist" focus on Mussolini, the man who bore the responsibility for the navy's numerous shortcomings. As early as 1919, Mussolini proclaimed that he wanted to "banish foreigners from the Mediterranean beginning with the English" (inelegantly, Mallett repeats this quote [pp. 1, 9]). Thereafter the dictator remained true to his word. "Conquering Ethiopia" in 1935–1936, Mallett avers, "was, for Mussolini, simply the first step in a larger programme aimed at building an Italian Empire stretching from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean" (p. 19). Moreover, in this visceral commitment to expansionism, the Duce always envisaged a Germany at his side and so the Axis, the Pact of Steel, and the war entry in 1940 constituted an all but inevitable process.

Such arguments are not particularly new. In particular, Macgregor Knox, frequently acknowledged in Mallett's footnotes, has depicted a Mussolini whose wickedness was only distinguished from Hitler's by Italy's pronounced relative industrial and military weakness. And yet it may be asked, both of Knox and of Mallett, whether matters are ever as simple as that? Did Mussolini really have untrammeled free will and was he (or any other politician) really able to plan over a twenty-year period? I remain unconvinced and would have preferred Mallett to have looked more widely than he did and to have read each Mussolinian statement not only literally but also between the lines (and so contextually). To give but one example: did the Anglophobia of 1919 presage the war of 1940? Perhaps. But what of other Mussolinian pronouncements, notably in the 1920s, about traditional Anglo-Italian friendship and about fascism's determination to avoid too much novelty in foreign policy? Can it really be accepted that one speech was "true" and the other "false"? I doubt it. In sum, as far as I am concerned, Mallett does well in describing the trees; he is less good at leaving his readers with an impression of the wood.

R. J. B. BOSWORTH
University of Western Australia

MONTE S. FINKELSTEIN. *Separatism, the Allies, and the Mafia: The Struggle for Sicilian Independence, 1943–1948.* Cranbury: Lehigh University Press. 1998. Pp. 289. $46.50.

Although this study examines a Sicilian separatist episode over half a century ago, it has a contemporary resonance. As globalization erodes the raison d'être of old nation states, ethnic and cultural minorities worldwide demand recognition of their own separate identities. In Italy, the most recent example of this phenomenon is the Lombard League. Monte S. Finkelstein pertinently observes that, notwithstanding the obvious distinctions to be made between discontent in rich northern Italy and in the impoverished

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mezzogiorno, the two separatist movements share some very similar character traits: their use of historical symbolism, their leadership style, and perhaps in due course their failed outcome.

Sicilian separatism has always been a facet of Italy's southern question at large. It arose out of a feeling of alienation from the central government in Rome and from a conviction that the region's poverty was the result of exploitation by the north. Fascist misrule and ultra-centralization exacerbated this sense of grievance, and the decline of Benito Mussolini's regime in 1943 provided an opportunity for its open expression. Upon invading Sicily, the Allies welcomed the cooperation of all antifascists, separatists included. Particularly useful in the military and administrative spheres was the Sicilian mafia. Suppressed by Mussolini, the mafia was now eager to reestablish itself and embraced separatism as a link to the Allied Military Government (AMG). The Sicilian separatist movement as a whole was in no doubt about its need for Allied backing and solicited it vigorously; some separatists wore badges proclaiming Sicily the forty-ninth state, and when relations between the Anglo-Americans and the Soviets began to sour, separatism presented itself as a bulwark against communism. For their part, however, the Western Allies never really backed separatism; they only tolerated it for short-term tactical reasons. Nevertheless, "if the possibility of a separatist seizure of power ever existed, the chances for success were highest during AMG's administration" (p. 29). After Italy changed sides in the war, however, the Allies no longer had an interest in subverting an Italian national government by encouraging separatism, and the transfer of Sicilian administration to the Badoglio government in February 1944 signaled as much.

The credibility of Sicilian separatism was further reduced by internal divisiveness. The *latifondisti* and mafia endorsed separatism in 1943 in order to restore the old order, while leftists such as Antonio Canepa regarded separatism as the road to radical socioeconomic reform. A facade of unity was preserved at the congresses of the Movimento per l'Indipendenza della Sicilia only by ignoring the absolutely crucial question of land distribution. Appropriately, the special skill of its president, Andrea Finocchiaro Aprile, was that of seeming all things to all persons. Charismatic but unstable, Finocchiaro Aprile was given to flights of fancy (for instance, his pretense that the San Francisco Conference had given favorable consideration to Sicilian separatism). In 1939, he had applauded Mussolini's Sicilian policy and did not begin to enunciate separatist sentiments until 1941. As a separatist, he began as a republican but ended it collaborating with the monarchists. Opportunism was rife on all sides in this tale.

It is difficult to gauge the real strength of Sicilian separatism at the close of World War II. Finkelstein cites contemporary estimates of over 400,000. Yet a separatist stance was no more than a form of protest for many who were prepared to accept regional autonomy. This became abundantly clear once Rome formally promised Sicilian autonomy in January 1945. Led by the influential mayor of Palermo, Lucio Tasca, conservatives and mafiosi deserted the separatist cause in droves. Some radical separatists resorted to violence, but the Esercito Voluntario per l'Indipendenza Siciliana was easily suppressed and Finocchiaro Aprile imprisoned for six months. In the elections for the Constituent Assembly in 1946, Sicilian separatists captured four seats and 8.71 percent of the vote. Two years later, in the first general election under the new republican constitution, they failed to win any representation at all.

In retrospect, Sicilian separatism in World War II appears a tempest in a teapot. It played its part, however, in persuading the central government to accept the principle of regional autonomy in a redesigned postwar Italy, and it therefore deserves Finkelstein's very thorough if somewhat pedestrian monographic treatment. His account is based on exemplary research, most significantly in OSS files made accessible when the CIA declassified its records on Sicilian separatism and the mafia following a request made under the Freedom of Information Act. This is the only book in any language devoted exclusively to the topic, and as such it is to be welcomed.

ALAN CASSELS
McMaster University

JERZY JEDLICKI. *A Suburb of Europe: Nineteenth-Century Polish Approaches to Western Civilization*. Budapest: Central European University Press. 1999. Pp. xxvii, 307.

In the 1840s, the Polish political writer Henryk Kamieński published in Poznań his study of the *Philosophy of the Material Economy of Human Society*. "Enough contemptuous cries aimed against material economy!" Kamieński exclaimed. "We come to stand in defense of the material aspirations of the present age, aspirations which are often opposed by the so-called romantic view of those people who, together with their precious feelings and thoughts, claim to be misunderstood by the present age" (p. 135). Jerzy Jedlicki offers an important and profoundly insightful analysis of the intellectual debate about economic development in the partitioned lands of nineteenth-century Poland, as writers like Kamieński came to the defense of industry, capitalism, economic progress, and something more vague that went by the name of "civilization." Obviously, those forces would not have needed to be defended if they did not face intellectual criticism from a variety of perspectives—conservative, national, sentimental, messianic, socialist—which Jedlicki also explores with great erudition.

Fryderyk Skarbek, attacked for advocating avaricious materialism, remonstrated that "I regard civilization as an inseparable accompaniment to wealth" (p. 118). Thus, the appeal to civilization could become a kind of vindication of economic development, but civilization was not itself above criticism in these

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

polemics, and someone like Skarbek was not without ambivalence in that regard. On another occasion, reflecting on poverty in England, he wondered, "What use are all those wonderful industrial works and achievements extolled by the traveler? What use is the vain glory of holding the first place among the civilized nations?" (p. 77). Jedlicki's work demonstrates that the Polish debates about economy and civilization were intricately connected to an insecurity of identity concerning Poland's relation to Europe. The book's English title is intended to express the anxieties of the nineteenth-century Polish intelligentsia, who regarded Poland "as a poor and neglected suburb of Europe, a suburb that looked at the Metropolis with contradictory feelings of envy, admiration and distrust" (p. xiii). The book was originally published in Poland in 1988 under a title that would translate as *What Kind of Civilization Poles Need*.

The first part of the book covers the period from the late Enlightenment, when the word "civilization" became current, up until the insurrection of 1863; it is Skarbek, with his search for a "natural," unrushed industrial development, the "middle road" toward a capitalist economy, who stands at the center of the divergent views of the earlier nineteenth century. In the second part of the book, which runs up until the 1880s, it is Aleksander Świętochowski who seems to embody the twists and turns of modern ambivalence about capitalism: he argued that Poland had to "join in the stream of general civilization" and march to "the same rhythms which govern the development of other nations," but he also recognized the "cruelty" of civilization and prophesied a millenarian catastrophe (pp. 225, 234). In both halves of the book, Jedlicki introduces a great variety of perspectives—some articulated by individual writers, some by journals or newspapers—in order to recreate the many dimensions of the intellectual controversy.

Kamieński's sense that material aspirations were "often opposed by the so-called romantic view" suggests that romanticism played a negative role in the economic debates of the nineteenth century. Indeed, Polish romantic nationalism could stand opposed to the sometimes foreign forces of capitalism, and the romantic insurrectionaries of 1830 and 1863 clearly put political above economic concerns. Yet romanticism seems to have remained to some extent aloof from the economic controversies of the nineteenth century, and Jedlicki's book provides a fascinating counterpoint to Andrzej Walicki's brilliant work, *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism: The Case of Poland* (1982). Jedlicki and Walicki actually treat some of the same figures (like Kamieński and August Cieszkowski) and may be read together as describing complementary aspects of nineteenth-century Polish intellectual history. Jedlicki cites Świętochowski as he battled the legacy of romanticism in the age of positivism and organic work, calling upon Poles to "take the crown of the chosen people off our heads and start seeing ourselves as ordinary mortals" (p. 223). The whole phenomenon of organic work is treated with clarity, subtlety, and sympathy by Jedlicki, who writes about "the otherwise banal discovery that Poland lacked not only independence but also soap, school primers, places of work and study, water supplies and sewage systems" (p. 222). Such were the circumstances that fed the debate about economic backwardness and development in the Polish lands. Jedlicki very effectively cites the economic views of Bolesław Prus and Eliza Orzeszkowa in defense of modern economy; it would have been interesting to consider as well their literary works, especially Prus's great novel *The Doll* (1890), which is full of reflections on business and economy.

In the introduction to the English edition, Jedlicki notes that the original Polish version appeared "in the last year of the *ancien régime*," in 1988. His account of the lively nineteenth-century controversy over economic policies and purposes was about to become marvelously relevant to the coming economic transformation of Poland after the collapse of communism. The last chapter discusses Polish socialism in the 1880s and, noting some recognition that economic growth could be good for workers as well as employers, Jedlicki comments on the movement of some socialists away from "wishful thinking to an observation of real economic processes" (p. 272). This book may be read with great interest alongside another fundamental work on economics and nineteenth-century intellectual history, which also appeared in 1988, Roman Szporluk's *Communism and Nationalism: Karl Marx Versus Friedrich List* (1988). The concluding paragraph of Jedlicki's work seems to speak directly from the economic ruins of the *ancien régime* to the "civilization" of the very immediate future. It reads no less eloquently in the original Polish edition of 1988: "In a country where the voluntary work and sacrifice of enthusiasts from among the intelligentsia had to replace a non-existent national state and social reforms, where censored articles in weeklies were to substitute for acts of law, where voluntary contributions rather than taxes paid for national projects, and secret workers' cells took the place of trade unions, every attempt to fathom the future and, even more so, the will to create this future, had to feed on illusions. To the authors of programs and manifestos, both overt and conspiratorial, to social workers and political agitators, it may have seemed, indeed must have seemed, that the arguments and conflicts they waged among themselves would decide who would take the helm of the ship of history, what course it would take, what doctrine would guide it. In fact, however, under the watchful eye of the censor, gendarme and police informer, they were arguing fiercely about the hierarchy of values, the sense of sacrifice, and the ethereal glimmer of hope without which a subdued nation stagnates in the humdrum of everyday existence" (p.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

287). Jedlicki, of course, was writing about the experience of partitioned Poland in the nineteenth century.

LARRY WOLFF
Boston College

PETER D. STACHURA, editor. *Poland between the Wars, 1918–1939*. New York: St. Martin's. 1998. Pp. xiii, 153. $59.95.

The collapse of Soviet-backed Communist regimes in Eastern Europe has sparked renewed interest in that region's recent history, especially the brief two decades between the world wars. Not surprisingly given its reputation as the sharpest thorn in Moscow's side since 1945, Poland has drawn the most attention from historians examining the period 1919–1939. This modest but intriguing work offers a collection of separately written essays edited by Peter D. Stachura, who also authored three of the six pieces from among papers presented at a 1997 conference at the University of Stirling.

Typically of this type of work, the essays consider a variety of subjects. Stachura opens the book with a brief but valuable overview of historiography dealing with interwar Poland that includes publications in both Polish and English. Although the specialist will find little new here, this introductory survey is extremely useful for someone just embarking on the study of this complex field. Of the remaining five essays, three focus on military themes. Stachura offers a fresh look at the pivotal Battle of Warsaw (August 1920)—the so-called "Miracle on the Vistula"—that demonstrates the importance of the Polish victory not only for that country but also for the Soviet Union. For, by effectively aborting the Bolshevik intent of "exporting" revolution to the West, this military defeat forced the Kremlin to redirect its attention inward and consolidate its revolutionary system. Stachura also demolishes the myth that French assistance, rather than Polish military prowess, was responsible for the Red Army's defeat. Peter Lesniewski's article on the three Polish uprisings in Upper Silesia (1919–1921), through which Poles attempted to gain control of that resource-rich region for their new country, contributes little new to existing knowledge of this subject. The final military-oriented essay by Andrzej Suchcitz examines Polish defensive strategic planning and preparations in 1939 as war with Germany appeared increasingly imminent. He painstakingly demonstrates how Polish leaders based their plans on the conceptually sound (given existing treaty commitments) assumptions that the Soviet Union would not attack from the east, while the British and French would honor their agreements and assault Germany in the west; unhappily for Poland, both turned out to be false.

The two remaining contributions deal with domestic subjects. John Bates examines the state of press freedom in Poland and the various attempts of the authorities to repress it, constitutional guarantees notwithstanding. He describes the assorted methods of repression available over the two decades but rarely used to their fullest capacity, except against the Communist and Ukrainian publications, which were viewed as endangering the state's very existence. Although this essay is certainly well-researched and worthy, the third offering by Stachura is equally well-grounded and infinitely more lively, not to mention controversial. Entitled "National Identity and the Ethnic Minorities in Early Inter-War Poland," it portrays Polish officialdom in the formative stages of the new state as prepared to work with and be tolerant of the various non-Polish and non-Christian segments of the country's population, especially the Jews. But the experience of the Polish-Soviet war, which witnessed substantial portions of the Jewish and Ukrainian minorities actively supporting the Red Army, called into question the loyalty of these two key groups (the German minority was written off at the outset as a subversive antistate element). Indeed, Stachura blames the attitudes of Jews both inside and outside of Poland for much of the anti-Semitism that pervaded certain elements of Polish political life. Noting that some Jews were hostile to Polish independence from the outset, he illustrates how the "Jewish Lobby" at the Paris Peace Conference wanted total autonomy for any Jews included within Polish borders. In rebuttal to many scholars (including this reviewer) who have been highly critical of Polish policies toward the minorities, Stachura concludes that "It is difficult to avoid the conclusion, therefore, that the solution to the minorities question lay more with the minorities themselves than with the state. A more cooperative attitude by then, involving a more balanced and realistic perspective on their problems, was surely the only answer that Poland's generally constructive and relatively liberal approach deserved" (p. 78).

All told, this is a welcome little volume that should prove useful in introducing the interested but uninformed reader to some of the major issues of interwar Polish history. The specialist will find ample fuel for debate, and all should benefit from the handy appendixes that list the principal political leaders and offer a chronology of key events in the brief but vital existence of the Second Polish Republic.

EDWARD D. WYNOT, JR.
Florida State University

JOST SOOM. *"Avancement et fortune": Schweizer und ihre Nachkommen als Offiziere, Diplomaten und Hofbeamte im Dienst des Zarenreiches*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Russlandschweizer, number 7.) Zürich: Hans Rohr. 1996. Pp. 424. 78 FR.

Almost all students of Russian history know that the Swiss François Lefort served Tsar Peter I in various functions and that Frédéric-César de Laharpe was a tutor for Tsar Alexander I. Not so many may realize that Alexandre de Jomini (Zhomini), a foreign policy advisor for Alexander II and Alexander III, was Swiss. Nor might the historian know that a Swiss, Niklaus

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ludwig von Stürler, died in the Decembrist rising of 1825. These men were part of a small stream of Swiss who came to find "advancement and fortune" in the civil and military service of the Tsarist regime.

Jost Soom's book studies this flow, making clear that it was quite different from the contract service that Swiss mercenaries and recruits performed for other European governments over the years. The study also covers the living and working conditions of the emigres while in Russia. For the most part, the men who left Switzerland were acting on an individual basis, looking for self-promotion in other societies than the one they had grown up in. They came mostly from cantons not involved in providing officers for the contracted services.

Before 1798, most Swiss in Russia came from the French-speaking parts of Switzerland, and after that, most came from German-speaking regions. In turn many of their offspring remained on in the tsarist service, but most regarded work in Russia as only part of their careers, whether at the start, in midlife, or as a closing. As a rule, the first emigres to serve did not intermarry with Russians, but among those who remained in Russia, their grandchildren tended to integrate themselves into Russian society. Among Swiss who emigrated to Russia for economic reasons, only few found their way into governmental service.

In tracking this phenomenon, the study delves into a wide range of topics, including the social structure of the various Swiss cantons, the evolution of the Russian bureaucracy, and Russian and Swiss military history. The presentation includes portraits, family trees, and a variety of charts. It concludes with brief characterizations of Maurice Conradi, the Russian-born Swiss who assassinated Vatslav Vorovsky in 1923, and of Wladimir Bühler, a Russian-born Swiss who was one of the few to enter Bolshevik service, rising to the rank of general in the Red Army. At the end, the reader may feel that he or she knows something about every Swiss who ever worked in the Russian government.

This volume is part of the series published by the program of the Historisches Seminar of Zurich University to study the history of the Swiss in Russia. Previous volumes have considered Swiss doctors, cheesemakers, industrialists, theologians, and scholars.

ALFRED ERICH SENN
University of Wisconsin, Madison

DMITRY SHLAPENTOKH. *The Counter-Revolution in Revolution: Images of Thermidor and Napoleon at the time of Russian Revolution and Civil War*. New York: St. Martin's. Macmillan's, Basingstoke. 1999. Pp. viii, 183. $59.95.

The works of Isaac Deutscher and Robert V. Daniels, among others, have familiarized us with the widespread Russian use of labels from the French Revolution to represent political programs, both positively and negatively, in their own revolution. Most commonly, it is the term Bonapartist that is applied to Leon Trotsky as Commissar of War and the term Thermidor that is applied in quite different senses either to the New Economic Policy (NEP) or the social and cultural policies of the Five-Year Plan—in the words of Nicholas Timasheff, the "Great Retreat"—although Bonapartism has sometimes been identified in Joseph Stalin's revolution from above as well. The subject of Dmitry Shlapentokh's book is the use of these same labels in application to the personalities and parties of 1917, in particular to Aleksandr Kerensky and General Lavr Kornilov, as he has done for yet earlier periods of Russian politics in two previous books.

The present book is full of serious problems. The extraordinary profusion of typographical, spelling, and grammatical errors (and verbal extravaganzas) is perhaps the least of them: for example, "Peter" (Pavel) Miliukov (p. 170), "Bernard" (Bertram) D. Wolfe (p. 97), the Menshevik "Gore" (B. Gorev, pp. 102–03), "Kornilovaites" (p. 99), "Occidentophilists" (Westernizers, p. 9).

The views of schools of historians are often summarized and criticized without so much as a reference to the work of any of them. "The theory of 'temporary alienation' . . . is popular among many contemporary Western historians" (p. 20). "Several historians have admitted that despite their ideological differences, Robespierre and Napoleon were generically connected, and in many respects Robespierre was merely a premature Napoleon" (p. 29).

Most of the documentary references are to literature, some of it of dubious authority (the *New York Times Current History* or the *National Geographic*, for example), rather than to sources. Both the literature and the sources neglected on the notorious episode of the failed Kornilov coup suggest the quality of the bibliographic support of the work more generally. Missing from the list of indispensable sources are Kerensky, *Delo Kornilova* (1918); Boris Savinkov, *K delu Kornilova* (1919); D. A. Chugaev, ed., *Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie v Rossii v avguste 1917 g.: Razgrom Kornilovskogo miatezha* (1959); missing from the essential literature are E. I. Martynov, *Kornilov: The Attempt of a Military Coup* (1927) and George Katkov, *Russia 1917: The Kornilov Affair and the Breakup of the Russian Army* (1980) (1980). Neither is there any reference to the valuable documentary collection of Robert Browder and Kerensky, eds., *The Russian Provisional Government, 1917* (3 vols., 1961).

The most serious problem of the book is conceptual coherence and confusion. The only fair way to present this feature of it is to allow the text to speak for itself. The frequent reference to the Montagnards of the French Convention as "Montaignes" indicates that it is no mere typo (e.g. p. 96; sometimes the term becomes "Montanguard," p. 35). The years "1792," "1793," and "1799" (sic) are frequently cited thus as a summary manner of referring to the political nature of different stages of the French Revolution: "A Russian '1799'

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would not only precede '1793' and '1794' but actually erase them altogether" (p. 35). Chapter seven addresses "The Bolshevik Revolution as the Road to Degenerate Bonapartism and Restoration." Chapter nine addresses "A Degenerate Napoleon as son of Degenerate Jacobins." "The works of [relativistic] historians . . . is [sic] mostly reduced to finding the reason why the events happened" (p. 19). In the Russian Revolution, the peasants "received no land" (p. 83). "The predictions [of political outcomes in 1917] in regards to the actual causes of events could easily have materialized" (p. 91). "Whereas Napoleon was a developed Robespierre, 'the incorruptible,' was a nascent Napoleon. This same paradigm could be applied to an explanation of the Russian Revolution where Lenin combined both Napoleon and Robespierre into one person" (p. 101). Although most historians would not regard either Thermidor or Brumaire as so simple a phenomenon as to be perceived by all parties concerned in the same perspective, the author's references to both are quick, cursory, and without nuance.

This is Shlapentokh's fifth published book. Knowing how difficult it is to get good manuscripts in European history published these days, many readers of this book will wonder why two usually reputable publishers exposed their imprimatur to it.

HUGH RAGSDALE,
EMERITUS
University of Alabama

MARTIN A. MILLER. *Freud and the Bolsheviks: Psychoanalysis in Imperial Russia and the Soviet Union*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1998. Pp. xvii, 237. $30.00.

Martin A. Miller has published a short history of psychoanalysis in Russia and the Soviet Union, a bold achievement at a time when events are in a state of continual flux. Miller's accomplishments are two: an examination of psychoanalysis's rise and fall and rise again—with its own, "soviet" pattern—and a jarring glimpse into the peculiar world of Stalinist ideological politics.

Since compared to Western countries, relatively little is known about Russian psychoanalysis, a synopsis of some of Miller's main points is in order. Psychoanalysis made substantial progress in Russia before 1917, little different from its development in other European countries, and in some cases even more advanced. After the years of revolution and turmoil, prospects seemed bright. The Russian Psychoanalytic Society was founded in Moscow in 1922, and the Communist Party showed an interest in the potential contributions of psychoanalysis to education. Psychoanalysis could not exist officially without government approval, and for a few years this did not present a problem; there was a State Psychoanalytic Institute and Sigmund Freud's works were published by the State Publishing House. Moreover, recently discovered archival material has shown that the analysts founded a school for disturbed and homeless children that was supported financially by the government and eventually had children from diverse social backgrounds.

This happy state of affairs did not last, however. The high point of psychoanalytic acceptance was from 1921–1923, although diverse activities continued until 1926. The school was closed because the intrusion from the Communists was too onerous to bear. The state began to vet all professions for their ideological purity, raising the vital issue of whether Freudian psychology could fit within a Marxist framework. With V. I. Lenin's death in January 1924, a huge battle for control of the party and hence the country erupted, a struggle that involved all professions. Opponents attempted to delegitimize psychoanalysis so all authority could be grasped by the Communists. Once delegitimized, the Communists would incorporate the field for themselves. By 1926, the term "Freudianism" was used derogatorily, and the state suspended funding of the Psychoanalytic Institute. The year 1930 marked both the end of any official psychoanalytic activity and the Communists' introduction of the new field of "pedology" to replace the Western "psychopathology."

Any international movement was seen as a danger. Psychoanalysis was particularly vulnerable because of its emphasis on sexuality, an area where individualism reigned and around which movements could be constructed. A Congress on Human Behavior "establish[ed] an authoritative Marxist psychology" (p. 101) that was materialist. The "groundwork was established for psychoanalysis to be equated with being anti-Soviet and bourgeois." If one were a supporter of psychoanalysis that "suggested to the public that any one associated with such ideas was likely to be engaged in anti-government and counterrevolutionary activities" (p. 103). Nevertheless, psychoanalysis never completely disappeared.

After Stalin's death in 1953, the situation gradually changed, but in a unique manner. Books and conferences dealt openly and deeply with subjects like neurosis, sexuality, and the unconscious, but only to criticize them. In the 1960s, much psychoanalytic theory was obviously known and discussed, where before any mention had been forbidden. The official position was that psychoanalysis had to be known in order to combat it, since as a bourgeois ideology it was so obviously influential in the West, making the worker accept his fate by having him look inward rather than outward for the sources of his troubles. After 1987, under Mikhail Gorbachev, there was dramatic change in the openness of the discussion of psychoanalysis, and it was no longer necessary to reconcile Freud and Marx.

Miller's material invites much comment. It is always useful for the historian to see significant continuity, even at a time when it is least expected. In this case, our attention is drawn to the role of the central government in mental health. This did not begin in the Communist era but has a long Russian history. An-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

other area of continuity has to do with the treatment of political dissidence. We became accustomed to reports that Soviet political dissidents were given psychiatric diagnoses and incarcerated in psychiatric hospitals, but this also is not new in Russian history. When the Revolution of 1905 occurred, some physicians wondered whether what was taking place was a kind of "psychic epidemic," or a form of collective psychopathology, involving extreme mood swings, loss of judgment, intense anxiety, and unbridled aggression" (p. 18). In the presence of rebellion, "psychic equilibrium" was in danger.

Other items of interest are Miller's challenge to some conventional notions about psychoanalysis in the Soviet Union. It has long teen accepted that Lenin was against psychoanalysis. Miller introduces some evidence that this might not have been the case. He also provides material to contest the standard belief that psychoanalysis in Russia completely died out under Stalin.

Miller's book takes its place as a welcome survey in the history of science alongside Alexander Etkind's more biographically and culturally oriented study, *Eros of the Impossible: The History of Psychoanalysis in Russia* (1997). Miller has done valuable work in bringing to an English-speaking audience translations of books, conference proceedings, and journals available only in Russian. This will be helpful in writing a comparative history of psychoanalysis. As a student of German psychoanalysis, I can already see useful links.

HANNAH S. DECKER
University of Houston

VLADIMIR BROVKIN. *Russia after Lenin: Politics, Culture and Society, 1921–1929*. New York: Routledge. 1998. Pp. viii, 266. Cloth $85.00, paper $27.99.

The title of this book is somewhat misleading; it is not about the period following V. I. Lenin's death in 1924 but, as the subtitle suggests, about the New Economic Policy (NEP) of 1921–1929. Adopted after Russia's Civil War by a party plagued by worker and peasant unrest, declining economic productivity, and a hostile international environment, NEP allowed agriculture and industry a temporary "retreat" from the capitalist market even as the party sought to extend its control over a largely agrarian society and over its own ranks. During the last few decades, the focus of NEP historiography has shifted. Once the central subject of most scholarship was the party-state apparatus, treated in isolation from society and culture. More recently, using various theoretical approaches and newly available sources, scholars have examined the depth, nature, and meaning of conflict within society on the one hand and between society and regime (not necessarily mutually exclusive categories) on the other. Vladimir Brovkin's work contributes to this literature. He considers the transmission of official "mentalities," never defined but seemingly equated with "political and cultural discourse," "values," and "representations" (p. 3), to ordinary Russians in order to reexamine the classic question motivating his study: why was NEP "ended so abruptly in 1929" (p. 3)?

Brovkin reinterprets the party's decision to abandon NEP. He presents this decision as a preemptive strike not only, as the conventional wisdom has long held, against peasants whose economic autonomy was perceived to threaten socialism but also against local party officials who had discovered how they could benefit from peasants' entrepreneurial success. He also frames the decision as the Bolsheviks' response to the gulf that they saw between "representations" and "reality" in Soviet society. For example, what members of the Communist Youth League transmitted was not Communist propaganda and a model of Communist behavior to society but, more often than not, venereal disease and vodka bottles to each other. Brovkin may be right about NEP's demise, but he is not completely persuasive. Missing is direct evidence linking Joseph Stalin and his lieutenants' preoccupation with the political and social developments traced here, the meanings they accorded those developments, and the decisions they made.

Nevertheless, Brovkin provides some new information and insightful passages. Among the latter, he shows how Communists emulated the consumption patterns of the very elites they had displaced. Among the former, the book adds to our knowledge about peasant tactics during rural elections. Yet non-specialist readers will not know what is new, because Brovkin does not always situate his findings within the historiography. For example, he discusses disenfranchisement, Bolshevik festivals, and apocalyptic rumors without mentioning the work of Elise Wirtschafter, James von Geldern, and Lynne Viola, respectively. Also missing is a consistently critical stance toward archival documents, too often seen by Brovkin as a repository of "the truth" rather than as a site of discursive constructs also found in the regime's published paper trail. The likes of warnings, such as "the church pulpit is consistently used by the clergy for agitation against Soviet power" (p. 97), quoted from a document in a provincial party archive, were regular refrains in official newspapers; for both kinds of texts, the author's interest in exaggerating and unmasking "conspiracy" must be taken into account. Brovkin sets up a false dichotomy between "Bolshevik mentalities" and "traditional" (p. 17) peasant culture, treating both as internally fixed and diametrically imposed, when in fact they were internally dynamic and mutually influential.

NEP has often at the center of debate in conflicting assessments of the nature of the Soviet system, Soviet socialism, and the socialist project more generally. Brovkin's conclusion addresses a question that the Party leadership debated during the 1920s: was NEP leading Russia away from or towards socialism? Unlike Nikolai Bukharin, Brovkin does not believe that NEP would have brought socialism to Russia. Like Leon Trotsky, he believes that NEP subverted social-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ism. Inadvertently producing a "healthy society," NEP would have eventually created a "civil society, a multiparty system and a market society" (p. 222). The book left me with the sense that Brovkin's unstated purpose was to put empirical research in service of an ideological argument: what is natural is superior to what is unnatural; NEP showed that capitalism was the natural economic system for Rusia; NEP, therefore, providences evidence that capitalism is superior to socialism. Saying as much would have better served the author and his readers. Still, specialists would consider Brovkin's engagement with issues that may well be with us, as Lenin once said of NEP, "in earnest and for a long time."

GLENNYS YOUNG
University of Washington

ELENA ZUBKOVA. *Russia After the War: Hopes, Illusions, and Disappointments, 1945–1957*. Translated and edited by HUGH RAGSDALE. (The New Russian History.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1998. Pp. x, 238. Cloth $65.95, paper $24.95.

Elena Zubkova belongs to the generation of young Russian historians who began to publish excellent works in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union. This new book by Zubkova is in essence an abridged and modified translation of her 1993 Russian book *Obshchestvo i reformy 1945–1964*. The translator merely speaks of "the second (first English) edition," but there are some disturbing changes made from the original Russian edition that I will take up later.

Zubkova's stated aim in writing this book is to explore "public opinion of the period, patterns of thinking, and the behavior of Soviet people" (p. 4). For this purpose, she has drawn on numerous historical sources, including formerly top-secret archival documents, literary works, and interviews with surviving contemporaries. (She emphasizes that "Much of the story told here deals with the experience of people still living," and many Western specialists will find some of their friends and acquaintances discussed.) Zubkova, wisely or not, limits her discussion to "Russia," although she sometimes draws on cases from non-Russian Slavic lands.

Zubkova's research is excellent. Few other historians have managed to write a history of postwar Russia "from below" and from the perspective of the "public." World War II created an army of soldiers and civilians who lived lives different from the terror-stricken 1930s (even if Soviet state terror did not disappear during and after the war). They and many other Soviet citizens wanted and hoped for change for the better after the war; some, especially those soldiers and forced laborers who returned from abroad where they had observed different ways of life, were trenchantly critical of the regime. Yet political terror was real enough to intimidate critical elements, and in any case, the majority of the population, while entertaining hope of a better life, did not and often could not overstep the political and ideological bounds of the regime. These limitations doomed any potential for fundamental reform in the Soviet Union. All the same, Joseph Stalin feared real and imagined political disloyalty, the true strength of which he could not measure. Hence Stalin applied brutal political repression.

The period after Stalin's death in 1953—known commonly as the "Thaw"—marked a turning point, producing open forums for reform. Yet even then, very few could pose a fundamental challenge to the postulates of Stalinism, either in action or in thought. Neither the party elite nor the "general public" could generate fundamental reformist ideas, which would in due course have called socialism itself into question. New democratic and humanistic ideas remained in embryo.

Throughout the English edition, the term "public opinion" is used. Zubkova's (or her translator's) emphasis on "public opinion," however, is somewhat puzzling and occasionally disturbing. Specialists tend to concur that public opinion in a regime like Stalin's was all but impossible; there were "private" opinions perhaps, but not public opinion. In fact, the original Russian edition is more nuanced, and the use of the term "public opinion" is relatively rare as far as the Stalin period is concerned. In the Russian edition, Zubkova emphasizes "the social-psychological atmosphere," "social self-consciousness," and "social psychology." Although she insists that Stalin was aware that dissent existed in Soviet society, she makes the important epistemological point that "he did not know how many of them [disloyal members of Soviet society] there were and how dangerous, even to himself personally, this incipient opposition was becoming" (p. 107). If it was impossible for Stalin to know, how then can historians know? Zubkova maintains that "it is not possible to deal confidently with any kind of quantitative variables. There is not the remotest approximation here of scientific sampling of sociological opinion polls" (p. 7).

The original Russian edition does present some of the author's ambiguous position regarding "public opinion" under Stalin. In both the original Russian and the new English editions, however, Zubkova stresses that only after Stalin's death did "something new appear in Soviet life: a *public opinion* that was earlier confined chiefly to private and confidential conversations became open and genuinely public" (p. 193). Zubkova adds in the original Russian that she means public "opinion" (which was new) and not public "mood, emotion, sentiments" (p. 150) (which were not necessarily new). This caveat is omitted from the English version. "Thought" (*mysl'*) in the Russian edition is often translated as "opinion" in English. There are other cases of odd (and disturbing) changes as well. "Terror" in the original (p. 90) appears as "political intimidation" in the English version (p. 139).

It is not clear whether these are authorial changes or the translator's. The author did make some changes to cater to Anglophone readers. The historiographical

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

discussion, for example, includes some Western works that are missing from the original. The English edition also contains twenty-six interesting photographs missing from the original. It is a pity, however, that Zubkova's more complex analyses have been simplified, whether by author or translator. The Russian original represents better scholarship.

These caveats notwithstanding, this excellent book will be read widely. It affords a glimpse into the minds of people who lived in Russia after the war and explains well why reform was condemned to failure.

HIROAKI KUROMIYA
Indiana University, Bloomington

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

LILA ABU-LUGHOD, editor. *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East.* (Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1998. Pp. ix, 300. Cloth $55.00, paper $16.95.

This book presents eight articles by Middle East experts from a variety of disciplines: history, English literature, anthropology, sociology, and women's studies. The editor, Lila Abu-Lughod, is an anthropologist who works on Egypt, and most of the essays focus on that country. All the contributions are historical in the sense of being set in and trying to describe or explain the past or the present in light of the past, but the types and uses of evidence reflect the varied disciplines. Mainly the evidence is literary—the writings of the Egyptian poet Aisha al-Taymuria, the philosophy of Tusi, how-to manuals of child rearing and housewifery, stories in women's magazines and in journals of the turn-of-the-century Arab renaissance—and the arguments are developed by focus and reinterpretation. One historian, however, uses archival evidence to confound literary evidence, and several use anecdotes and interviews in a similar manner. The book's topic, broadly, is changing conceptualizations of Middle Eastern women from the mid-nineteenth century on and women's consequent changing realms of activity. The goal of the contributors is to break down the rigid categorization of these changes as traditional or modern, Islamic or Western, authentic or colonialist that currently dominates the field and to question the assumption that what is modern is necessarily progressive. The volume is divided into three chronological sections: nineteenth century, turn-of-the-century, up to the present.

In the first section, Khaled Fahmy and Mervat Hatem reject the established narratives of their subjects and attempt to write new ones. Fahmy uses the archives of the School of Midwives founded in Cairo in 1832 effectively to move beyond the "metaphors of light, vision, and enlightenment associated with the introduction of modern science as contrasted with veiling, religion and superstition [that] abound in the literature on this school" (p. 37). He finds that the school does not quite so easily fit into a narrative of state-inspired female progress. The origins of the school were in the state's concern for the health of the army rather than in its concern for women. The impact of its graduates was not only on public health generally but in the state's greater control of the population. The students, all women who were either inmates of the hospice for the poor in Cairo or slaves, got an education and eventually paid positions. They remained, however, at the bottom of the medical hierarchy, and the government, when possible, married them off to government-trained and state-employed doctors. Hatem's attempt to challenge the established narrative of the life of Egyptian poet Aisha Taymur (b. 1840) is less successful. The existing narrative credits a progressive father with Taymur's development as a poet; Hatem adds Taymur's mother and daughter to the story, based on her rereading of well-known sources. Her interpretation, like the narrative she is attempting to replace, perhaps tells us more about the expectations of the narrator than about the motives and feelings of Taymur and her family.

In the second section, Afsaneh Najmabadi, Omnia Shakry, and Marilyn Booth use women's magazines, the nationalist press, feminist polemical literature, and guides to child rearing and homemaking to describe some of the new ideals of womanhood that emerged in turn-of-the-century Egypt and Iran. Shakry and Najmabadi show how Egyptian and Iranian women were rhetorically reconstituted from premodern walking wombs to scientific household managers and nurturers of future citizens. Shakry adds Islamic reform literature in Egypt to the familiar tale of Qasim Amin's turn-of-the-century books advocating the liberation of women. Najmabadi shows that reformist rhetoric in Iran, although disciplinary as well as emancipating, was enabling; it enabled women of a certain social level to get an education and made possible the later struggle for higher education not curtailed by the goals of motherhood. Both authors recognize that the ideal of motherhood put forward in these texts was bourgeois, but they give no reasons why it should have been so. Perhaps the problem in an Egypt or an Iran drawn as backward by imperialists and local elites alike was not that there was a huge gap between common people and polite society but that, for polite society, the gap was not big enough. Women's success in seizing a "modern" but essentially conservative ideal of women as mothers of future citizens and turning it to increased access to education may owe something to the desire of an elite, both female and male and both secular and Islamic, to make itself more distinct. Booth uncovers an unlikely role model and anti-imperialist heroine for Egyptian girls in Jeanne d'Arc. Why Jeanne? To answer that question, Booth uncovers the myriad "competing agendas and local struggles" (p. 172) served by different emphases in the telling of the story of Jeanne d'Arc. Through this seemingly narrow focus, she opens up a world of thoughts about, aspira-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions for, and control of women more effectively than Shakry and Najmabadi, who address this world head on.

In the third and final section, Zohreh Sullivan and Abu-Lughod move from the present to the nineteenth century and back again to show us that the recent Islamist take on the woman question in Iran and Egypt is not "antimodern." Thus, for those who define themselves as Islamists as well as for those who define themselves as modernists, companionate marriage is better than arranged marriage, educated women are better than ignorant women, and a heterosocial world is better than a homosocial world. One of the problems in trying to collapse the modern/traditional dichotomy is that the categories themselves are invoked and rebuilt even as they are attacked. In this last section, the dichotomy is torn down and replaced by one category: modern. What is presented as traditional by Islamist practitioners and believed to be traditional by Western observers is shown by Sullivan and Abu-Lughod to be modern. They also show that what has traditionally been considered modern is not necessarily better for women. If these categories are getting confusing, perhaps that is a measure of success. But their picture of modernity has meaning only in contrast to an imagined picture of a traditional past that is itself simplified and caricatured: non-companionate marriages, ignorant women, the walking wombs described by Najmabadi and Shakry. In the end, the term modern looses meaning, not because our expectations of what is traditional are not fulfilled but because the word "modern" and all its cognates are overused and underdefined. Is there a distinction between modernity and Westernization, as claimed by Islamists (p. 159)? Many in Middle Eastern studies, though not themselves Islamists, would like to believe so; but if so, they will have to show explicitly what such a definition of modernity would constitute.

This is a small caveat for this collection of ambitious essays. The final essay, an afterword by Deniz Kandiyoti, takes us to the Ottoman Empire. Her summation of the remaking of women in the late Ottoman state allows her to highlight the themes in the volume as a whole and to point out some areas that need more work. In particular, her explicit inclusion of the state echoes Fahmy's at the beginning of the volume. Together they suggest that the coincidence of a remaking of women and a shift from a dynastic state comprised of subjects to a national state comprised of citizens is neither a matter of chance nor a matter of simple cause and effect. What the relationship is, however, has been left for future exploration.

MARY C. WILSON
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

JAMES JANKOWSKI and ISRAEL GERSHONI, editors. *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1997. Pp. xxvi, 372. $18.50.

The historical study of Arab nationalism has given rise to controversies centering around such issues as pan-Arabism versus local patriotism, the speed with which nationalist consciousness spread, the involvement of foreign imperialism, and the intermixture of religion and political ideology. Most historians and social scientists concerned with these issues have concentrated either on Arab nationalism's emergence in the late nineteenth century or on its apparent decline beginning in the 1970s.

This valuable collection of fourteen essays substantially expands the range of issues discussed while concentrating on the relatively underexplored time period from 1919 to 1958. In addition, many of the essays and the thoughtful introduction by coeditors James Jankowski and Israel Gershoni emphasize theoretical and comparative factors. Most of the authors seem to espouse the view that Arab nationalism has been diverse, contingent, fluid, and created rather than essential and primordial.

Among the more important contributions is Gershoni's lucid exploration of the process by which the old narrative of Arab nationalism was replaced by a new narrative with broader scope and more critical insights. William Cleveland contributes to this new narrative through a detailed investigation of the seminal but flawed book by George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement* (1938), a work that served as the crucial inspiration for many Arab nationalists as well as their supporters abroad.

Several informative chapters examine new sources of evidence or the actions of non-elite social groups in the inculcation of nationalist values. Beth Baron shows how this process took place in Egypt in various visual media through the depiction of the nation as a woman, and Donald Reid considers the academic study of Egyptian archaeology as a test case of nationalism versus imperialism. The nationalism of groups outside the ruling elites is evaluated by Zachary Lockman in regard to Arab workers in Mandated Palestine and by James Gelvin for popular associations in 1919–1920 Syria.

Somewhat broader themes are addressed by Philip Khoury (Syria), Rashid Khalidi (Palestine), and Reeva Simon (Iraq), who demonstrate how the initially narrow base of nationalists was expanded to a degree in the 1920s and 1930s. Each author convincingly describes how nationalists were compelled to operate inside a territorial state whose parameters had been set by Europeans, not Arabs. Arab nationalists between the two world wars faced many difficulties, whether caused by internal diversity and lack of resources or by external imperialism and the worldwide Depression. To overcome these problems, urban-based leaders in Syria and Iraq emphasized education, the unifying role of the armed forces, and new groups that could reach out to the middle classes and rural masses.

The practical consequences of nationalism are examined by Jankowski and Fred Halliday, who find in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gamal Abdel Nasser's Egyptian foreign policy from 1952 to 1958, and in the unification of the two Yemens in 1990, respectively, real reason to doubt the efficacy of nationalism. They indicate that nationalist ideology, symbols, and group identity were less important in causing major historical events than was state realpolitik or the power interests of specific groups. The two authors' refreshing skepticism raises serious questions about the value of nationalism in explanatory analysis, a consideration the other authors might also have entertained with profit.

Despite the continued existence of separate, territorially organized Arab counties throughout most of the twentieth century, Arab nationalists have been frustrated by the repeated failure of pan-Arab union. After the 1960s, political enthusiasm often moved from Arabists to supporters of an Islamic revival, who wished to substitute religion for ethnicity as the basis of the state. Musa Budeiri outlines this movement for Palestinian Arabs, arguing that their lack of a territorial state up to the mid-1990s encouraged the emergence of Islamicism in combination with the territorial nationalist identity fostered by the Palestine Liberation Organization and now the Palestinian Authority. Emmanuel Sivan looks more broadly at Islamicist rhetoric and arguments that generally attempt to explain the alleged failings of Arab nationalism as well as the perceived likelihood of religious-political victory in the future.

Jankowski and Gershoni have compiled an important and useful work, sections of which could be employed in graduate-level readings on comparative nationalism, the Arab Middle East, and historiography. The editors modestly point out that the book is intended to be suggestive, not definitive, in its treatment of nationalism (p. xxiv). They stress laudable goals such as including subaltern voices, using new sources of evidence, showing the fluidity and variability of nationalist expression, and situating the study of Arab nationalism within a wide theoretical framework. Since many of the contributors to the volume shared these goals and attempted to reach them in each chapter, the book as a whole enjoys far more coherence than is usually the case for a collection of essays.

One of the book's weaknesses is the failure to include many parts of the Arab world in the discussion. Most of the chapters deal with Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Palestine; missing are Lebanon, the Arabian peninsula states (except Yemen), North African countries to the west of Egypt, and Arab communities residing outside the Middle East. Another problem is the failure, except for Lockman's essay, to examine closely the reasons why nationalists during this period did not reach out beyond the upper and middle classes in the cities to urban workers and to the peasants and nomads in the countryside. Khoury provides some bases for comparatively evaluating pan-Arabism in the 1920s and 1930s, but the coeditors could have helped readers considerably by adding a brief discussion of explicit comparisons of the evolution of Arab nationalism in each state and area, with at least tentative explanations as to why different results were achieved in different places. Despite these reservations, Jankowski and Gershoni have produced a significant book that will be essential reading for the future study of Arab nationalism and highly useful to researchers interested in comparative and theoretical issues in nationalist history.

WILLIAM OCHSENWALD
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

NELLY HANNA. *Making Big Money in 1600: The Life and Times of Isma'il Abu Taqiyya, Egyptian Merchant.* (Middle East Studies Beyond Dominant Paradigms.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1998. Pp. xxvii, 219. Cloth $44.95, paper $19.95.

During the past twenty-five years, historians of Egypt have begun to rescue from obscurity the period between the Ottoman and French conquests (1517–1798), previously neglected due to the hegemony of nationalist and modernist interpretations. Nelly Hanna has been in the forefront of this effort with her previous studies of the urban history and domestic architecture of Ottoman Cairo. Her latest contribution is a study of merchant notables and their activities in early seventeenth-century Cairo, built around the life of Isma'il Abu Taqiyya, the *shahbandar* or head of the merchants' guild. The heart of this book deals in successive chapters with the activities of merchants and merchant families, shifting patterns of trade and investment, the merchants' place in the social and political structure, and family life in the Abu Taqiyya household. The narrative in these chapters builds outward from Abu Taqiyya's numerous and varied activities, as revealed in the Islamic law court registers, to a discussion of broader social and economic phenomena and issues. Hence the contribution of this book is twofold. First, it is unique in offering a detailed if not intimate account of the life of an individual and his family in seventeenth-century Cairo (albeit representative of only the wealthiest merchants). At times, the writing is almost cinematic; Abu Taqiyya's daily ride from his home to work took him through the same streets featured in the novels *Midaq Alley* (1966) and *Palace Walk* (1989) by Naguib Mahfuz. Portions might be assigned in undergraduate surveys to give students a taste of what life was like in those days. Second, this will be a "must read" in graduate seminars due to the larger issues addressed. These are numerous, but in particular, Hanna is writing against two discredited but still popular ideas: that the Ottoman conquest ushered in an era of decline and stagnation, and that Islam somehow impeded economic development.

Whereas their Mamluk predecessors imposed state monopolies on commerce, Ottoman economic intervention was limited to stimulus—the endowment of schools, mosque complexes, and caravanserais—and maintaining security, upholding commercial and prop-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

erty law through the courts, and policing the markets. The Ottomans contributed to commercial expansion by beating back the Portuguese from the Red Sea and by creating through conquest a large zone stretching from the Balkans to Yemen in which goods, labor, and capital could circulate freely. European incursion into the Indian Ocean did not spell the end of Cairo's traditional role as an international emporium. The international trade in spices and fine cloth revived in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, and there was a similar revival of Egyptian sugar production for both the internal and export markets. Later in the sixteenth century, Egyptian merchants developed a new and lucrative trade in the coffee of Yemen. Abu Taqiyya's career coincided with this commercial revival. His trade network extended from Kano to Aleppo, and from Venice to Goa. Hanna's discussion of his involvement in sugar production shows how merchants provided credit to the growers and refiners in that capital-intensive industry. Prominent merchants like Abu Taqiyya also helped to transform the urban landscape by investing in the development of new commercial and posh residential areas. The evidence for this, culled from the law court records, is an important corrective to the chronicles of the era that emphasize the conflicts of the political elite and seemingly support the notion that political turbulence contributed to economic stagnation or worse. Other important issues dealt with include relations between the ruling class and the merchants, regional differences within the Ottoman Empire, and relations within and among upper-class households.

Unfortunately, in the introductory chapter and conclusion, some of the broader issues are not adequately developed nor clearly presented. The onset of incorporation in the world economy is located in the mid-eighteenth century, although a study of the early seventeenth century hardly proves that. It is suggested that the industrial program of the nineteenth-century ruler Muhammad Ali was not unprecedented, but the implicit comparison with seventeenth-century sugar production is a stretch. The statement that "commercial agriculture . . . was undertaken not to benefit the textile factories of Manchester [as in the nineteenth century] but the indigenous merchants who partly financed these operations" (p. 14) raises many more questions than it answers. In sum, the introductory and concluding parts do not do justice to the middle chapters, which are rich in material and in which some of the larger issues are more clearly presented.

KENNETH M. CUNO
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

A. REZA SHEIKHOLISLAMI. *The Structure of Central Authority in Qajar Iran, 1871–1896*. (Studies in Near Eastern Culture and Society.) Athens, Ga.: Scolars. 1997. Pp. xii, 246.

Of the seven Qajar shahs who reigned in Iran during the century and a half between 1779 and 1925, the fourth, Nasir al-Din Shah (1848–1896), has aroused the greatest scholarly interest, most recently in Abbas Amanat's magisterial biography, *Pivot of the Universe* (1997). Amanat stressed the early, formative years, while others, such as Ann K. S. Lambton, Nikki R. Keddie, Hamid Algar, and Shaul Bakhash, have focused on the later years of the reign.

A. Reza Sheikholislami is less concerned with biography per se than with the nature of nineteenth-century Persian kingship in relation to the functioning of the central government, and he has preferred to concentrate on the last twenty-five years. By 1871, Nasir al-Din had emerged relatively unscathed from his youthful apprenticeship to power. Initially supportive of but then feeling threatened by his first grand vizier, Amir-i Kabir, he had arranged for his assassination by 1852. His next vizier, Mirza Aqa Khan Nuri, who was immoderately nepotistic, was dismissed in 1858. The office of grand vizier (*sidarah*) was then abolished and the administration placed in the hands of six ministers, in reality rivals compelled to defer to the shah's wishes. Nasir al-Din was never very happy with this arrangement, which led to a decade or more of flaccid administration. Then, recognizing the talents of his envoy in Istanbul, Mirza Husayn Khan Mushir al-Dawla, an unusual and innovative bureaucrat familiar with Ottoman Tanzimat reforms and with Midhat Pasha's aggressive governorship of Baghdad, the shah appointed him grand vizier and gave him a mandate for moderate innovation. But in 1880, due to opposition within the court, the shah was compelled to relegate him to the provinces. After 1880, therefore, Nasir al-Din became more cautious, relying upon the experienced Mirza Yusuf Mustawfi al-Mamalik, but with the latter's death in 1886, that devious insider, Amin al-Sultan, moved to the front of the stage and remained there during the last sad decade of royal decrepitude prior to Nasir al-Din's assassination in 1896.

Sheikholislami's splendid study of these years demonstrates, despite Iran's uncomfortable place in a world dominated by the European powers, how great was the authority still wielded by the shah at home and just how effective Nasir al-Din could be, implying perhaps that, but for sinister pressures from outside the kingdom, he might have led his country in a not dissimilar direction to his Ottoman contemporaries of the Tanzimat era.

Significantly, Sheikholislami challenges the widely held view that Nasir al-Din was locked in endemic conflict with the higher *ulama*, which raises the question of just how absolute his rule was. As shah, his executive actions were essentially personal, informal, volatile, inconsistent, and occasionally capricious or cruel. Neither bureaucratic routine nor institutional growth could hope to flourish in so haphazard a non-system, which nevertheless, in its way, worked, although it could easily be derailed by peripheral

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

centers of power, such as tribal chieftains, influential *ulama*, discontented notables and urban elites, and above all, by intervention from the European powers.

Within the traditional context of kingship, however, Nasir al-Din's absolutism was real enough: he wielded powers of life and death over his people; he was the embodiment of earthly justice; and his subjects prostrated themselves as "dirt under his royal feet." Appointed as chief minister, Mirza Husayn Khan referred to himself as "the blessed dirt under your royal feet . . . this contemptible, worthless and undeserving slave" (p. 71). The shah's subjects wore his discarded clothing as "robes of honor," and when he sent his autographed portrait to his son, Zill al-Sultan, governor of Isfahan, a public holiday was proclaimed, and notables and troops filed past his picture to the accompaniment of salvos of artillery. Clearly, Nasir al-Din was a man with the power to rule, if he chose to do so.

This is a brilliant, absorbing, and subtly argued study that draws the reader back again and again to ponder accepted assumptions. From it, Nasir al-Din emerges as shrewd and not unintelligent, a far more interesting figure than the pantomime monarch conceived by his European hosts. Nor was his government as inept and incompetent as foreigners chose to imagine it. On occasion, the shah was able to identify able men and enlist their services. He might have been a great ruler, and if he was not, much of the blame lies with those foreign powers who consistently stood in the way of his making his rule more effective.

GAVIN R. G. HAMBLY
University of Texas at Dallas

ANDREW SHRYOCK. *Nationalism and the Genealogical Imagination: Oral History and Textual Authority in Tribal Jordan*. (Comparative Studies on Muslim Societies, number 23.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 359. Cloth $50.00, paper $20.00.

Andrew Shryock's anthropological study is at once both rewarding and hard to read for a historian. Co-winner of the Middle East Studies Association's Albert Hourani Prize for 1997, this is a well-written analysis of the contradictory ways in which members of two important Jordanian tribal groupings, the 'Adwan and the 'Abbadi, understand and recount their history and that of others. It is more than that, however. Shryock reflects on different ways of organizing history, focusing on the contrasts between the oral and written traditions. Through an analysis of the ways the 'Adwani and 'Abbadi recount the past, he shows that much of what we assume about history, and especially about metanarratives, is open to serious question.

This is fascinating for those unfamiliar with the history of the Balqa region of Jordan (transcribed Balga, in the Bedouin dialect, by the author). The frustration for a reader interested in Jordan, the Balqa, or the 'Adwan and the 'Abbadi lies in the fact that in 328 pages, Shryrock does not give us enough of their history to appreciate his data. For readers familiar with these topics, or concerned only with Shryock's arguments about the way in which authority is derived from history, this may not matter. One suspects that for most anthropologists, indeed, it will not matter at all: Middle East specialists will know this background, while non-specialist anthropologists will not care overmuch.

But to some readers, this absence of background—of a unified context against which the accounts collected by Shryock can be assessed and understood—may be irritating. One example is the 'Adwani revolt of 1923, perhaps the most important single event that occurred in the country between the establishment of the Emirate of Transjordan by the British in 1921 and its transformation into the Kingdom of Transjordan in 1946. Not unexpectedly in a book that focuses on the 'Adwan and their 'Abbadi neighbors in the Balqa, the revolt is mentioned repeatedly (seven references, two of them to multiple pages, are noted in the index). But nowhere is there a full explanation of its genesis or import, its relation to other events in Jordan or the region, or any other attempt to put this episode into context. Instead, the longest single discussion of the revolt is not an account by Shryock himself. It is rather a lengthy, verbatim narrative by one of the author's 'Adwani sources, Haj Arif Abu l-'Amash (pp. 88–92), an account that Shryock's informants described as "raw and unpublishable" (p. 303).

For some, this absence of Shryock's (or any other authoritative) voice to guide the reader through the labyrinth of Jordanian history is itself the point: Shryock is showing us that authorities must not be trusted. But it seems possible to show this while at the same time conveying more about the centrality of the 'Adwan and the 'Abbadi to the history and politics of Jordan. For these things, one will have to look elsewhere, although Shryock's book is rich with primary data and intelligent observations about both groups.

Another problem is Shryock's failure to problematize sufficiently the term "tribe," which is omnipresent in the text. What does it mean to say that the 'Adwan and 'Abbadi are "tribes"? Shryock is not theoretically unsophisticated in treating these matters: he argues that because a very old Middle Eastern historical tradition is based on "genealogical models of society, Western observers easily equate it with tribalism," which he correctly decries as a gross misconception (p. 5). Nevertheless, while Shryock describes the differences between the 'Adwan and 'Abbadi, and those between Balqawis and the camel-herding Bedouin of the Jordanian deserts, he leaves larger questions unanswered. One relates to the role of the British in the construction of Jordanian tribal identities. Describing how General Sir John Bagot Glubb, "godfather" of the modern Jordanian army and state, distinguished between "official Bedouin" and tribes like 'Adwan and 'Abbadi, which he excluded from this category (pp.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

69–70), Shryock fails to explain precisely what it is that makes one group "tribal" and another non-tribal.

Shryock's treatment of non-Balqawis generally, whether the cultivators of the north of Jordan, Palestinians, or the country's desert tribes, leaves much to be desired. He points out the disinterest of his 'Abbadi and 'Adwani interlocutors in them and their hostility to some of them (Palestinians in particular), but the only view we have of them is through the prism of these interlocutors, which Shryock often seems to adopt himself. This sums up this book: a thought-provoking account of conflicting narratives at the micro level, but one missing a broader context within which to understand the rich material the author has provided us.

RASHID I. KHALIDI
University of Chicago

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

DAVID LEE SCHOENBRUN. *A Green Place, a Good Place: Agrarian Change, Gender, and Social Identity in the Great Lakes Region to the Fifteenth Century.* (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, or Fountain, Kampala; EAEP, Nairobi; James Currey, Oxford. 1998. Pp. xiv, 301. Cloth $59.95, paper $24.95.

Ever since linguists first noted that most of the languages spoken in central, eastern, and southern Africa are closely related Bantu languages, historians have sought to explain how such a large area became settled so quickly. Until recently, most favored diffusionist models of iron-wielding farmers who rapidly cleared the forests and preexisting hunter-gatherer populations as they swept through equatorial Africa and across the savannas of eastern and southern Africa during the last millennium B.C.

David Lee Schoenbrun provides a dramatically different interpretation in this extensively researched and elegant analysis of the development of the Bantu speaking peoples of the Great Lakes from 1000 B.C. to A.D. 1500, showing how Bantu speakers first infiltrated the eastern highlands, interacted with the local inhabitants, and adapted their previous forest economy to the local savanna environment. Subsequently, some spread into adjacent environments, interacted with different peoples, and adapted further. For Schoenbrun, then, Great Lakes Bantu represents an ongoing series of local historical interactions and syntheses, not a monolithic migration.

The linguistic methodology Schoenbrun employs is extremely complex, requiring detailed genetic classification of related languages to establish their relationships and relative chronology, comprehensive collections of cultural vocabularies to establish sets of related terms and their provenances, systematic combing of ethnographic sources to establish their meanings, and the correlation of all this data to reconstruct the historical development of local technologies, institutions, and concepts. This is not a method for the faint-hearted; Schoenbrun has mined the vocabularies of forty-four different Great Lakes Bantu languages together with dozens of their neighbors across five different countries, itself a logistical feat in the face of current impediments to fieldwork.

Developing linguistically based historical arguments is similarly complex, requiring authors to present a full range of words, meanings, and chronologies as evidence for each claim. Given the cumbersome nature of such arguments and the exigencies of publishing, however, few authors do so, often leaving the reader to take their claims on faith. Schoenbrun similarly restricts the data he presents, and the book frequently reads more as an extended essay than as a detailed history, but he has more than fulfilled his scholarly responsibilities by publishing his linguistic data and analysis elsewhere ("Great Lakes Bantu: Classification and Settlement Chronology," *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 14 [1994]: 1–62; *The Historical Reconstruction of Great Lakes Bantu Cultural Vocabulary* [1997]). Taken together, Schoenbrun's work is a model of linguistic method, as noteworthy for the sheer quantity and complexity of research as it is for its quality and presentation.

Schoenbrun first reconstructs the historical ecology of early Bantu expansion to delineate long-term environmental cycles, changes in local environments, and human impacts on those environments that influenced Bantu speakers to supplement their heritage of root crops, fishing, and hunting with local practices of grain cultivation and raising livestock. Such material changes subsequently caused social changes as people along the lake shore adopted bananas as a staple crop and were thus enabled to develop densely settled villages and kingdoms, or as people in the drier regions west of Lake Victoria adopted cattle herding and subsequently deployed cattle in building social alliances and political power. Schoenbrun's linguistic data adds substantially to archeological studies of the period, enabling him to trace subtle changes in patterns of wealth and exchange, social identities based on descent and first-comer status, the authority of different spiritual forces, the "creative powers" of healers and "instrumental powers" of rulers, and relations among all these in the many diverse societies that developed by 1500.

This is, emphatically, history of the *longue durée*, and the long and imprecisely dated sequences of environmental, linguistic, and cultural changes cannot be correlated with one another with causal precision. Similarly, the amorphous nature of cultural categories generated by archaeological artifacts and reconstructed vocabulary makes it hard to discuss precise cultural practices. Such problems are inherent in the data and methods, however, and Schoenbrun is careful not to overgeneralize, but the broad historical movements delineated in the first three chapters are inevitably more convincing than the more detailed analyses of social developments in the last three. Schoenbrun also tends continually to reiterate points in general

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rather than develop them in detail. In the end, then, the analysis is not always as precise as one might wish, but the sheer daring and exuberance of Schoenbrun's project, combined with his meticulous collection and analysis of data, make this book both an exciting read and a notable contribution to the methodological and historical literatures of the area.

THOMAS SPEAR
University of Wisconsin, Madison

MARTIN LYNN. *Commerce and Economic Change in West Africa: The Palm Oil Trade in the Nineteenth Century*. (African Studies, number 93.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xvi, 270. $64.95.

The transition of West Africa's exports away from slaves and toward cash crops in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was one of the great adjustments in economic history, with enormous political and social as well as economic significance for that region and indeed all of mankind. There is a long tradition of analyzing how the transition to the most important commodities—including cocoa, cotton, groundnuts, gum, and rubber—was accomplished in the main production areas.

The most important product in the early years of the transition was palm oil, yet it has not received the comprehensive treatment that the other crops have had. K. O. Dike's *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta 1830–1855: An Introduction to the Economic and Political History of Nigeria* (1956) is of course consulted in detail by economic historians of West Africa's move to legitimate commerce, but it concentrates more on political development and less on the economics of the change.

Now Martin Lynn has provided a definitive study of the palm oil trade that is likely to prove a lasting one. Just as the export of slaves was ending, so the Industrial Revolution was increasing the demand for lubricants, soap, and lighting by means of candles, with palm oil serving in the manufacture of all three. (This versatile commodity was also a source of glycerine and was used in tinplating, while the palm kernels produced a different kind of oil useful in margarine-making, with the crushed residue serving as feed for cattle.)

Lynn's quantitative data are excellent. From about 200 long tons imported to Britain from West Africa in 1800–1801, the figure grew exponentially to around 25,000–35,000 tons in the early 1850s; palm oil was the most important non-slave export in the first half of the nineteenth century. Most of it came to Liverpool from the Bights of Benin and Biafra.

For a period, West Africa's exports of slaves and palm oil were rising at the same time, in spite of the legal abolition of the slave trade. But there is no doubt that the development of the palm oil trade was providential. The high value of the exports provided a means to pay for imports of manufactured goods that would have not been available otherwise as revenue from slave exporting fell. The shift was surprisingly rapid because slaves that were no longer exported could be shipped along their old networks to become the labor force of the palm belt. Meanwhile, the brokers and traders who had specialized in slaves showed considerable dynamism in their response to new market incentives. They steadily diversified into palm oil, dealing with suppliers at the source and European buyers at the coast just as they had done before. Canoe transport was the primary means of movement—some canoes could carry eight or nine tons of oil—and the credit advances ("trust") from ship-borne traders to finance their activities were the major method of finance. They distributed imported goods along their networks just as had been true of the trade in slaves. Several of the most important practices of the slave trade, such as the dominance of oligopolistic and oligarchic coastal brokers, the ceremonial tolls, gifts, dues, and fees, pawning to guarantee payment, and the very limited onshore presence of overseas traders, were standard for a long time. There was no crisis of production and no economic revolution, because the old means of production under the control of old elites dovetailed reasonably well with the new one.

The downturn in the late nineteenth century trade is well illuminated by Lynn. The competition of petroleum, other fats and oils, and technical change led to a sharp deterioration of prices. In the midst of that crisis came the steamship, payment by means of coin, and amalgamation among the European buyers, all of which caused major reorganization in the trade—but even these fundamental changes left the traditional brokers and their networks still functioning vigorously as they had during the heyday of the slave trade.

Late in the nineteenth century, the attitude of British traders and governments shifted toward intervention, including a call for political annexation. Only with the imposition of colonial administration in the coastal loci of the palm oil trade did the power of the traditional brokers wither at long last. New roads, the start of railways, the clearing of creeks so steam launches could penetrate, all meant that the agents of the expatriate firms could compete directly and successfully with the traditional system.

Lynn has traced these developments with ability and literary skill, for in addition to being analytical and informative, the book reads well. The palm oil trade was a vast enterprise, and there is plenty of room for regional and local studies, but no longer is there a pressing need for a good general survey, for that is what we have here.

JAN HOGENDORN
Colby College

HAKIM ADI. *West Africans in Britain, 1900–1960: Nationalism, Pan-Africanism and Communism*. London: Lawrence & Wishart. 1998. Pp. 224. $22.50.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Four West African colonies contributed a large share of the African students studying in Britain during the period that Hakim Adi ably studies. From Nigeria, the Gold Coast (Ghana), Sierra Leone, and the Gambia, they were hardly typical. Generally their families were affluent and well-connected, and often Anglican and Anglophile. Many paid their own way and thus had considerable independence. The Colonial Office saw their stay as an opportunity to proselytize for the empire. Unfortunately, the racism and discrimination that abounded produced an opposite effect, and they went home radicalized and anticolonial.

British social and residential facilities were often closed to blacks: the London University Graduates' Club in 1914 refused to admit Africans. Partly in self-defense, a number of organizations were started by the African students, and Adi provides what will likely be the guide to these groups for some time to come. The African Students' Union, the African Progress Union, the Society of Peoples of African Origin, and numerous others are given their due. In 1925, the West African Students' Union (WASU) emerged out of this confusion, and it became the most powerful and lasting of the West African organizations in London as well as an incubator for future West African leaders.

A main aim was a hostel or club, not surprising considering the reception the students often received when in search of accommodation. Britain between the world wars was not a welcoming place for people of color. David Lloyd George referred to "niggers" in a speech, and the singer Paul Robeson was turned away from hotels. The Colonial Office, increasingly worried that the students were being alienated, gave its support to a hostel to be known as Aggrey House, which opened in 1933. In the meantime, WASU had opened its own hostel, partly with contributions from West Africa. The Colonial Office was accused of finally providing a hostel not out of compassion but out of a desire to control the students.

The hostel issue became the focal point for rising nationalist sentiment. Despite its government sponsorship, Aggrey House became a popular meeting place for Africans coming to Britain, while the WASU hostel struggled to stay open. In 1940, however, the expulsion of a resident for immorality resulted in a series of disputes that closed Aggrey and left the field to WASU. Having the only hostel immeasurably strengthened WASU efforts to act as a pressure group on the British government, which it certainly did, becoming widely recognized as a spokesman for West Africa.

After World War II, the number of West African students in Britain increased dramatically, so that by 1948 there were more than one thousand. Adi explores the relationship between Labour government and the students and documents the former's generally unimaginative response to the growing call for independence. He makes a good case that a preoccupation with the Cold War was a factor in British intransigence toward African demands.

In the 1950s, the West African governments began establishing their own student centers in London. The number of different student organizations increased, and WASU lost its role as principal spokesman. Racism continued to be a major problem, with an increase in physical attacks on blacks.

WASU was a political educator and ecumenical in its membership, offering Fabians, pan-Africanists, and trades unionists as well as the uncommitted a place to argue long into the night. Adi has produced a well-documented study based on extensive use of archival sources in the Public Record Office. As he points out, this book is not a general social history of West African students in Britain, but it is a major contribution toward such a history.

PAUL RICH
University of the Americas, Puebla

CAROLYN HAMILTON. *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 278. Cloth $39.95, paper $18.95.

For more than a decade now, there has been simmering among southern Africa scholars an historiographical debate over the causes and consequences of a central event in South African history: the forging of the Zulu empire during the early nineteenth century. The empire's architect was the fabled Zulu King Shaka. Its development, which is a central element of the debate, sent shock waves, both political and military, throughout the subcontinent, a period known as the *mfecane* (time of turmoil). The effects of these events reverberated among both African and European societies throughout the remainder of that century and well into the succeeding one.

Carolyn Hamilton has been a principal disputant in the *mfecane* controversy. In this important book, she has raised the stakes by putting forth a new dimension to her analysis. Hamilton examines the Shakan tradition in its various facets, from its genesis in the 1820s down to its profound effects on the post-apartheid politics of the late 1990s. Her analysis of the origins and mutations of that tradition, and the political uses to which it has been put over the years, is both sophisticated and masterful. This work of discourse analysis is likely to exert a profound influence on South African historical writing for many years to come.

The debate over the nature of Shaka's rule (1817–1828) is nothing new: was he primarily a mercurial and brutal tyrant who ruled his people through ruthless policing and mass terror, or did his legacy stem largely from his formidable and justified reputation as both military innovator and political tactician? Nor is there any argument that Shaka was other than a quintessential nineteenth-century "great man" of South African history. Hamilton's contribution is to examine the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

history of the tradition rather than the man. In doing so she also takes on many of the major disputants in the *mfecane* controversy and skillfully demolishes several of the most important arguments of its main progenitor, Julian Cobbing.

Hamilton demonstrates that, from its very inception, the European perception of the Shakan tradition was the product of economically and politically inspired manipulation by its conjurors. Most notable among them were the Natal traders James King, Henry Francis Fynn, and Nathaniel Isaacs, who following the king's death sought, by demonizing the king, to draw the Cape government in to protect their commercial interests on the Natal coast. Their credibility was enhanced by their claims, often justified, that much of their information on Shaka's "tyranny" was Zulu in origin, having come alternatively from the king's domestic enemies and from his supporters. Hamilton shows that, contrary to common assumption, much of the Shakan tradition dominating the European discourse was based from the outset on African oral histories.

The book concerns itself primarily with the effects of the Shakan tradition on the careers of two prominent and controversial nineteenth-century European administrators. One was Theophilus Shepstone, secretary for native affairs in Natal, whose administrative responsibilities included the Zulu. That kingdom, under King Mpande (1840–1872), had experienced a resurgence of nationalist sentiment and military prowess following their disastrous defeat at the hands of the Boers in 1838 and was consequently perceived as constituting a major threat to European hegemony in Natal. The other administrator was James Stuart, who spent his career in a number of administrative positions in Zululand and Swaziland. Stuart is best known for his copious and wide-ranging body of interviews with African informants (1897–1924), which, when transcribed, formed the basis of the multivolume *James Stuart Archive* (1976–1986, proceeding), an indispensable source of Zulu (and Swazi) history.

Shepstone, the more prominent and controversial of the two, made a meticulous study utilizing both European and African sources of the images of Shaka and of Shakan rule. His purpose was to utilize its results as the basis of his conceptualizing of "sovereignty" and "social order" among the Zulus based on the Shakan model, and in turn to use those concepts as the framework for the formulation of his "native policy" of colonial legitimation, domination, and native administration in Zululand and Natal. He did so, as Hamilton demonstrates, with notable success. Surely the most dramatic example of the degree to which he brought it off was his invited participation at the installation of Mpande's successor, King Cetewayo, in 1873, as both the British representative and the official who, having successfully assumed Shaka's mantle in the eyes of influential Zulu as indicated by their invitation, "represents Chaka, and is therefore in the place of Cetywayo's father" (p. 73). The Shepstonian model had a profound and lasting effect on those in positions of authority thereafter; indeed, it was the subsequent distortion of the model by British authorities that was in part responsible for the outbreak of the disastrous Anglo-Zulu War of 1879. Not the least of those drawing on Shepstonianism has been Mangosuthu Buthelezi, sometime head of the kwaZulu homeland and contemporary leader of the Inkatha (Zulu) political movement, whose claim to legitimacy has been buttressed by assertions of both biological and spiritual descent from Shaka. Shepstone's model also heavily influenced the writings of the most prominent and influential of the Victorian novelists who popularized Africa, most notably Henry Rider Haggard.

Stuart's role in Hamilton's account was to revive the Shakan core of the Shepstonian system, which had effectively been demolished by the British postwar dismantling of the Zulu kingdom. She shows that Stuart, outwardly the proper minor colonial administrator, was privately outraged at the effects of post-Shepstonian colonial native policy on the remnants of the Zulu and nearby African communities. His answer to this personal dilemma was systematically to research more deeply and comprehensively than any person before him the history and traditions of the Zulu and to make his contribution to the formal undertaking to establish a standard orthography of isiZulu. His public purpose was to increase colonial knowledge of the Zulu in order to colonize them. But his private one was to do what he could to effect the restoration of the Shakan system that the British had torn away in 1879 with such "terrible effects on the social fabric of Zululand" (p. 148), in order to help the Zulu withstand as best they could the destructive land and labor policies that were at the top of the official colonial agenda. Hamilton argues that this seeming contradiction can be satisfactorily resolved by a balancing of Stuart's official positions and his private observations as revealed in his personal papers. "The rationale for [Stuart's] focus on Shaka," she observes, "was a prudent, even strategic, regard for indigenous sentiments, and the need for a legitimization for colonialism" (p. 166).

Finally, Hamilton argues that the Shakan tradition can be viewed as a "central metaphor for South African politics" during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (p. 6). She does this in several imaginative ways. The first is her description of the making of the television series *Shaka Zulu* (1986), produced by the apartheid government's South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) with the backing of American television syndicators. She traces the ways in which the script, whose original intention was to replace the distortions of past "bigoted white historians" (p. 173) with the "true picture" of the king, itself became a sensationalist distortion of the truth at the hands of the SABC, seeking to justify the government's apartheid policies.

The second is Hamilton's criticism of the popular (among whites) holiday resort-cum-theme-park known

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as "Shakaland," again largely because of its underlying political message to Europeans as they nervously contemplated the imminent democratization of South Africa. Shakaland's intent was to assuage widespread European fear of the Zulu as one of Edward Said's "Others" by giving them an identity as a reasonable, non-threatening people with a rich heritage, with whom the whites could deal or at the very least, coexist. So, too, was the promotion of Shaka's reputation, authoritarian as he was, as an experienced and skilled diplomat. In Hamilton's memorable turn of phrase, "Shakaland shared the peace-of-mind market with security companies, gunshops, and prayer" (p. 204).

Hamilton's contribution, most notably her demonstration that colonial administrative doctrine was shaped significantly by the discourse of the colonized, is highly significant and especially timely in the context of the post-apartheid political debates currently taking place in southern Africa. Her methods and message are likely to resonate in future historical and anthropological scholarship on Africa.

ALAN R. BOOTH
Ohio University

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Film Reviews

GUERRA DE CANUDOS. Produced by Mariza Leão and José Walker; directed by Sergio Rezende; screenplay by Paulo Halm and Sergio Rezende. 1997; color, 170 minutes. Brazil. Portuguese. Distributor: Colombia Tristar Video.

PASSION AND WAR IN THE BACKLANDS OF CANUDOS (*Paxão e Guerra no Sertão de Canudos*). Produced and directed by Antônio Olavo. 1993; color; 78 minutes. Brazil. Portuguese with English subtitles. Distributor: Portfolium Laboratório de Imagens/ Blue Light Productions.

In 1889, the year after Brazil officially abolished African slavery, Brazilians dismantled their archaic constitutional monarchy and created the First Republic (1889–1930). Influenced largely by the ideology of positivism, which permeated the top ranks of the army and civilian elite, Brazilian republicanism adhered to the words that adorned the Brazilian flag: "order and progress." By stressing order as a condition for progress, Brazilian authorities underestimated (or ignored) the deep social problems that continued to plague Brazil. In 1890, Brazil boasted a population of over ten million people, the majority of whom lived in rural areas. Literacy was appallingly low, much of the population continued to be socially marginalized and politically disenfranchised, and high unemployment was chronic. The transition from monarchy and slavery to post-abolition republicanism meant very little change for the majority of Brazilians, particularly those living in peripheral areas such as the northeast.

Not surprisingly, Brazil experienced diverse challenges to the social order during the First Republic. These included the establishment of an antirepublican community at Belo Monte (later known as Canudos) in the state of Bahia in the 1890s; the Revolta da Chibata, a naval revolt against capital punishment in Rio de Janeiro in 1910; and the lieutenants' revolt of 1922. Of all these events, none has captured the imagination of Brazilians more than Canudos, the community founded by the religious leader Antônio de Conselheiro (or simply the Conselheiro, or Counselor) that at its height had a population of 25,000. Canudos was religiously inspired, but it also provided a viable and dignified existence for many Brazilians marginalized by the nation's neoliberal, coast-dominated society.

Over the last hundred years, Canudos and the personalities involved in its foundation and destruction have inspired historical monographs, novels, songs, plays, films, and even Brazilian soap operas. Two recent films, *Guerra de Canudos* (1997), a feature film, and *Passion and War in the Backlands of Canudos* (1993), a documentary, provide provocative though uneven historical recreations of the legendary Canudos. Both films attempt to place the events surrounding Canudos within their proper social and historical contexts. Both rely on important secondary and primary texts, although both also take artistic liberties to enhance the cinematic experience. The continuing influence of *Rebellion in the Backlands* (1902), the classic account written by military journalist Euclides da Cunha in the immediate aftermath of Canudos, is clear in both films. Da Cunha cast the republican campaign against Canudos squarely within a positivist framework, as a struggle of civilization and progress against barbarism and backwardness. At the same time, da Cunha provided a sympathetic, romanticized view of the populations of the northeast *sertão*, or dry lands, although he never quite understood the dynamics that gave rise to the social vision of the rebels. The films also benefit from more contemporary scholarship, such as Ataliba Nogueira's *Antônio Conselheiro: Revisão Histórico, A Obra Manuscrita de Antônio Conselheiro e que perteneceu a Euclides da Cunha* (1974), and Robert Levine's *Vale of Tears: Revisiting the Canudos Massacre in Northeastern Brazil, 1893–1897* (1992), as well as from oral histories such as those collected and preserved by Josõ Calazans.

Guerra de Canudos tells the story of Canudos from the perspective of a poor *setaneja* family from the interior of Brazil. Like many of the rural poor, they have been economically and spiritually alienated by such policies of the newly established Republic as the imposition of taxes and by its anti-church rhetoric. The parents of the family (Zõ Lucena and Penha) see hope in the preaching of the Conselheiro and decide to follow him with two of their children. The oldest daughter, Luiza, refuses to join them, fleeing instead to a life of ill repute before finally marrying a young soldier who takes part in the military campaign against Canudos.

The film follows the development of Canudos and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

registers the reactions of various sectors of Brazilian society to Canudos and the growing community from 1893 to 1897. Director Sergio Rezende utilizes the fictionalized familial conflict between Luiza, who abhors the Conselheiro, and her family, who join Canudos, to expose the divisiveness of the events for the Brazilian nation. In epic fashion, the film succeeds in portraying the calm and determined disposition of the Conselheiro, the allegiance of his many followers, and the myopia, ineptitude, and brutality of the Brazilian army. Most of all, the film helps to dispel the myth that the Conselheiro and his followers were a gang of radical, politically motivated millennial fanatics. Although Canudos was envisioned as a New Jerusalem and its inhabitants, who lived lives of austerity, were prepared to defend themselves, they were hardly fanatics. They had gone into the wilderness to create a new society, free from the trappings of the republican world, but their existence challenged and threatened the so-called "march of civilization."

Misinformation about Canudos, combined with republican paranoia, fueled the many military campaigns. Many writers, da Cunha among them, marveled at the resiliency of Canudos and the residents' willingness to defend their community. Few have been able to place these facts within a larger context of life in the northeast. Rezende partly succeeds in this endeavor by providing visual images of life in the backlands and recreating its social dynamics. He bases his views on da Cunha's work, although he avoids many of the journalist's negative characterizations of the residents of Canudos. The Conselheiro is presented as a deeply religious mystic who opposed the republic because he believed that the state had become too intrusive in the spiritual and economic lives of Brazilians. The residents treat him with a mixture of awe and respect. Moreover, they choose to live in the community and resist state authorities because Canudos offers them a lifestyle virtually unattainable elsewhere in the northeast.

After four major military campaigns and a year of intermittent fighting from 1896–1897, Canudos finally succumbed to the Republican army (less than two weeks after the Conselheiro died of dysentery). More than 15,000 people died in the conflict, and many more were wounded. Many of the surrendering residents of Canudos were severely malnourished, because food supplies were severely restricted during the military campaign.

The main strengths of *Guerra de Canudos* are its believable portrayal of the *sertaneja* family, its emphasis on the naiveté and arrogance of the army, and its faithful reproduction of the roles of the officers, soldiers, journalists, and the other men and women who lived both inside and outside of Canudos. The recreation of the scenes inside Canudos during the military campaign, as well as the scenes among the military officers and their wives who camped on the town's outskirts, are well done and closely follow the historical accounts. Women played crucial roles in Canudos, and many wives went to the battle front with their husbands. The film is not as faithful in the ethnic representations of the residents or survivors, however. The historical literature and photographs suggest that an overwhelming number of survivors were Afro-Brazilians, many ex-slaves and mixed-race people who were concentrated in the interior, a fact not reflected in the ethnic appearance of the actors.

Passion and War in the Backlands of Canudos is an innovative documentary, but it is not only about the republican campaign in Bahia. Instead, it begins as a biography of the Conselheiro, providing a number of perspectives about his personal and family life, tracing his pilgrimages through four major northeastern states (Ceará, Pernambuco, Sergipe, and Bahia) and ending with the war and subsequent destruction of the community. The film contains a number of beautifully executed musical performances about Canudos, including a *bumba-meu boi*, a northeastern folk song and dance about the Conselheiro that opens the work. Brazilians also perform a variety of contemporary songs about the Conselheiro, Canudos, and the war with passion and spontaneity. These compositions, combined with visual recollections (paintings and murals, for example), give the impression that Canudos has been deeply etched into the collective memory of the inhabitants of the northeast.

Through interviews with descendants of relatives of the Conselheiro, descendants of residents of Canudos, and descendants of military officers involved in the war, as well as with contemporary historians, the audience receives a multiplicity of views about the Conselheiro and Canudos, many of which are contradictory. The conflicting opinions about the historical events are often juxtaposed on contemporay or archival photographic images of the northeast, although many of the images of animals, water, and landscapes are not adequately integrated into the narrative. The list of interviewees are nonetheless impressive, and the narrative flows from one to the next with relative ease. Historians will be bothered by the lack of historical contextualization of the interviews, however. The informants are introduced with legends that bear the full names, age, and place of residence of each. We learn, for example, that the first informant, Pedro Gomes, is ninety-three years old and comes from the state of Ceará, the state where Antônio Conselheiro was born. Another interviewee, Maria Madelena, sixty-three years old, comes from Bahia. It is not made clear, however, why particular individuals have been chosen to give their opinions.

Josõ Calazans, who began collecting oral testimonies in the 1940s, was able to preserve the views of many of the actual survivors of Canudos, but when this documentary was made none remained alive (although Antônio Olavo consulted Calazans). At the same time, the spirited and intimate testimony of so many relatives of survivors, coupled with that of scholars and other contemporary Brazilians, illustrates how important the legacy of Canudos is to Brazilians today.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The documentary succeeds in depicting the passion Brazilians continue to have about Canudos. In addition, Olavo provides images of important northeastern sites as well as historical documents that would otherwise be inaccessible to the general public. Unfortunately, the English version of the documentary requires some patience; many American students, for example, will have trouble following the narrator's pronunciation. (Curiously, the narrator of this documentary, José Wilker, is a well-respected actor in Brazil who also plays the character of Antônio Conselheiro in *Guerra de Canudos*.)

Canudos began as a religious movement of poor and landless people seeking not only to free themselves from republican authorities but to carve out a better spiritual and temporal existence for themselves. *Guerra de Canudos* reconstructs these dynamics, highlighting the fanaticism of the republic and its armies and the resilience of the residents. Despite the shortcomings of *Passion and War in the Backlands*, the innovative documentary offers an untraditional way of examining history. Both films warrant our attention.

Darién J. Davis
Middlebury College

Tea with Mussolini. Produced by Federico Muller, Giovanella Zannoni, and Clive Parsons; directed by Franco Zeffirelli; screenplay by John Mortimer and Franco Zeffirelli. 1999; color; 117 minutes. Italy/U.K. English. Distributor: MGM/UA.

Benito Mussolini and Italian fascism continue to enjoy an enviable historical fate: the Italian dictator and his heterogenous mix of radical ideologies have benefitted from being in the dark shadow of Adolf Hitler and Nazism. Scholars and the public alike have universally agreed that Mussolini and his *squadristi* were not in the same league as Hitler and his diabolical SA and SS. Yet Italian fascism was a criminal regime, and its violence was a foretaste of what the Germans (and other Europeans) would experience later under the Nazis.

Tea with Mussolini is a charming film, but one whose charm is derived from the culture of nostalgia and childhood memories. It, too, glosses over the real nature of the fascist regime. Based on thin material scattered across several chapters in Franco Zeffirelli's autobiography (1986), the film concerns the intertwined fate of a young, illegitimate boy, Luca Innocenti (standing in for Zeffirelli), and an eccentric group of elderly English women, long-time residents in the British community in Florence. Called the *scorpioni* behind their backs because of their stinging wit, the women are obstinate, insufferably snobbish, and convinced that they are better custodians of fifteenth and sixteenth-century art than the Italians. They are also politically sheltered and naïve, convinced (as was much of the world) that Mussolini and fascism were just what those unruly and childish Italians needed to make them behave and insure that the trains run on time.

The women's idyllic world is rudely interrupted (during tea, no less) when a fascist mob, outraged by British sanctions in the wake of the Ethiopian War (autumn 1935), storms Dorney's, an English establishment near the British consulate in via Tornabuoni. A similar scene is enacted in the sacred precinct of the Uffizi Galleries. Refusing to leave their beloved Florence, the women are eventually declared enemy aliens and arrested in 1940, passing the war in semi-splendid isolation in San Gimignano. Luca (played by Baird Wallace and Charlie Lucas) is caught between his unrequited love for his father and his admiration for the *scorpioni*. As bildungsroman, however, the film comes up short, for Luca's character is never fully developed, and the *scorpioni* steal every scene.

Luca is the bastard child of a clothing merchant and a fashionable dressmaker. Unable to take his father's patronym, he is named Innocenti (a reference to the foundlings left at the Ospedale degli Innocenti, but also the name of Zeffirelli's beloved wet-nurse). He may be innocent, but Luca is not very sympathetic. Here, Zeffirelli violates an honorable Italian cinematic tradition: from Bruno in *The Bicycle Thief* (1948) to Toto in *Cinema Paradiso* (1988), Italian film directors have shamelessly wrung our hearts with images of Italian children. In his autobiography, Zeffirelli is both less innocent and more worldly, but it is curious that an autobiographical film has a central character whose presence does not dominate.

Luca's father wishes the boy become the "perfect English gentleman" and therefore enrusts his care to Mary O'Neil (Joan Plowright), his secretary and one of the more benevolent and maternal of the *scorpioni*. O'Neil and her companions, Lady Hester Ransom (Maggie Smith) and Arabella (Judi Dench) are joined by Georgie, a dedicated American archeologist (Lily Tomlin) who makes no effort to hide either her lesbianism or her liberal politics, and Elsa (Cher), a former Ziegfield Follies dancer who turns to avid art collecting as her elderly husbands die off. (Neither of the last two characters appears in the autobiography.)

The title derives from a visit that Lady Ransom pays to Mussolini. Concerned about the escalating anti-British violence in the streets of Florence, she capitalizes on her deceased husband's status as former ambassador to Italy to wrangle a meeting with Il Duce. Accompanied by an intelligent and attractive correspondent for an English newspaper, she is granted the interview, and Mussolini personally guarantees her safety. In a fine gesture, Il Duce has tea brought in at four o'clock, and the women are charmed. Lady Ransom is completely won over. Speaking of Ethiopia, she asks rhetorically: "Why shouldn't Mussolini have an empire? All the best people have an empire." She insists, too, that the antifascist partisans are "terrorists." Gender theorists might ponder the symbolism of Lady Ransom's grandson, who must dress in drag to avoid deportation to a POW camp, but who finally

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

throws off his dress and joins the underground resistance. The *scorpioni* represent a passive "female" acquiescence to tyranny, but the grandson makes the transition to the more proper "masculine" armed resistance.

Violence is only briefly depicted, and the film glosses over the true nature of the regime. Italy's alliance with Nazi Germany is tellingly and chillingly revealed in the name change of the *scorpioni*'s residence, from Pensione Shelley to Pensione Schiller. Zeffirelli's autobiography is closer to the truth concerning the regime's violence, alluding to the mass execution of 280 men, women, and children in reprisal for an attack carried out by Zeffirelli's partisan band (p. 34) and noting: "There were grim memories, such as the farm we discovered where everyone—children, old people, even dogs—had been butchered weeks before so that we opened the door to the unbelievable stench of rotting flesh" (p. 52). Such a sense of the pervasive violence of fascist rule is missing from the film.

The regime's growing anti-Semitism takes a personal note in the film because Elsa, the American, is Jewish. She is eventually saved by a network that made a fortune clandestinely helping Jews escape Nazi-occupied Italy. The climax of the film, in which the *scorpioni* foil a nasty German plan to destroy the medieval bell towers of San Gimignano, is fine drama but poor history. Under orders of Marshal Kesselring, Italians were being shot in reprisal killings at a ratio of ten civilians for each dead German soldier. Under such conditions, it is highly unlikely that a coterie of mad Englishwomen would have prevented a Nazi officer from carrying out desperate orders.

The film explains only some of Zeffirelli's thinking. His vehement anti-abortion stance, for example, seems likely to be a product of the fact that his mother was encouraged to abort after he was conceived. But for a fuller explanation of his conservative politics, it is best to turn to the autobiography. In the film, the Resistance and liberation are denuded of any political context. All this, however, may be beside the point for most viewers; this is a film about memory, not history.

Zeffirelli confesses to his own Anglophilia in his autobiography. The feeling is mutual: for centuries, the British have been traveling to Italy, and particularly Tuscany. They have purchased so many abandoned farmhouses and villas in one part of Tuscany that it is now called "Chiantishire." Beginning with *A Room with a View* (1986) and continuing with *Enchanted April* (1991) and *Where Angels Fear to Tread* (1991), there has been a spate of British movies, all with period settings, revolving around the idea that the cold, empirical English blossom into sensual hedonists under the Tuscan (or Neapolitan) sun. This, of course, follows two centuries of literature on the same theme. *Tea with Mussolini* alludes to this tradition with its opening, in which the *scorpioni* organize an emotional and overwrought ceremony at the tomb of Elizabeth Barett Browning, who rests in the English cemetery in Florence.

Zeffirelli has spent most of his life in the grip of a love affair with the theater, for over half a century translating that love to the stage and screen. He crafted a career of presenting lush and elaborate renditions of William Shakespeare's plays, and his opera productions are universally recognized for their visual splendor. *Tea with Mussolini* brings the same visual sensibility to the material of Zeffirelli's own memories. It is a visually stunning work, filmed with an appropriately loving gaze by Oscar-winning cinematographer David Watkin. The film is in many ways a paean to a lost Florence and an equally beautiful and timeless Tuscan countryside.

STANISLAO G. PUGLIESE
Hofstra University

STEP BY STEP: BUILDING A FEMINIST MOVEMENT, 1941–1977. Produced by Joyce Follet, Mimi Orner, and Terry Rockefeller; academic advisors Gerda Lerner, and Linda Gordon. 1998; color and black & white; 56 minutes. Distributor: Wisconsin Public Television/Step by Step.

The documentary *Step By Step: Building a Feminist Movement, 1941–1977* began as an oral history project, "Documenting the Midwestern Origins of the 20th Century Women's Movement," directed by Gerda Lerner for the Wisconsin State Historical Society. The object of the oral history project, and later the film, was to dispel two persistent beliefs about feminism in the twentieth century: that women's activism ceased with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, and that, when feminism reemerged in the 1960s, "young, white, middle-class college activists" dominated the movement. Historians of women in the United States will be quite familiar with these myths and their persistence. Nevertheless, they will find much that is new in *Step by Step*, as will historians less familiar with the historiography of the American feminist movement.

The film introduces eight women: Gene Boyer, a Wisconsin entrepreneur and a founding member of the National Organization for Women (NOW); Sister Austin Doherty, a dean of Alverno College, Wisconsin; Mary Eastwood, a Wisconsin lawyer who crafted arguments about sex discrimination heard by the Supreme Court; Arvonne Fraser, a Democratic Farm-Labor Party leader in Minnesota; Dorothy Haener, an inspector in a bomber plant during World War II; Mary Lou Munts, a Wisconsin state legislator; Doris Thom, a line worker in a Wisconsin General Motors plant and a member of the Women's Committee of the United Auto Workers; and Addie Wyatt, a Chicago meatpacker and union and civil rights leader. Betty Friedan, author of the *Feminine Mystique* (1963), also makes a brief appearance. Presented chronologically, the oral history interviews are placed in a larger historical context with voice-over narration, archival film clips, and period photographs. Although *Step By Step* follows a conventional documentary framework—

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

interviews interspersed with historical visuals and recordings—the seldom-seen photographs and news footage chosen by the producers adds unexpected interest and an element of emotion.

Each woman tells her own story. For most, that story begins with the "click," the realization that men were "valued more than women." That "click" usually occurred on the job, as women confronted the sexism of the workplace before the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) opened their eyes to unfair employment practices. Fraser remembered asking her boss why a male coworker received a larger raise. He responded: "Because you're a woman." Thom wanted out of the female "cushion line" and a chance to earn more money in "the pit" with the men. At the end of World War II, Haener was moved from her high-paying inspector position into a lower-paying clerical job because she was a woman. She sighed: "When the war was over, that period of my life was over." Shown together, these individual narratives document the ways in which women were "somehow stranger[s] in this world," a world created to benefit men.

The realization was followed, in the 1950s and 1960s, by the gradual coming together of these women with other women. This segment is perhaps the most powerful and exciting of the film. After the interviewees identified the sex discrimination in their own lives, they found other women with similar experiences in unions, politics, and academic settings—and their lives were changed. Their experiences with the EEOC, labor unions, conferences, or party politics taught the women how to make their voices heard. Listening to them talk about the challenges they faced as they organized across race and class lines to end sex discrimination, it is impossible to keep from rooting for these women, hoping that they will succeed despite our knowledge that the story continues into the present.

The final segment of the documentary takes the women from their earliest collective activism to the feminist movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s; six of the interviewees were founding members of NOW. The narrator and film clips recount other types of feminist activism as well. Of particular interest are the reactions of the interviewees to "women's liberation" strategies such as consciousness-raising sessions. The conclusion focuses on the National Women's Conference, "American Women on the Move," held in Houston, Texas in 1977, and the film does not shy away from presenting the conflicts that erupted at that meeting.

There is little that is new in the basic storyline of this documentary. That story, however, bears repeating—often. As Wyatt notes, too many young women and men "haven't heard the stories." *Step By Step* also adds a perspective that has been woefully lacking in accounts of female activism after the passage of women's suffrage: the Midwestern perspective. It is this Midwestern angle—focused principally on Wisconsin—that is one of the film's strengths; too often, the East is privileged in accounts of U.S. feminism. Furthermore, documentaries on feminism are too few, and *Step By Step* should be seen as a "step" in filling that void as well as an excellent documentary. Viewers will probably be reminded of *The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter* (1980); *Step By Step* has the same intelligent and quiet passion of the earlier film, and I hope it will find as large an audience.

GAYLE V. FISCHER
Salem State College

XIUXIU: THE SENT-DOWN GIRL (*Tian yu*). Produced by Joan Chen and Alice Chan; directed by Joan Chen; screenplay by Yan Geling and Joan Chen; 1998; color; 99 minutes. Hong Kong/U.S. Chinese with English subtitles. Distributor: Stratosphere Entertainment.

Xiuxiu: The Sent-Down Girl is a film about the life of one "sent-down youth" during China's Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). While its cinematic merits are evident in its many awards (Special Jury Award, 1999 Paris Film Festival; Best Dramatic Feature, 1998 Fort Lauderdale Film Festival; and seven Golden Horse Awards, Taiwan's equivalent to the Oscar), the film is also historically significant, dealing with an important subject that few historians have seriously researched. The narrative is set in a specific historical period: the early to mid-1970s. The tragic story of its title character unfolds against the backdrop of Mao Zedong's campaign to reeducate urban youth by sending them to the remote countryside.

The relocation of millions of urban youth to the countryside during the Cultural Revolution is one of the major social events in modern Chinese history, and it has profoundly shaped the life experience and mental outlook of a whole generation. Many prominent personalities in China today are members of that generation; some of these people will lead the country in the next century. Yet, although personal recollections, memoirs, and literary writings about the lives of the "rusticated youth"—as they are sometimes referred to in English literature—are so abundant that "sent-down youth literature" constitutes its own rich genre in recent Chinese writing, no serious scholarly work on the subject has been undertaken by historians, in China or abroad.

As far as film is concerned, despite the wide range of subject matters that Chinese filmmakers have covered in the last two decades, the "sent-down youth movement" remains largely unexplored. Only one other film has dealt directly with this subject: *Sacrificed Youth* (Qingchun ji) directed by Zhang Nuanxin in 1985. *Sacrificed Youth* and *Xiuxiu* share many similarities. Both films are directed by women; both critique Mao's radical politics from feminist perspective; and both screenplays are adapted from the rich literary output on the subject. It is also interesting to observe that the two films come from directors who did not personally experience the youth rustication program. Those Chi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nese filmmakers who did experience rustic reeducation have so far shied away from tackling the subject in their films—in sharp contrast with the literary world, where the outpouring of writings based on the sent-down youth experience continues unabated.

The key difference between the two films is in tone. The dominant tone of *Sacrificed Youth* is one of sentimentality and nostalgia. It portrays the life of its character in a Dai village as a liberating and ultimately enriching life experience. *Xiuxiu*, on the other hand, condemns the youth rustication movement in the strongest terms possible. The story that unfolds tells of the destruction of the life of a beautiful, innocent, and vulnerable young girl, the Xiuxiu of the title. In making this girl's story the centerpiece of her film, Joan Chen gives her denunciation of Mao's radicalism deep emotional appeal. Whatever future historians say about the youth rustication program, the film projects a powerful image that will certainly influence the scholarly research agenda, forcing historians to address the disturbing questions it raises. Seen from this perspective, it is truly pathbreaking.

Moreover, the specific focus of this film is on sexual exploitation and victimization of women. The emphasis is particularly pointed, because no published literature, let alone films, has directly dealt with this issue (although many personal recollections and anecdotal accounts suggest that young girls often had to sleep their way back to the cities, and that a great number of them suffered extreme forms of what contemporary Americans have termed "sexual harassment"). The film certainly implies that what happens to its character is not just an isolated case. When Xiuxiu is brought to a local clinic for abortion, one of the nurses remarks to her colleague "she is the fifth abortion case this week," suggesting that illicit sex occurred frequently. Yet, for a variety of reasons, the question of sexual exploitation and victimization of women has not featured in the discourse on the Cultural Revolution. Understandably, the victims themselves are reluctant to bring back the unpleasant past, and the government certainly has no incentive to open this can of worms. As a result, stories about the sent-down youth movement like Xiuxiu's are largely buried in memory. There seems to be a real danger that, a few generations from now, what happened to the thousands of real Xiuxius during the Cultural Revolution may be completely erased from official history. In this regard, *Xiuxiu: The Sent-Down Girl* constitutes a major contribution that will make it more difficult for historians to ignore or neglect the subject. Chen and fellow screenwriter Yan Geling are clearly well aware of their story's historical significance. At the end of the film, over a sequence of shots of Xiuxiu's innocent face, the narrator's voice-over proclaims: "Though Xiuxiu's life is short, the story I have written about her will linger for a very long time." Let us hope so.

ZHIWEI XIAO
California State University, San Marcos

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews: the contents are therefore listed.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

STANLEY L. ENGERMAN, editor. *Terms of Labor: Slavery, Serfdom, and Free Labor*. (The Making of Modern Freedom.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. vi, 350. $55.00.

DAVID ELTIS, Slavery and Freedom in the Early Modern World. SEYMOUR DRESCHER, Free Labor vs. Slave Labor: The British and Caribbean Cases. PETER KOLCHIN, After Serfdom: Russian Emancipation in Comparative Perspective. LEON FINK, From Autonomy to Abundance: Changing Beliefs About the Free Labor System in Nineteenth-Century America. ROBERT J. STEINFELD, Changing Legal Conceptions of Free Labor. DAVID ROEDIGER, Race, Labor, and Gender in the Languages of Antebellum Social Protest. AMY DRU STANLEY, "We Did Not Separate Man and Wife, But All Had to Work": Freedom and Dependence in the Aftermath of Slave Emancipation. DAVID BRODY, Free Labor, Law, and American Trade Unionism. CLAYNE POPE, Social Mobility, Free Labor, and the American Dream.

MICHAEL HANAGAN and CHARLES TILLY, editors. *Extending Citizenship, Reconfiguring States*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1999. Pp. viii, 287. Cloth $69.00, paper $27.95.

MICHAEL HANAGAN, Changing Citizenship, Changing States. MAARTEN PRAK, Burghers into Citizens: Urban and National Citizenship in the Netherlands during the Revolutionary Era (c. 1800). ARIEL SALZMANN, Citizens in Search of a State: The Limits of Political Participation in the Late Ottoman Empire. SUZANNE SHANAHAN, Scripted Debates: Twentieth-Century Immigration and Citizenship Policy in Great Britain, Ireland, and the United States. R. BIN WONG, Citizenship in Chinese History. MICHAEL HANAGAN, The Right to Work and the Struggle Against Unemployment: Britain, 1884–1914. BARBARA HOBSON, Women's Collective Agency, Power Resources, and the Framing of Citizenship Rights. ABRAM DE SWAAN, The Prospects for Transnational Social Policy: A Reappraisal. ANTJE WIENER, From *Special* to *Specialized* Rights: The Politics of Citizenship and Identity in the European Union. JOHN MARKOFF, From Center to Periphery and Back Again: Reflections on the Geography of Democratic Innovation. CHARLES TILLY, Why Worry about Citizenship? TEAL ROTHSCHILD, A Bibliography of Citizenship.

MRINALINI SINHA, DONNA GUY and ANGELA WOOLLACOTT, editors. *Feminisms and Internationalism*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 1999. Pp. xi, 264. $24.95.

MRINALINI SINHA, DONNA J. GUY, and ANGELA WOOLLACOTT, Why Feminisms and Internationalism? HELOISE BROWN, An Alternative Imperialism: Isabella Tod, Internationalist and "Good Liberal Unionist." INSOOK KWON, "The New Women's Movement" in 1920s Korea: Rethinking the Relationship Between Imperialism and Women. CHRISTINE EHRICK, *Madrinas* and Missionaries: Uruguay and the Pan-American Women's Movement. ANGELA WOOLLACOTT, Inventing Commonwealth and Pan-Pacific Feminisms: Australian Women's Internationalist Activism in the 1920s-30s. DONNA J. GUY, The Politics of Pan-American Cooperation: Maternalist Feminism and the Child Rights Movement, 1913–1960. PING-CHUNG HSIUNG and YUK-LIN RENITA WONG, *Jie Gui*—Connecting the Tracks: Chinese Women's Activism Surrounding the 1995 World Conference on Women in Beijing. MARGOT BADRAN, Unifying Women: Feminist Pasts and Presents in Yemen. ASUNCIÓN LAVRIN, International Feminisms: Latin American Alternatives. LEILA J. RUPP, Feminisms and Internationalism: A View from the Centre. MARY E. JOHN, Feminisms and Internationalisms: A Reponse from India. SHAHNAZ ROUSE, Feminist Representations: Interrogating Religious Difference. JAYNE O. IFEKWUNIGWE, Borderland Feminisms: Towards the Transgression of Unitary Transnational Feminisms. ANTOINETTE BURTON, Some Trajectories of "Feminism" and "Imperialism." FRANCESCA MILLER, Feminisms and Transnationalism. V. SPIKE PETERSON, Feminisms and International Relations. VALENTINE M. MOGHADAM, Feminisms and Development.

ASIA

JAMES L. MCCLAIN and WAKITA OSAMU, editors. *Osaka: The Merchants' Capital of Early Modern Japan*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1999. Pp. xxviii, 295. $49.95.

JAMES L. MCCLAIN and WAKITA OSAMU, Osaka across the Ages. WAKITA HARUKO, Ports, Markets, and Medieval Urbanism in the Osaka Region. JAMES L. MCCLAIN, Space, Power, Wealth, and Status in Seventeenth-Century Osaka. UCHIDA KUSUO, Protest and Tactics of Direct Remonstration: Osaka's Merchants Make Their Voices Heard. C. ANDREW GERSTLE,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Takemoto Gidayū and the Individualistic Spirit of Osaka Theater. GARY P. LEUPP, The Five Men of Naniwa: Gang Violence and Popular Culture in Genroku Osaka. YOSHIDA NOBUYUKI, Osaka's Brotherhood of Mendicant Monks. NAKAGAWA SUGANE, Inari Worship in Early Modern Osaka. TETSUO NAJITA, Ambiguous Encounters: Ogata Kōan and International Studies in Late Tokugawa Osaka. MURATA MICHIHITO, Osaka as a Center of Regional Governance. WAKITA OSAMU, The Distinguishing Characteristics of Osaka's Early Modern Urbanism.

RUDRANGSHU MUKHERJEE and LAKSHMI SUBRAMANIAN, editors. *Politics and Trade in the Indian Ocean World: Essays in Honour of Ashin Das Gupta*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 281. $24.95.

RUDRANGSHU MUKHERJEE, Ashin Das Gupta: Some Memories and Reflections. BHASWATI BHATTACHARYA, The Hinterland and the Coast: The Pattern of Interaction in Coromandel in the Late Eighteenth-Century. LAKSHMI SUBRAMANIAN, Power and the Weave: Weavers, Merchants and Rulers in Eighteenth-Century Surat. RUCHIRA BANERJEE, A Wedding Feast or Political Arena? Commercial Rivalry between the Ali Rajas and the English Factory in Northern Malabar in the Eighteenth Century. MUZAFFAR ALAM and SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM, Exploring the Hinterland: Trade and Politics in the Arcot Nizāmat (1700–1732). OM PRAKASH, European Corporate Enterprises and the Politics of Trade in India, 1600–1800. KENNETH MCPHERSON, Trade and Traders in the Bay of Bengal: Fifteenth to Nineteenth Centuries. S. ARASARATNAM, The Eastward Trade of India in the Eighteenth Century. M. N. PEARSON, Indians in East Africa: The Early Modern Period. P. J. MARSHALL, Edmund Burke and India: The Vicissitudes of a Reputation.

HIRANMAY KARLEKAR, editor. *Independent India: The First Fifty Years*. New York: Oxford University Press, for the Indian Council for Cultural Relations. 1999. Pp. lvii, 534. $39.95.

HIRANMAY KARLEKAR, 1947: The Route through History. RAVINDER KUMAR, Democracy: From Consolidation to Fluidity. ROMILA THAPAR, Secularism: The Importance of Democracy. B. R. NANDA, Gandhi and Nehru: An Intertwined Legacy. SUBHASH C. KASHYAP, Parliament: A Mixed Balance-sheet. M. N. VENKATACHALIAH, Rule of Law: Protecting the Weak against the Strong. S. SAHAY, Federalism: The Ascendancy of Regional Parties. P. C. ALEXANDER, Civil Service: Continuity and Change. J. N. DIXIT, Foreign Policy: A Critical Introspection. JASJIT SINGH, Defence: A Profile of Five Decades. ARJUN SEGUPTA, Fifty Years of Development Policy in India. M. S. SWAMINATHAN, 50 Years of Progress in Indian Agriculture. TARUN DAS, Industry: From Regulation to Liberalization. RAJA RAMANNA, Science: New Frontiers and Beyond. U. R. RAO, Science and Technology: Impressive Strides. P. V. INDIRESAN, Technology: Surmounting Cultural Hurdles. SUNIL HANDA, Entrepreneurship: The Indian Mindset. ASHOK SOOTA, Information Technology: The Knowledge Industry. T. K. OOMMEN, Society: Tradition and Autonomy. ASGHAR ALI ENGINEER, Minorities: Many-splendoured Contributions. VINA MAZUMDAR, Women: From Equality to Empowerment. ASHOKE CHATTERJEE, NGOs: An Alternative Democracy. TAPAS MAJUMDAR, Education: Uneven Progress, Difficult Choices. ASHISH BOSE, Population: The Quest for Stabilization. RAHUL RAM, Oh! To Be in India. A. M. KHUSRO, India: A Dialectic of Opposites. K. SATCHIDANANDAN, Literature: Signing in Different Scripts. D. P. PATTANAYAK, The Languages: A Multicultural Plurilingual Country. SHEILA DHAR, Music: From the Traditional to the Modern. DEVESH SONEJI, Dance: Revival, Reiteration and Renewal. RANJIT HOSKOTE, Art: From Enchantment to Interrogation. SAMIK BANDHYOPADHYAY, Theatre: From Metropolis to Wasteland. CHIDANANDA DAS GUPTA, Cinema: The Unstoppable Chariot. M. C. JOSHI, Archaeology: Filling the Blanks. ACHYUT KANVINDE, Architecture: Absorption and Evolution. KAPILA VATSYAYAN, Culture: The Crafting of Institutions. HIRANMAY KARLEKAR, Media: The Mirror and the Market.

OCEANIA AND PACIFIC ISLANDS

MARGARETTE LINCOLN, editor. *Science and Exploration in the Pacific: European Voyages to the Southern Oceans in the Eighteenth Century*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, in association with the National Maritime Museum. 1998. Pp. xix, 228. $63.00.

GLYNDWR WILLIAMS, The *Endeavour* Voyage: A Coincidence of Motives. ALAN FROST, Shaking off the Spanish Yoke: British Schemes to Revolutionise America, 1739–1807. JOHN GASCOIGNE, Joseph Banks and the Expansion of Empire. WAYNE ORCHISTON, From the South Seas to the Sun: The Astronomy of Cook's Voyages. DONALD C. CUTTER, Malaspina and the Shrinking Spanish Lake. NIGEL RIGBY, The Politics and Pragmatics of Seaborne Plant Transportation, 1769–1805. PETER GATHERCOLE, Lord Sandwich's Collection of Polynesian Artefacts. DAVID TURNBULL, Cook and Tupaia, a Tale of Cartographic *Méconnaissance?* HAROLD B. CARTER, Note on the Drawings by an Unknown Artist from the Voyage of HMS *Endeavour*. NEIL RENNIE, The Point Venus "Scene." ROD EDMOND, Translating Cultures: William Ellis and Missionary Writing. MARKMAN ELLIS, Tails of Wonder: Constructions of the Kangaroo in Late Eighteenth-Century Scientific Discourse. NEIL HEGARTY, Unruly Subjects: Sexuality, Science and Discipline in Eighteenth-Century Pacific Exploration. JACKIE HUGGINS, Cook and the New Anthropology.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

JAMES GILREATH, editor. *Thomas Jefferson and the Education of a Citizen*. Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress; distributed by the University Press of New England, Hanover, N.H. 1999. Pp. xv, 383. $40.00.

MICHAEL GROSSBERG, Citizens and Families: A Jeffersonian Vision of Domestic Relations and Generational Change. FRANK SHUFFELTON, Binding Ties: The Public and Domestic Spheres in Jefferson's Letters to His Family. HOLLY BREWER, Beyond Education: Thomas Jefferson's "Republican" Revision of the Laws Regarding Children. JAN LEWIS, Jefferson, the Family, and Civic Education. DOUGLAS L. WILSON, Jefferson and Literacy. RICHARD D. BROWN, Bulwark of Revolutionary Liberty: Thomas Jefferson's and John Adams's Programs for an Informed Citizenry. HERBERT A. JOHNSON, Thomas Jefferson and Legal Education in Revolutionary America. JENNINGS L. WAGONER, JR., "That Knowledge Most Useful to Us": Thomas Jefferson's Concept of Utility in the Education of Republican Citizens. BENJAMIN R. BARBER, Education and Democracy: Summary and Comment. ELIZA-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BETH WIRTH MARVICK, Thomas Jefferson and the Old World: Personal Experience in the Formation of Early Republican Ideals. JAMES OAKES, Why Slaves Can't Read: The Political Significance of Jefferson's Racism. DONALD A. GRINDE, JR., Thomas Jefferson's Dualistic Perceptions of Native Americans. C. VANN WOODWARD, The Old and the New Worlds: Summary and Comment. DAVID N. MAYER, Citizenship and Change in Jefferson's Constitutional Thought. EUGENE R. SHERIDAN, Liberty and Virtue: Religion and Republicanism in Jeffersonian Thought. SUZANNE W. MORSE, Ward Republics: The Wisest Invention for Self-Government. RALPH KETCHAM, The Education of Those Who Govern. LUI ZUOCHANG, Thomas Jefferson and His Conception of Happiness.

KENNETH R. BOWLING and DONALD R. KENNON, editors. *Inventing Congress: Origins and Establishment of the First Federal Congress*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, for the United States Capitol Historical Society, Washington, D.C. 1999. Pp. x, 305. $44.95.

CARL J. RICHARD, The Classical Roots of the U.S. Congress: Mixed Government Theory. ALISON G. OLSON, Thoughts on Why America Chose a Congressional Rather than a Parliamentary Form of Government. DONALD S. LUTZ, The Colonial and Early State Legislative Process. R. B. BERNSTEIN, Parliamentary Principles, American Realities: The Continental and Confederation Congresses, 1774–89. R. B. BERNSTEIN, A New Matrix for National Politics: The First Federal Elections, 1788–90. CHARLENE BANGS BICKFORD, "Public Attention Is Very Much Fixed on the Proceedings of the New Congress": The First Federal Congress Organizes Itself. CHARLENE BANGS BICKFORD, Throwing Open the Doors: The First Federal Congress and the Eighteenth-Century Media. MARIE SAUER LAMBREMONT, Rep. James Jackson of Georgia and the Establishment of the Southern States' Rights Tradition in Congress. WILLIAM C. DIGIACOMANTONIO, To Form the Character of the American People: Public Support for the Arts, Sciences, and Morality in the First Federal Congress. HERBERT M. DRUKS, Religious Freedom and the First Federal Congress. WILLIAM P. COWIN, The Invisible Smith: The Impact of Adam Smith on the Foundation of Early American Economic Policy during the First Federal Congress, 1789–91.

KATHERINE J. ADAMS and LEWIS L. GOULD, editors. *Inside the Natchez Trace Collection: New Sources for Southern History*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, in cooperation with the Center for American History at the University of Texas, Austin. 1999. Pp. x, 207. $35.00.

JOHN D. W. GUICE, Windows on the Old Southwest. RANDOLPH B. CAMPBELL, Slavery in the Natchez Trace Collection. KATHERINE J. ADAMS, Natchez District Women: Voices of Southern Women in the Natchez Trace Collection. MORTON ROTHSTEIN, Acquisitive Pursuits in a Slaveholding Society: Business History in the Natchez Trace Collection. SHEARER DAVIS BOWMAN, Reflections of Sectional Conflict in the Natchez Trace Collection. WILLIAM G. SHADE, In Re Those "Prebourgeois" Planters: The Political Economy of Flush Times in Mississippi.

THOMAS J. DURANT, JR. and J. DAVID KNOTTNERUS, editors. *Plantation Society and Race Relations: The Origins of Inequality*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1999. Pp. xx, 256. $59.95.

THOMAS J. DURANT, JR., The Slave Plantation Revisited: A Sociological Perspective. J. DAVID KNOTTNERUS, DAVID L. MONK, and EDWARD JONES, The Slave Plantation System from a Total Institution Perspective. DONALD L. YATES, Plantation-Style Social Control: Oppressive Social Structures in the Slave Plantation System. BEVERLY M. JOHN, The Construction of Racial Meaning by Blacks and Whites in Plantation Society. RUPE SIMMS, The Social Influence of Plantation Religion among Anglo-American Colonists and African Slaves. FRANCES STATEN, Up from the Plantation: The Survival of Rural Black Farm Families of Northeastern Louisiana, 1930–1970. LENUS JACK, JR. "I Looked for Home Elsewhere": Black Southern Plantation Families, 1790–1940. DONALD R. ANDREW and RALPH D. CHRISTY, The Profitability of Slavery: A Review of the Classical Economic Position. JOYCE M. PLUMMER, Law and Race in the Slave Plantation System. THOMAS J. DURANT, JR. and NICOLE MOLIERE, Plantation Slavery among Native Americans: The Creation of a Red, White, and Black America. JULIA BURKART, Gender Roles in Slave Plantations. J. DAVID KNOTTNERUS, Status Structures and Ritualized Relations in the Slave Plantation System. OLLIE GARY CHRISTIAN, The Social Demography of Plantation Slavery. RONALD L. F. DAVIS, The Plantation Lifeworld of the Old Natchez District: 1840–1880. CLARENCE R. TALLEY, The Social Transformation of Plantation Society. KATHERINE BANKOLE, Plantations without Slaves: The Legacy of Louisiana Plantation Culture. JEAN MUTEBA RAHIER and MICHAEL HAWKINS, "Gone with the Wind" *versus* the Holocaust Metaphor: Louisiana Plantation Narratives in Black and White.

GABOR S. BORITT, editor. *Jefferson Davis's Generals*. (Gettysburg Civil War Institute Books.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 217. $27.50.

CRAIG L. SYMONDS, A Fatal Relationship: Davis and Johnston at War. EMORY M. THOMAS, Ambivalent Visions of Victory: Davis, Lee, and Confederate Grand Strategy. T. MICHAEL PARRISH, Jeff Davis Rules: General Beauregard and the Sanctity of Civilian Authority in the Confederacy. STEVEN E. WOODWORTH, Davis, Bragg, and Confederate Command in the West. HERMAN HATTAWAY, The General Whom the President Elevated Too High: Davis and John Bell Hood. LESLEY J. GORDON, "To Comfort, To Counsel, To Cure": Davis, Wives, and Generals. HAROLD HOLZER, The Image of Jefferson Davis as Commander in Chief. JAMES M. MCPHERSON, Was the Best Defense a Good Offense? Jefferson Davis and Confederate Strategies.

DAVID K. ADAMS and CORNELIS A. VAN MINNEN, editors. *Religious and Secular Reform in America: Ideas, Beliefs, and Social Change*. New York: New York University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 273. Cloth $55.00, paper $20.00.

MARK HÄBERLEIN, Reform, Authority and Conflict in the Churches of the Middle Colonies, 1700–1770. LOUIS BILLINGTON, "The Perfect Law of Liberty": Radical Religion and the Democratization of New England, 1780–1840. ANTHONY

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MANN, Unitarian Voluntary Societies and the Revision of Elite Authority in Boston, 1780–1820. NAOMI WULF, Orestes Brownson and the Relationship between Reform and Democracy. LOUIS F. KERN, Sectarian Perfectionism and Universal Reform: The Radical Social and Political Thought of William Lloyd Garrison. ROBERT LEWIS, "Rational Recreation": Reforming Leisure in Antebellum America. ALEXIS MCCROSSEN, Sabbatarianism: The Intersection of Church and State in the Orchestration of Everyday Life in Nineteenth-Century America. VALERIA GENNARO LERDA, The Woman's Christian Temperance Union Reform Movement in the South in the Late Nineteenth Century. HOWELL JOHN HARRIS, War in the Social Order: The Great War and the Liberalization of American Quakerism. MELVYN STOKES, Progressivism, Poststructuralism and the Writing of American History. JAN C. C. RUPP, The Cultural Foundations of Democracy: The Struggle between a Religious and a Secular Intellectual Reform Movement in the American Age of Conformity. AXEL R. SCHAEFER, Evangelicalism, Social Reform and the U.S. Welfare State, 1970–1996.

MARK J. WHITE, editor. *Kennedy: The New Frontier Revisited*. New York: New York University Press. 1998. Pp. ix, 291. $50.00.

MARK J. WHITE, A New Synthesis for the New Frontier. FREDRIK LOGEVALL, Vietnam and the Question of What Might Have Been. MARK J. WHITE, The Cuban Imbroglio: From the Bay of Pigs to the Missile Crisis and Beyond. GEORG SCHILD, The Berlin Crisis. THOMAS W. ZEILER, Meeting the European Challenge: The Common Market and Trade Policy. JOSEPHINE BRAIN, Dealing with de Gaulle. DEREK W. ELLIOTT, Space: The Final Frontier of the New Frontier. JAMES N. GIGLIO, John F. Kennedy as Domestic Leader: A Perspective on the Literature. MARK J. WHITE, Behind Closed Doors: The Private Life of a Public Man.

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

IAN WOOD, editor. *Franks and Alamanni in the Merovingian Period: An Ethnographic Perspective*. (Proceedings of the Third Conference on "Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology," San Marino, 1995; Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology, number 3.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1998. Pp. 481.

H. J. HUMMER, Franks and Alamanni: A Discontinuous Ethnogenesis. F. DAMMINGER, Dwellings, Settlements and Settlement Patterns in Merovingian Southwest Germany and Adjacent Areas. M. DE JONG, An Unresolved Riddle: Early Medieval Incest Legislation. G. HALSALL, Social Identities and Social Relationships in Early Merovingian Gaul. F. SIEGMUND, Social Structure and Relations. I. WOOD, Jural Relations among the Franks and Alamanni. S. T. LOSEBY, Gregory's Cities: Urban Functions in Sixth-Century Gaul. P. J. FOURACRE, The Nature of Frankish Political Institutions in the Seventh Century. M. HARDT, Silverware in Early Medieval Gift Exchange: Imitatio Imperii and Objects of Memory. D. H. GREEN, The Influence of the Christian Franks on the Christian Vocabulary of Germany. G. AUSENDA, Current Issues and Future Directions in the Study of Franks and Alamanni in the Merovingian Period.

JOSEPH CANNING and OTTO GERHARD OEXLE, editors. *Political Thought and the Realities of Power in the Middle Ages/Politisches Denken und die Wirklichkeit der Macht im Mittelalter*. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 147.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1998. Pp. 276. DM 59.

JOHANNES FRIED, Mündlichkeit, Errinnerung und Herrschaft: Zugleich zum Modus "De Heinrico." HANNA VOLLRATH, Politische Ordnungsvorstellungen und politisches Handeln im Vergleich: Philipp II. August von Frankreich und Friedrich Barbarossa im Konflikt mit ihren mächtigsten Fürsten. NATALIE M. FRYDE, The Roots of Magna Carta: Opposition to the Plantagenets. KLAUS SCHREINER, Legitimation, Repräsentation, Schriftlichkeit: Gedankliche Begründungen und symbolische Formen mittelalterlicher Abtsherrschaft. DAVID E. LUSCOMBE, Hierarchy in the Late Middle Ages: Criticism and Change. JANET COLEMAN, Some Relations between the Study of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, *Ethics* and *Politics* in Late Thirteenth- and Early Fourteenth-Century University Arts Courses and the Justification of Contemporary Civic Activities (Italy and France). JEAN DUNBABIN, Hervé de Nédellec, Pierre de la Palud and France's Place in Christendom. JÜRGEN MIETHKE, Wirkungen politischer Theorie auf die Praxis der Politik im Römischen Reich des 14. Jahrhunderts: Gelehrte Politikberatung am Hofe Ludwigs des Bayern. MAGNUS RYAN, The Oath of Fealty and the Lawyers. JOSEPH CANNING, Italian Juristic Thought and the Realities of Power in the Fourteenth Century. HELMUT G. WALTHER, Die Macht der Gelehrsamkeit: Über die Meßbarkeit des Einflusses politischer Theorien gelehrter Juristen des Spätmittelalters. ANTONY BLACK, Islamic and European Political Thought: A Comparative Overview, 700–1650.

ALFRED HAVERKAMP and HANNA VOLLRATH, editors. *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages*. (Studies of the German Historical Institute London.) New York: Oxford University Press, for the German Historical Institute. London. 1996. Pp. ix, 389. $72.00.

NICHOLAS ORME, Lay Literacy in England, 1100–1300. ALFRED WENDEHORST, Who Could Read and Write in the Middle Ages? HANNA VOLLRATH, Ideal and Reality in Twelfth-Century Germany. DAVID A. CARPENTER, England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries. MICHAEL PRESTWICH, Money and Mercenaries in English Medieval Armies. KARL-FRIEDRICH KRIEGLER, Obligatory Military Service and the Use of Mercenaries in Imperial Military Campaigns under the Hohenstaufen Emperors. PAUL R. HYAMS, The Jews in Medieval England, 1066–1290. ALEXANDER PATSCHOVSKY, The Relationship between the Jews of Germany and the King (11th–14th Centuries): A European Comparison. PETER W. EDBURY, Preaching the Crusade in Wales. RUDOLF HIESTAND, Kingship and Crusade in Twelfth-Century Germany. SUSAN REYNOLDS, English Towns. HERMANN JAKOBS, Aspects of Urban Social History in Salian and Staufen Germany. CHRISTOPHER DYER, Lords, Peasants, and the Development of the Manor: England, 900–1280. WERNER RÖSENER, The Decline of the Classic Manor in Germany during the High Middle Ages. JOHN GILLINGHAM, Some Observations on Social Mobility in England between the Norman Conquest and the Early Thirteenth Century. MICHAEL MATHEUS, Forms of Social Mobility: The Example of *Zensualität*.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

CHANTAL GRELL, WERNER PARAVICINI, and JÜRGEN VOSS, editors. *Les princes et l'histoire du XIV^e^ au XVIII^e^ siècle*. (Pariser historische Studien, number 47.) Bonn: Bouvier. 1998. Pp. xx, 658. DM 168.

KLAUS GRAF, Fürstliche Erinnerungskultur: Eine Skizze zum neuen Modell des Gedenkens in Deutschland im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. JEAN-MARIE MOEGLIN, L'histoire des princes et la cristallisation du sentiment d'identité régionale: Du comté de Toulouse au landgraviat de Hesse (XIII^e^–XV^e^ siècles). CHRISTIAN DE MÉRINDOL, Les princes et l'usage de l'histoire à la fin de l'époque médiévale: Le témoignage des "images." UWE NEDDERMEYER, *Darümb sollen die historien billich fürsten bücher sein und genennet werden*. Universalhistorische Werke ols Ratgeber der Fürsten im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. GUY P. MARCHAL, Dans les traces de aïeuls: Les usages de l'histoire dans une société sans prince (XV^e^–XVIII^e^ siècles). ROLF SPRANDEL, Die Rechtfertigung des Krieges durch die Hofchronisten im spätmittelalterlichen Deutschland. WOJCIECH IWANCZAK, L'empereur Charles IV et son attitude face à l'histoire. CORDULA NOLTE, Fürsten und Geschichte im Nordosten des spätmittelalterlichen Reiches: Zur literarischen Gestaltung der Jerusalemreise Herzog Bogislaws X. von Pommern. MARIA KOCZERSKA, L'amour de la patrie et l'aversion pour la dynastie: Exemple de Jan Dlugosz, historiographe des Jagellon. MALGORZATA WILSKA, Les ducs de Mazovie du XV^e^ siècle devant l'histoire ou la petite et la grande patrie. MICHAEL JONES, Un prince et son biographe: Jean IV, duc de Bretagne (1364–1399) et Guillaume de Saint-André. MICHAEL ZINGEL Les princes et l'histoire: L'exemple des ducs Valois de Bourgogne. JOACHIM EHLERS, Philippe de Commynes und die Fürsten dieser Welt: Von der Heilsgeschichte zur Pragmatik. PHILIPPE CONTAMINE, Une chronique pour un prince? La "Geste des nobles François." GERT MELVILLE, Geschichte im Diskurs: Zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen Herolden über die Frage: *Qui est le royaume chrestien qui plus est digne d'estre approuché d'Onneur*? JEAN-PHILIPPE GENET, Les princes anglais et l'histoire à la fin du Moyen Âge. CECIL CLOUGH, Federico da Montefeltro's Concept and Use of History. RICCARDO FUBINI, Machiavelli, i Medici e la storia fiorentina nel Quattrocento. OTTO GERHARD OEXLE, Adel, Memoria und kulturelles Gedächtnis: Bemerkungen zur Memorial-Kapelle der Fugger in Augsburg. RAINER A. MÜLLER, Historia als Regentenhilfe: Geschichte als Bildungsfach in deutschen Fürstenspiegeln des konfessionelle Zeitalters. WILHELM RIBHEGGE, Erasmus von Rotterdam und der burgundische Hof: Die "Institutio principis christiani" (1516). FLORENCE ALAZARD, Sur le livret relatant l'entrée de Marguerite d'Autriche à Pavie en 1599: Le Prince au service d'une histoire municipale. IGOR KAKOLEWSKI, Politische Testamente und Fürstenspiegel als Instrumente der fürstlichen Politik im Herzogtum Preußen und in Polen-Litauen im 16. Jahrhundert. FRIEDRICH POLLEROß, *Alexander redivivus et Cleopatra nova*: L'identification avec les héros et héroïnes de l'histoire antique dans le "Portrait historié." OREST RANUM, L'histoire entre la pédagogie princière et la philosophie des années 1630–1640: Les exemples de Sorel et de Gomberville. KATE CURREY, "Au temple de mémoire": Princes of the House of Lorraine and Their Historical Image in ducal pompes funèbres 1608–1624. ALOIS SCHMID, Die "Bavaria sancta et pia" des P. Matthäus Rader S. J. HERMANN KLEBER, Louis XIV mémorialiste. La genèse des "Mémoires" de Louis XIV. CHANTAL GRELL, La monarchie française et l'histoire au XVII^e^ siècle: État des recherches en France. FRITZ OSTERWALDER, Der Prinz über der Geschichte: Die jansenistische Prinzenerziehung als Modell für die Erziehung des *Bourgeois*. PASCALE MORMICHE, Le cardinal de Fleury et l'éducation de Louis XV d'après "L'abrégé de l'histoire de France. rois de la première et de la deuxième race." JÁNOS KALMÁR, Le rôle de l'education de l'empereur Charles VI dans la formation de ses principes du gouvernement. MARIE-CHRISTINE SKUNCKE, L'histoire dans l'éducation de Gustave III de Suède. KLAUS MALETTKE, L'électeur Guillaume I^er^ de Hesse-Cassel: "Mémoires de ma vie." JEAN-LOUIS QUANTIN, Croisades et supercroisades Les "Histoires" de Maimbourg et la politique de Louis XIV.

MARCO BELLABARBA and REINHARD STAUBER, editors. *Identità territoriali e cultura politica nella prima età moderna/Territoriale Identität und politische Kultur in der Frühen Neuzeit*. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento/Jahrbuch des italienisch-deutschen historischen Instituts in Trient, number 9.) Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. Duncker und Humblot, Berlin. 1998. Pp. 405. L. 45,000.

MARCO BELLABARBA, La memoria delle istituzioni. MARCO CUAZ, Le identità valdostane. ALFREDO VIGGIANO, La Repubblica nello Stato. L'identità patrizia e il governo veneziano dei Domini 'da terra' e 'da mar.' WOLFGANG SCHMALE, Lokale, regionale, nationale und europäische Identität: Burgund im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution. PATRIZIA DELPIANO, Identità sabauda tra Cinquecento e Settecento. WOLFGANG BURGDORF, Nationales Erwachen der Deutschen nach 1756: Reichisches gegen territoriales Nationalbewußtsein: Imitation eines Schweizer Vorbildes oder Inszenierung des kaiserlichen Hofes? WOLFGANG BEHRINGER, Kommunikationswesen und territoriale Identität in der Frühen Neuzeit. WINFRIED SCHULZE, Interpretationen, Stufen und Alternativen politischen Gemeinschaftsbewußtseins in der Frühen Neuzeit: Österreichische Gesamtstaatsidee und ständische Versammlungen im sechzehnten Jahrhundert. HEINZ NOFLATSCHER, "Staat" und "Nation" in der politischen Sprache Österreichs in der Frühen Neuzeit. MARKUS VÖLKEL, Im Spiegel des Hauses Österreich: Zur Stiftung historiographischer Einheit zwischen den habsburgischen Ländern im 17. Jahrhundert. HANS HEISS, Ökonomie und Österreichbewußtsein: Zur Rolle der Kameralisten des 17. Jahrhunderts. ROBERTA CORBELLINI, Udine capitale della Patria del Friuli: La costruzione di un'identità cittadina per un ruolo di governo. PETER BLICKLE, Freiheit als Element der politischen Traditionsbildung in der Eidgenossenschaft im 15. Jahrhundert. CLAUDIUS SIEBER-LEHMANN, Neue Verhältnisse: Das eidgenössische Basel zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts. ANDREAS SUTER, Protonationalismus—Konstrukt und gesellschaftlich-politische Wirklichkeit. RANDOLPH C. HEAD, Assassinated with the Same Ax? Jörg Jenatsch between Biography, Micro-history, and Myth. MARCO MERIGGI, Esercizi di identificazione regionale: Il Nord nella storia dell'Italia contemporanea. STEFAN FISCH, Nation, "Heimat" und "Petite Patrie" im Elsaß unter deutscher Herrschaft (1870/71–1918). LUCIO GAMBI, L'invenzione" delle regioni italiane. GABRIELE B. CLEMENS, Geschichtsvereine in Italien zwischen regionaler und nationaler Historiographie.

ALEXANDER KOLLER, editor. *Kurie und Politik: Stand und Perspektiven der Nuntiaturberichtsforschung*. (Bib-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

liothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, number 87.) Tübingen: Max Niemeyer. 1998. Pp. xii, 532. DM 152.

KLAUS JAITNER, Kurie und Politik—Der Pontifikat Gregors XV. STEFANO ANDRETTA, Le nunziature in Italia nei secoli XVIe XVII. AGOSTINO BORROMEO, La nunziatura di Madrid, la Curia romana e la riforma postridentina nella Spagna di Filippo II. BERNHARD BARBICHE, La nonciature de France aux XVI[e] et XVII[e] siècles: Les nonces, leur entourage et leur cadre de vie. PIERRE BLET, La nonciature de France et la crise gallicane. ALMUT BUES, Die päpstliche Politik gegenüber Polen-Litauen zur Zeit der ersten Interregna. DANIELA NERI, Giovanni Dolfin e la sua nunziatura a Vienna presso la Corte Imperiale negli anni 1575/76. ALEXANDER KOLLER, Der Konflikt um die Obödienz Rudolfs II. gegenüber dem Hl. Stuhl. ALENA PAZDEROVÁ, L'edizione della nunziatura di Cesare Speciano (1592–1598): Origini, stato attuale, problemi e prospettive. UMBERTO DELL'ORTO, Die Wiener Nuntiatur im 18. Jahrhundert unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Nuntiatur von Giuseppe Garampi (1776–1785): Forschungslage und historische Fragestellungen. WOLFGANG REINHARD, Nuntiaturberichte für die deutsche Geschichtswissenschafft? Wert und Verwertung eines Editionsunternehmens. WOJCIECH TYGIELSKI, Geograficamente distanti ma spiritualmente vicini: La realtà politica e sociale polacca del XVI e del XVII secolo agli occhi dei nunzi apostolici. SILVANO GIORDANO, Aspetti di politica ecclesiastica e riforma religiosa nelle istruzioni generali di Paolo V. PETER BURSCHEL, Das Eigene und das Fremde: Zur anthropologischen Entzifferung diplomatischer Texte. JOHANN RAINER, Die Grazer Nuntiatur 1580–1622. VOLKER REINHARDT, Nuntien und Nationalcharakter: Prolegomena zu einer Geschichte nationaler Wahrnehmungsstereotype am Beispiel der Schweiz. ROGER LIGGENSTORFER, Die Neuordnung des Luzerner Nuntiaturarchivs im "Archivio Segreto Vaticano": Ein Arbeitsbericht. URBAN FINK, Aufbau, Aufgaben und Probleme der Luzerner Nuntiatur: Zum Stand und zu den Perspektiven der Nuntiaturforschung in der Schweiz. STEFAN SAMERSKI, Nuntiatur und Persönlichkeit Atilio Amalteos: Ein Forschungsbericht. MICHAEL F. FELDKAMP, Zur Tätigkeit des Auditors Giovanni Carlo Antonelli an der Kölner Nuntiatur: Mit einem Verzeichnis des Nachlasses von Antonelli im Historischen Archiv der Stadt Köhn. BURKHARD ROBERG, Verkehrung der Fronten? Bartomoleo Pacca und der Nuntiaturstreit 1785–1794. PETER SCHMIDT, 100 Jahre Forschung zur päpstlichen Politik und Diplomatie (1500–1800): Ein wissenschaftsgeschichtliches Panorama.

KARIN MAAG, editor. *The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe*. (St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.) Brookfield, Vt.: Scolar. 1997. Pp. xi, 235. $76.95.

ANDREW PETTEGREE and KARIN MAAG, The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe. VALERY REES, Pre-Reformation Changes in Hungary at the End of the Fifteenth Century. JIŘÍ PEŠEK, Protestant Literature in Bohemian Private Libraries *circa* 1600. NORBERT KERSKEN, Reformation and the Writing of National History in East-Central and Northern Europe. JOACHIM BAHLCKE, Calvinism and Estate Liberation Movements in Bohemia and Hungary (1570–1620). CHRISTINE PETERS, Mural Paintings, Ethnicity and Religious Identity in Transylvania: The Context for Reformation. SERGIUSZ MICHALSKI, The Image Controversy in the Religious Negotiations between Protestant Theologians and Eastern Orthodox Churches. MARIA CRĂCIUN, Protestantism and Orthodoxy in Sixteenth-Century Moldavia. GRAEME MURDOCK, Church Building and Discipline in Early Seventeenth-Century Hungary and Transylvania. HEINRICH RICHARD SCHMIDT, Morals Courts in Rural Berne during the Early Modern Period. JANUSZ MAŁŁEK, The Reformation in Poland and Prussia in the Sixteenth Century: Similarities and Differences. MICHAEL G. MÜLLER, Late Reformation and Protestant Confessionalization in the Major Towns of Royal Prussia. RONA JOHNSTON GORDON, Patronage and Parish: The Nobility and the Recatholicization of Lower Austria.

MARTIN DAUNTON and RICK HALPERN, editors. *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600–1850*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 400. $24.95.

MARTIN DAUNTON and RICK HALPERN, British Identities, Indigenous Peoples and the Empire. C. A. BAYLY, The British and Indigenous Peoples, 1760–1860: Power, Perception and Identity. PHILIP D. MORGAN, Encounters between British and "Indigenous" Peoples, c. 1500-c. 1800. KATHLEEN BROWN, Native Americans and Early Modern Concepts of Race. LOUISE A. BREEN, Praying with the Enemy: Daniel Gookin, King Philip's War and the Dangers of Intercultural Mediatorship. PETER WAY, The Cutting Edge of Culture: British Soldiers Encounter Native Americans in the French and Indian War. GREG O'BRIEN, Protecting Trade through War: Choctaw Elites and British Occupation of the Floridas. NATHANIEL SHEIDLEY, Hunting and the Politics of Masculinity in Cherokee Treaty-Making, 1763–75. RUTH WALLIS HERNDON, Racialization and Feminization of Poverty in Early America: Indian Women as "the Poor of the Town" in Eighteenth-Century Rhode Island. JEAN O'BRIEN, "They are so frequently shifting their place of residence": Land and the Construction of Social Place of Indians in Colonial Massachusetts. ANN MARIE PLANE, Legitimacies, Indian Identities and the Law: The Politics of Sex and the Creation of History in Colonial New England. RUSSELL SMANDYCH and ANNE MCGILLIVRAY, Images of Aboriginal Childhood: Contested Governance in the Canadian West to 1850. HEATHER GOODALL, Authority under Challenge: Pikampul Land and Queen Victoria's Law during the British Invasion of Australia. HILARY BECKLES, The Genocide Policy in England—Karifuna Relations in the Seventeenth Century. CATHERINE HALL, William Knibb and the Constitution of the New Black Subject. MADHAVI KALE, "When the saints came marching in": The Anti-Slavery Society and Indian Indentured Migration to the British Caribbean. ANDREW PORTER, North American Experience and British Missionary Encounters in Africa and the Pacific, c. 1800–50. ANDREW BANK, Losing Faith in the Civilizing Mission: The Premature Decline of Humanitarian Liberalism at the Cape, 1840–60.

MARTIN I. MOIR, DOUGLAS M. PEERS, and LYNN ZASTOUPIL, editors. *J. S. Mill's Encounter with India*. Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 264. $60.00.

F. ROSEN, Erik Stokes, British Utilitarianism, and India. ALLISON DUBE, The Tree of Utility of India: *Panace* or Weed? JAVED MAJEED, James Mill's *The History of British India*: A Reevaluation. MARTIN MOIR, John Stuart Mill's Draft Des-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

patches to India and the Problem of Bureaucratic Authorship. ROBIN MOORE, John Stuart Mill and Royal India. LYNN ZASTOUPIL, India, J. S. Mill, and "Western" Culture. PENELOPE CARSON, Golden Casket or Pebbles and Trash? J. S. Mill and the Anglicist/Orientalist Controversy. NANCY GARDNER CASSELS, John Stuart Mill, Religion, and Law in the Examiner's Office. DOUGLAS M. PEERS, Imperial Epitaph: John Stuart Mill's Defence of the East India Company. S. AMBIRAJAN, John Stuart Mill and India.

SAM WHIMSTER, editor. *Max Weber and the Culture of Anarchy*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xii, 235. $65.00.

SAM WHIMSTER, Introduction to Weber, Ascona and Anarchism. MAX WEBER, Letters from Ascona. MARTIN GREEN, Weber and Lawrence and Anarchism. CARL LEVY, Max Weber, Anarchism and Libertarian Culture: Personality and Power Politics. KARL-LUDWIG AY, Max Weber: A German Intellectual and the Question of War Guilt after the Great War. ULRICH LINSE, Sexual Revolution and Anarchism: Erich Mühsam. EDITH HANKE, Max Weber, Leo Tolstoy and the Mountain of Truth. CHARLES TURNER, Weber and Dostoyevsky on Church, Sect and Democracy. CHRISTOPH BRAUN, The "Science of Reality" of Music History: On the Historical Background to Max Weber's Study of Music. DAVID CHALCRAFT, Love and Death: Weber, Wagner, and Max Klinger. MARY SHIELDS, Max Weber and German Expressionism.

LUCIANO GUERCI and GIUSEPPE RICUPERATI, editors. *Il coraggio della ragione: Franco Venturi intellectuale e storico cosmopolita*. Torino: Fondazione Luigi Einaudi. 1998. Pp. iv, 497. L. 59,000.

GIUSEPPE GIARRIZZO, Venturi e il problema degli intellettuali. ROBERTO VIVARELLI, Tra politica e storia: Appunit sulla formazione di Franco Venturi negli anni dell'esilio (1931–1940). EDOARDO TORTAROLO, L'esilio della libertà: Franco Venturi e la cultura europea degli anni Trenta. FURIO DIAZ, Utopia e riforma in Franco Venturi. BRONISLAW BACZKO, Opere uomini e idee: Fra il *Vrai système* e la *Jeunesse de Diderot*. DANIEL ROCHE, Histoire des idées, histoire de la culture, expériences françaises et expériences italiennes. GIUSEPPE GALASSO, Il modulo storiografico venturiano. LUCIANO GUERCI, Gli studi venturiani sull'Italia del '700: Dal *Vasco* agli *Illuministi italiani*. GIUSEPPE RICUPERATI, La "Rivista storica italiana" e la direzione di Franco Venturi: Un insegnamento cosmopolitico. ETTORE CINNELLA, Franco Venturi storico del populismo russo. ABBOTT GLEASON, Franco Venturi's *Russian Populism* in the English speaking world. VALENTINA A. TVARDOVSKAJA, La ricezione russa del *Populismo russo*. PIER GIORGIO ZUNINO, Socialismo e libertà nel giovane Venturi. NORBERTO BOBBIO, Ricordo di una lunga amicizia. ALESSANDRO GALANTE GARRONE, Testimonianza su Franco Venturi. GEORGIO VACCARINO, Il carteggio tra Franco Venturi e Leo Valiani.

T. MICHAEL RUDDY, editor. *Charting an Independent Course: Finland's Place in the Cold War and in U.S. Foreign Policy*. Claremont, Calif.: Regina Books. 1998. Pp. 223. Cloth $32.95, paper $14.95.

KEITH W. OLSON, American Historians and the History of Finland Since 1939. GEORGE MAUDE, The Cold War as an Episode in Finnish History. R. MICHAEL BERRY, The Ideology and Politics of Midwifery in American-Finnish Relations, 1943–45. JUSSI M. HANHIMÄKI, "We Are Not Czechs": Finland and the "Spring Crisis" of 1948 in Comparative Perspective. CHARLES SILVA, If Finland Weren't Finland, Would Sweden Be Finland? The Finland Argument as a Rationale for Swedish Neutrality in the Early Cold War. T. MICHAEL RUDDY, "The Road to Nowhere": Finland's Place in U.S. Cold War Policy. ROBERT W. MATSON, Finlandization: A Retrospective.

CATRIONA KELLY and DAVID SHEPHERD, editors. *Russian Cultural Studies: An Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 428. Cloth $75.00, paper $19.95.

CATRIONA KELLY, HILARY PILKINTON, DAVID SHEPHERD, and VADIM VOLKOV, Why Cultural Studies? PETER KENEZ and DAVID SHEPHERD, "Revolutionary" Models for High Literature: Resisting Poetics. STEPHEN LOVELL and ROSALIND MARSH, Culture and Crisis: The Intelligentsia and Literature after 1953. BIRGIT BEUMERS, Performing Culture: Theatre. ANNA FERENC, Music in the Socialist State. GERALD MCBURNEY, Soviet Music after the Death of Stalin: The Legacy of Shostakovich. CATRIONA KELLY and ROBIN MILNER-GULLAND, Building a New Reality: The Visual Arts, 1921–1953. STEPHEN WHITE, The Art of the Political Poster. JULIAN GRAFFY, Cinema. FRAN ELLIS, The Media as Social Engineer. CATRIONA KELLY, Creating a Consumer: Advertising and Commercialization. CATRIONA KELLY, The Retreat from Dogmatism: Populism under Khrushchev and Brezhnev. JANE ELLIS, Religion and Orthodoxy. CATRIONA KELLY, Russian Culture and Emigration, 1921–1953. MARK BANTING, CATRIONA KELLY, and JAMES RIORDAN, Sexuality. LYNNE ATTWOOD, Gender Angst in Russian Society and Cinema in the Post-Stalin Era. HILARY PILKINGTON, "The Future is Ours": Youth Culture in Russia, 1953 to the Present. CATRIONA KELLY, DAVID SHEPHERD, and STEPHEN WHITE, Towards Post-Soviet Pluralism? Postmodernism and Beyond.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Documents and Bibliographies

Books listed were recently received in the *AHR* office. Works of these types cannot normally be reviewed by the *AHR*.

METHODS/THEORY

BORIS, EILEEN, and NUPUR CHAUDHURI. *Voices of Women Historians*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999. Pp. xx, 295. Cloth $39.95, paper $19.95.

GLABERMAN, MARTIN, editor. *Marxism for Our Times: C. L. R. James on Revolutionary Organization*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 1999. Pp. xxvii, 206. Cloth $45.00. paper $18.00.

ASIA

KHAN, JAHAN DAD. *Pakistan Leadership Challenges*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xx, 359. $29.95.

MCKNIGHT, BRIAN E., and JAMES T. C. LIU, translators. *The Enlightened Judgements: Ch'ing-ming Chi; The Sung Dynasty Collection*. Foreword by BRIAN E. MCKNIGHT. (SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 567. $24.95.

NEHRU, JAWAHARLAL. *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*. Volume 22 *(1 April 1953–30 June 1953)*. Edited by RAVINDER KUMAR and H. Y. SHARADA PRASAD. (Second Series.) New Delhi: Jawharlal Nehru Memorial Fund; distributed by Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. 614. $29.95.

NEHRU, JAWAHARLAL. *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*. Volume 23 *(1 July 1953–30 September 1953)*. Edited by RAVINDER KUMAR and H. Y. SHARADA PRASAD. (Second Series.) New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund; distributed by Oxford University Press, New York. 1998. Pp. 634. Rs. 650.

PHAN-BỘI-CHÂU. *Overturned Chariot: The Autobiography of Phan-Bội-Châu*. Translated by VINH SINH and NICHOLAS WICKENDEN. (SHAPS Library of Translations.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1999. Pp. x, 296. $28.00.

OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

GUTHRIE-SMITH, HERBERT. *Tutira: The Story of a New Zealand Sheep Station*. (Weyerhaeuser Environmental Classics.) Paperback edition. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1999. Pp. xxiii, 464. $24.95.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

ANDERSON, CLARENCE E. *To Fly and Fight: Memoirs of a Triple Ace*. Assisted by JOSEPH P. HAMELIN. Foreword by CHUCK YEAGER. Reprint. Pacifica, Calif.: Pacifica Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 306. $29.95.

BARNICKEL, LINDA A., compiler. *We Enlisted as Patriots: The Civil War Records of Battery G, 2nd Illinois Light Artillery*. Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, Inc. 1999. Pp. ix, 162. $22.00.

BERGSTON, HENRY. *On the Left in America: Memoirs of the Scandinavian-American Labor Movement*. Translated by KERMIT B. WESTERBERG. Edited by MICHAEL BROOK. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, in association with the Swedish-American Historical Society. 1999. Pp. xv, 237. Cloth $39.95, paper $19.95.

BOYD, JULIAN P. *The Declaration of Independence: The Evolution of the Text*. Edited by GERARD W. GAWALT. Rev. ed. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, in association with the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, Inc. Distributed by the University Press of New England, Hanover, N.H. 1999. Pp. 102.

BRENNAN, WILLIAM J., JR. *The Conscience of the Court: Selected Opinions of Justice William J. Brennan Jr. on Freedom and Equality*. Edited by STEPHEN L. SEPINUCK and MARY PAT TREUTHART. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 255. $39.95.

BURGETT, DONALD R. *Currahee! A Screaming Eagle at Normandy*. Forewords by STEPHEN E. AMBROSE and MARTIN BLUMENSON. Reprint. Novato, Calif.: Presidio. 1999. Pp. xiv, 195. $24.95.

CAMP, R. D., JR. *Lima-6: A Marine Company Commander in Vietnam*. Assisted by ERIC HAMMEL. Reprint. Pacifica, Calif.: Pacifica Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 295. $19.95.

DIX, DOROTHEA. *Asylum, Prison, and Poorhouse: The Writings and Reform Work of Dorothea Dix in Illinois*. Edited by DAVID L. LIGHTNER. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 161. $19.95.

DOUGLASS, FREDERICK. *The Frederick Douglass Papers*. Volume 1, *Narrative*. Edited by JOHN W. BLASSINGAME, JOHN R. MCKIVIGAN, and PETER P. HINKS. Assisted by GERALD FULKERSON *et al.* (Series Two, Autobiographical Writings.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. lvi, 222. $45.00.

DUANE, CHARLES P. *Against the Vigilantes: The Recollections of Dutch Charley Duane*. Edited by JOHN BOESSENECKER. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 225. $27.95.

EASTON, HOSEA. *To Heal the Scourge of Prejudice: The Life and Writings of Hosea Easton*. Edited by GEORGE R. PRICE and JAMES BREWER STEWART. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1999. Pp. 123. Cloth $30.00, paper $14.95.

EDWARDS, JONATHAN. *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*. Volume 17, *Sermons and Discourses, 1730–1733*. Edited by MARK VALERI. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 480. $80.00.

GIANGRECO, D. M., and KATHRYN MOORE, editors. *Dear Harry: The Truman Administration Through Correspondence With "Everyday Americans."* Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 1999. Pp. xvi, 512. $34.95.

GORDON, HAROLD J., JR. *One Man's War: A Memoir of World*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

War II. Edited by NANCY M. GORDON. New York: Apex. 1999. Pp. xvi, 131. $11.95.

HARRIS, LEONARD, editor. *The Critical Pragmatism of Alain Locke: A Reader on Value Theory, Aesthetics, Community, Culture, Race, and Education*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1999. Pp. xxv, 357. Cloth $67.50, paper $24.95.

HOLZER, HAROLD, editor. *The Union Preserved: A Guide to Civil War Records in the New York State Archives*. Compiled by DANIEL LORELLO. Forewords by HAROLD HOLZER, HANS L. TREFOUSSE, and JAMES M. MCPHERSON. Bronx, N.Y.: Fordham University Press, New York State Archives Partnership Trust, New York. 1999. Pp. xix, 172. $39.95.

HOROWITZ, DAVID A., editor. *Inside the Klavern: The Secret History of a Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 175. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

JABLONSKY, DAVID, editor. *Roots of Strategy*. Book 4. Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 1999. Pp. vii, 533. $19.95.

JOHNSON, HOWARD WESLEY. *Holding the Center: Memoirs of a Life in Higher Education*. Foreword by JOHN S. REED. Cambridge: MIT Press. 1999. Pp. xxii, 331. $34.95.

LOMAX, JUDITH. *The Sabbath Journal of Judith Lomax, 1774–1828*. Edited by LAURA HOBGOOD-OSTER. (American Academy of Religion Texts and Translations Series.) Georgia: Scolars Press. 1999. Pp. 162. $24.95.

QUIRK, RORY F. *Wars and Peace: The Memoirs of an American Family*. Novato, Calif.: Presidio. 1999. Pp. xi, 264. $24.95.

SCOTT, WILLIAM E. *November 22, 1963: A Reference Guide to the JFK Assassination*. Foreword by CYRIL H. WECHT. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1999. Pp. xii, 281. Cloth $39.00, paper $10.95.

SILBEY, JOEL H., editor. *The American Party Battle: Election Campaign Pamphlets, 1828–1876*. (The John Harvard Library.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. In two volumes. 1999. Pp. xxiv, 284; xxiv, 272. Cloth $39.95, paper $16.95; cloth $39.95, paper $16.95.

SMITH, KRISTEN M., editor. *The Lines are Drawn: Political Cartoons of the Civil War*. Assisted by JENNIFER L. GROSS. Athens, Ga.: Hill Street Press. 1999. Pp. xix, 155. $18.50.

STEINMAN, RON. *The Soldiers' Story: Vietnam in Their Own Words*. New York: TV Books. 1999. Pp. 367. $27.95.

STORRS, MONICA. *Companions of the Peace: Diaries and Letters of Monica Storrs, 1931–1939*. Edited by VERA K. FAST. Foreword by VERA K. FAST and MARY KINNEAR. Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 246. Cloth $50.00, paper $19.95.

UYS, ERROL LINCOLN. *Riding the Rails: Teenagers on the Move During the Great Depression*. New York: TV Books. 1999. Pp. 303. $24.95.

VILA, BRYAN, and CYNTHIA MORRIS, editors. *The Role of Police in American Society: A Documentary History*. (Primary Documents in American History and Contemporary Issues.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1999. Pp. xxi, 318. $49.95.

WALKER, PAUL D. *Jungle Dragoon: The Memoir of an Armored Cav Platoon Leader in Vietnam*. Novato, Calif.: Presidio. 1999. Pp. xiii, 230. $24.95.

WASHINGTON, GEORGE. *George Washington's Diaries: An Abridgment*. Edited by DOROTHY TWOHIG. (The Papers of George Washington.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1999. Pp. xxxi, 453. Cloth $65.00, paper $18.95.

WELLS, IDA B. *et al. The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition: The Afro-American's Contribution to Columbian Literature*. Edited by ROBERT W. RYDELL. Reprint. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1999. Pp. xlviii, 81. Cloth $29.95, paper $14.95.

WHELCHEL, TOSHIO. *From Pearl Harbor to Saigon: Japanese American Soldiers and the Vietnam War*. (The Haymarket Series.) New York: Verso. 1999. Pp. xx, 203. $25.00.

WHITE, MORTON. *A Philosopher's Story*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 363. $45.00.

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

HERR, ROBERT WOODMANSEE. *An American Family in the Mexican Revolution*. Assisted by RICHARD HERR. (Latin American Silhouettes: Studies in History and Culture.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 1999. Pp. xlvi, 263. $55.00.

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

BELLINGER, ALFRED R., and PHILIP GRIERSON, editors. *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittmore Collection*. Volume 4, *Alexius I to Michael VIII, 1081–1261*. Part 1, *Alexius I to Alexius V, 1081–1204*. Part 2, *The Emperors of Nicaea and Their Contemporaries, 1204–1261*. Edited by MICHAEL F. HENDY. (Dumbarton Oaks Catalogues.) Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. In two volumes. 1999. Pp. xi, 443; vi, 447–736. $240.00 the set.

KOLLER, HEINRICH, and PAUL-JOACHIM HEINIG. *Regesten Kaiser Friedrichs III: (1440–1493)*. Vol 1–10 with Supplement 1 and Regesta Friderici. Assited by DIETER RÜBSAMEN. (Kommission für die Neubearbeitung der Regesta Imperii bei der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; Deutsche Kommission für die Bearbeitung der Regesta Imperii bei der Akademie der. Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz.) CD-Rom ed. Cologne: Böhlau. 1998.

DE KÉZA, SIMONIS. *Gesta Hungarorum/The Deeds of the Hungarians*. Edited and Translated by LÁSZLÓ VESZPRÉMY and FRANK SCHAER. Foreword by JENO SZUCS. (Central European Medieval Texts.) New York: Central European University Press. 1999. Pp. cii, 235. $49.95.

MALMESBURY, WILLIAM of. *Historia Novella: The Contemporary History*. Edited by EDMUND KING. Translated by K. R. POTTER. (Oxford Medieval Texts.) New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1998. Pp. cix, 143. $72.00.

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

BENTHAM, JEREMY. *"Legislator of the World": Writings on Codification, Law, and Education*. Edited by PHILIP SCHOFIELD and JONATHAN HARRIS. (The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham.) New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1998. Pp. lviii, 450. $110.00.

CHEVIGNARD, BERNARD, editor. *Présages de Nostradamus*. Paris: Editions de Seuil. 1999. Pp. 498. 140fr.

I documenti diplomatici italiani: Seconda serie; 1870–1896. Volume 26, *15 dicembre 1893–31 marzo 1895*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello stato. 1999. Pp. lxxvii, 751.

FRANKENTHAL, HANS. *Verweigerte Rückkehr: Erfahrungen nach dem Judenmord*. Assisted by ANDREAS PLAKE, BABETTE QUINKERT, and FLORIAN SCHMALTZ. (Lebensbilder: Jüdische Erinnerungen und Zeugnisse; Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1999. Pp. 187. DM 18.90.

HANSEN, JOSEPH, editor. *Rheinische Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte der politischen Bewegung 1830–1850*. Volume 3, *1849–1850*. Assisted by HEINZ BOBERACH. (Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde, number 36.) Düsseldorf: Droste. 1998. Pp. 498. DM 128.

MENGOZZI, DINO, editor. *Il Tricolore in Romagna: Opuscoli canzoni e catechismi giacobini 1796–1799*. (Realtá regionale: fonti e studi, number 24.) Bologna: University Press

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bologna. In two volumes. 1998. Pp. 464; 465–991. L. 100,000 the set.

NICHOLAS, DAVID, and WALTER PREVENIER, editors. *Gentse Stads- en Baljuwsrekeningen (1365–1376)*. Brussels: Académie Royale, for the Commission Royale d'Histoire. 1999. Pp. xxx, 539.

RINTELEN VON KLEIST, FRANZ. *The Dark Invader: Wartime Reminiscences of a German Naval Intelligence Officer*. Foreword by REINHARD R. DOERRIES. (Classics of Espionage.) 2d ed. Portland, Oreg.: Frank Cass. 1999. Pp. xxxvii, 287. $18.50.

TULOT, JEAN LUC, editor. *Correspondance du Marquis et de la Marquise de la Moussaye (1619–1663)*. Foreword by JANINE GARRISSON. (Pages d'archives, number 7.) Paris: Honore Champion. 1999. Pp. 440. 340fr.

WALBERG, ERNST-JÜRGEN, and THOMAS BALZER. *Erinnerungen für die Zukunft: Geschichten und Geschichte aus dem Norden der DDR*. Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz. 1999. Pp. 240. DM 34.

WHITELEY, SUSAN MEHLER. *Appel is Forever: A Child's Memoir*. Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 1999. Pp. 168.

ZDATNY, STEVEN, editor. *Hairstyles and Fashion: A Hairdresser's History of Paris, 1910–1920*. (Dress, Body, Culture.) New York: Berg. 1999. Pp. vii, 204. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.50.

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

EBRAHIM, HASSEN. *The Soul of a Nation: Constitution-Making in South Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 699. $55.00.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Other Books Received

The following books were recently received in the *AHR* office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

METHODS/THEORY

DONHAM, DONALD L. *History, Power, Ideology: Central Issues in Marxism and Anthropology*. Paperback edition. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xix, 240.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

ADAMS, CHARLES. *For Good and Evil: The Impact of Taxes on the Course of Civilization*. 2d ed. Lanham, Md.: Madison. 1999. Pp. xxiii, 541. $29.95.

DRESCHER, SEYMOUR. *From Slavery to Freedom: Comparative Studies in the Rise and Fall of Atlantic Slavery*. Foreword by STANLEY L. ENGERMAN. New York: New York University Press. 1999. Pp. xxv, 454. $45.00.

ELLIS, WILLIAM S. *Glass: From the First Mirror to Fiber Optics, the Story of the Substance that Changed the World*. Paperback edition. New York: Avon. 1999. Pp. x, 306. $14.00.

PENDERGRAST, MARK. *Uncommon Grounds: The History of Coffee and How It Transformed Our World*. New York: Basic Books. 1999. Pp. xix, 520. $27.50.

POMERANZ, KENNETH, and STEVEN TOPIK. *The World That Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400-the Present*. (Sources and Studies in World History.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1999. Pp. xvii, 256. $34.95.

STEARNS, PETER N. *Fat History: Bodies and Beauty in the Modern West*. Paperback edition. New York: New York University Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 294. $18.95.

TRAHAIR, RICHARD C. S. *Utopias and Utopians: An Historical Dictionary*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1999. Pp. xvi, 480. $95.00.

VADNEY, T. E. *The World since 1945*. 3d ed. New York: Penguin. 1998. Pp. 605. $14.95.

WASWO, RICHARD. *The Founding Legend of Western Civilization: From Virgil to Vietnam*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, for Wesleyan University Press. 1997. Pp. xvii, 373. $29.95.

WHITAKER, EWEN A. *Mapping and Naming the Moon: A History of Lunar Cartography and Nomenclature*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xix, 242. $59.95.

ASIA

ALAM, MUZAFFAR, and SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM, editors. *The Mughal State 1526–1750*. (Oxford in India Readings: Themes in Indian History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 536. $35.00.

BRECHER, MICHAEL. *Nehru: A Political Biography*. Reprint. New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. xvi, 682. $29.95.

CHAMBERS, JAMES. *Genghis Khan*. (Sutton Pocket Biographies.) Sutton Publishing. 1999. Pp. xiv, 111.

CLOUGHLEY, BRIAN. *A History of the Pakistan Army: Wars and Insurrections*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 384. $29.95.

COHEN, STEPHEN P. *The Pakistan Army*. Rev. ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 195. $12.95.

CUTLER, SUZANNE. *Managing Decline: Japan's Coal Industry Restructuring and Community Response*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 215. Cloth $53.00, paper $29.95.

GUHA, RANAJIT. *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*. Foreword by JAMES SCOTT. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 361. $21.95.

HENSHALL, KENNETH G. *A History of Japan: From Stone Age to Superpower*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xvi, 242. $45.00.

LYNCH, DANIEL C. *After the Propaganda State: Media, Politics, and "Thought Work" in Reformed China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 327. $45.00.

RAMUSACK, BARBARA N., and SHARON SIEVERS. *Women in Asia: Restoring Women to History*. (Restoring Women to History.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999. Pp. li, 266. Cloth $35.00, paper $14.95.

SEABROOK, JEREMY. *Love in a Different Climate: Men Who Have Sex with Men in India*. New York: Verso. 1999. Pp. viii, 184. $25.00.

SMITH, MARTIN. *Burma: Insurgency and the Politics of Ethnicity*. 2d ed., rev. Zed Books: New York; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1999. Pp. xxi, 521. Cloth $69.95, paper $29.95.

STRANAHAN, PATRICIA. *Underground: The Shanghai Communist Party and the Politics of Survival, 1927–1937*. (State and Society in East Asia.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1998. Pp. xii, 289. Cloth $65.00, paper $22.95.

THOMPSON, E. P. *'Alien Homage': Edward Thompson and Rabindranath Tagore*. Paperback edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. ix, 175. $13.95.

VERVOORN, AAT. *Re Orient: Change in Asian Societies*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. xxiv, 328. $19.95.

WELLER, ROBERT P. *Alternate Civilities: Democracy and Culture in China and Taiwan*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1999. Pp. xvi, 172. $60.00.

OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

PETROW, STEFAN. *Going to the Mechanics: A History of the Launceston Mechanics' Institute 1842–1914*. (Historical Survey of Northern Tasmania, number 4.) Launceston: Historical Survey of Northern Tasmania. 1998. Pp. vi, 216. $A15.00.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

ANDREWS, RICHARD N. L. *Managing the Environment, Managing Ourselves: A History of American Environmental Policy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 463. Cloth $65.00, paper $30.00.

BAKER, THOMAS N. *Sentiment and Celebrity: Nathaniel Parker Willis and the Trials of Literary Fame*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 252. $49.95.

BATES, J. LEONARD. *Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana: Law and Public Affairs, from TR to FDR*. Foreword by RICHARD LOWITT. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 410. $39.95.

BENNETT, CYNTHIA LARSEN. *Roadside History of Utah*. Missoula: Mountain. 1999. Pp. xiv, 401. $18.00.

BOESCHENSTEIN, WARREN. *Historic American Towns along the Atlantic Coast*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, in cooperation with the Center for American Places, Santa Fe, N.Mex. and Harrisonburg, Va. 1999. Pp. xv, 331. $39.95.

BOYD, ROBERT, editor. *Indians, Fire, and the Land in the Pacific Northwest*. Corvallis, Oreg.: Oregon State University Press. 1999. Pp. 313. $34.95.

BRADY, CHRISTOPHER. *United States Foreign Policy Towards Cambodia, 1977–92: A Question of Realities*. (Contemporary Histories in Context.) New York: St. Martin's, in association with the Institute of Contemporary British History. 1999. Pp. xxvi, 227. $65.00.

BREEN, WILLIAM J. *Labor Market Politics and the Great War: The Department of Labor, the States, and the First U.S. Employment Service, 1907–1933*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1997. Pp. xix, 233. $35.00.

BUHLE, PAUL. *Taking Care of Business: Samuel Gompers, George Meany, Lane Kirkland, and the Tragedy of American Labor*. New York: Monthly Review Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 315. Cloth $40.00, paper $18.00.

BUTTENWIESER, ANN L. *Manhattan Water-Bound: Manhattan's Waterfront from the Seventeenth Century to the Present*. Foreword by ROBERT A. M. STERN. (New York City History and Culture.) 2d ed. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1999. Pp. xxvii, 308. $19.95.

CARLSON, LAURIE WINN. *A Fever in Salem: A New Interpretation of the New England Witch Trials*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 1999. Pp. xvi, 197. $24.95.

CARTER, ARTHUR B. *The Tarnished Cavalier: Major General Earl Van Dorn, C.S.A*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 247. $42.00.

CHIN, SOO-YOUNG. *Doing What Had to Be Done: The Life Narrative of Dora Yum Kim*. (Asian American History and Culture.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 229. Cloth $65.50, paper $21.95.

CLAMORGAN, CYPRIAN. *The Colored Aristocracy of St. Louis*. Edited by JULIE WINCH. Reprint. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 122. $27.50.

CLENDENNING, JOHN. *The Life and Thought of Josiah Royce*. Rev. ed. Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 446. Cloth $49.95, paper $24.95.

COHEN, RICHARD E. *Rostenkowski: The Pursuit of Power and the End of the Old Politics*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 1999. Pp. 311. $27.50.

COOPER, PATRICIA, and NORMA BRADLEY ALLEN. *The Quilters: Women and Domestic Art; An Oral History*. Reprint. Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press. 1999. Pp. 159. $17.95.

COULTER, E. MERTON. *William G. Brownlow: Fighting Parson of the Southern Highlands*. Foreword by STEPHEN V. ASH. (The Appalachian Echoes Series.) Reprint. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 432. $25.00.

CROSS, COY F., II. *Justin Smith Morrill: Father of the Land-Grant Colleges*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 159. $24.95.

DAVIS, BURKE. *They Called Him Stonewall: A Life of Lt. General T. J. Jackson, C.S.A*. Reprint. Short Hills, N.J.: Burford Books. 1999. Pp. x, 470. $18.95.

DAVIS, COLIN J. *Power at Odds: The 1922 National Railroad Shopmen's Strike*. (The Working Class in American History.) Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 244. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

DAWSON, JOSEPH G., III. *Doniphan's Epic March: The 1st Missouri Volunteers in the Mexican War*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1999. Pp. xii, 325. $35.00.

ECKHARDT, C. F. *Tales of Badmen, Bad Women, and Bad Places: Four Centuries of Texas Outlawry*. Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press. 1999. Pp. 224. Cloth $29.95, paper $15.95.

EDWARDS, LEE. *The Conservative Revolution: The Movement That Remade America*. New York: Free Press. 1999. Pp. 391. $27.50.

FAIR, JOHN D. *Muscletown USA: Bob Hoffman and the Manly Culture of York Barbell*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 420. Cloth $65.00, paper $23.50.

FARMER, JARED. *Glen Canyon Dammed: Inventing Lake Powell and the Canyon Country*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1999. Pp. xxvii, 269. $26 95.

FASS, PAULA S. *Kidnapped: Child Abduction in America*. Paperback edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 324. $15.95.

FAVOR, J. MARTIN. *Authentic Blackness: The Folk in the New Negro Renaissance*. (New Americanists Series.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 187. Cloth $49.95, paper $17.95.

FINNEGAN, JOHN PATRICK. *Military Intelligence*. Assisted by ROMANA DANYSH. (Army Lineage Series.) Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History. 1998. Pp. xx, 437. $39.00.

FOLSON, BURTON W., JR. *No More Free Markets or Free Beer: The Progressive Era in Nebraska 1900–1924*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 1999. Pp. xii, 182. $40.00.

FRANTZ, KLAUS. *Indian Reservations in the United States: Territory, Sovereignty, and Socioeconomic Change*. (University of Chicago Geography Research Paper, number 242.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. xxvi, 370. $25.00.

FRASER, GERTRUDE JACINTA. *African American Midwifery in the South: Dialogues of Birth, Race, and Memory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 287. $39.95.

FRASER, JAMES W. *Between Church and State: Religion and Public Education in a Multicultural America*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. x, 278. $24.95.

FRIEDMAN, MURRAY, and ALBERT D. CHERNIN, editors. *A Second Exodus: The American Movement to Free Soviet Jews*. (Brandeis Series in American Jewish History, Culture, and Life.) Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. Brandeis University Press. 1999. Pp. vi, 265. Cloth $45.00, paper $17.95.

GARRISON, NANCY SCRIPTURE. *With Courage and Delicacy: Civil War on the Peninsula, Women and the U.S. Sanitary Commission*. Mason City, Iowa: Savas. 1999. Pp. vii, 242. $24.95.

GELERNTER, MARK. *A History of American Architecture: Buildings in Their Cultural and Technological Context*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 1999. Pp. xxii, 346. $50.00.

GERGES, FAWAZ A. *America and Political Islam: Clash of Cultures or Clash of Interests?* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 282. Cloth $59.95, paper $18.95.

GOOD, ALBERT H. *Park and Recreation Structures*. Foreword by RANDALL J. BIALLAS. Reprint. New York: Princeton

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Architectural Press. Three Parts in One Volume. 1999. Pp. ix, 200; v, 212; v, 192. $85.00.

GREENBERG, DANIEL S. *The Politics of Pure Science*. Forewords by JOHN MADDOX and STEVEN SHAPIN. 2d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. xxvii, 311. Cloth $49.00, paper $15.00.

GREGORY, STEVEN. *Black Corona: Race and the Politics of Place in an Urban Community*. (Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History.) Paperback edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 282. $15.95.

HARDESTY, NANCY A. *Women Called to Witness: Evangelical Feminism in the Nineteenth Century*. 2d ed. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 207. Cloth $30.00, paper $15.00.

HARKEY, IRA B. *Noel Wien: Alaska Pioneer Bush Pilot*. Foreword by TERRENCE COLE. (Classic Reprint Series, number 7.) Reprint. Fairbanks, Alas.: University of Alaska Press. 1999. Pp. xxvii, 307. Cloth $34.95, paper 24.95.

HARRIS, BRAYTON. *Blue & Gray in Black & White: Newspapers in the Civil War*. McLean, Va.: Brassey's. 1999. Pp. xi, 365. $25.95.

HARRIS, DARYL B. *The Logic of Black Urban Rebellions: Challenging the Dynamics of White Domination in Miami*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1999. Pp. xii, 143. $55.00.

HAUPTMAN, LAURENCE M., and L. GORDON MCLESTER III, editors. *The Oneida Indian Journey: From New York to Wisconsin, 1784–1860*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 221. Cloth $40.00, paper $16.95.

HAYWARD, MARY ELLEN, and CHARLES BELFOURE. *The Baltimore Rowhouse*. Foreword by JAMES MARSTON FITCH. New York: Princeton Architectural Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 211. $30.00.

HOFMANN, GEORGE F., and DONN A. STARRY, editors. *Camp Colt to Desert Storm: The History of U.S. Armored Forces*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1999. Pp. xxii, 633. $34.95.

HOHNER, ROBERT A. *Prohibition and Politics: The Life of Bishop James Cannon, Jr.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 454. $45.00.

IVEY, PAUL ELI. *Prayers in Stone: Christian Science Architecture in the United States, 1894–1930*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 227. $49.95.

KASSAY, JOHN. *The Book of American Windsor Furniture: Styles and Technologies*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 195. $49.95.

KENS, PAUL. *Lochner v. New York: Economic Regulation on Trial*. (Landmark Law Cases and American Society.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1998. Pp. ix, 216. Cloth $29.95, paper $12.95.

KING, J. C. H. *First Peoples, First Contacts: Native Peoples of North America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. 288. Cloth $45.00, paper $24.95.

KLINGHOFFER, JUDITH A. *Vietnam, Jews and the Middle East: Unintended Consequences*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xi, 232. $45.00.

KUEHL, WARREN F., and LYNNE K. DUNN. *Keeping the Covenant: American Internationalists and the League of Nations, 1920–1939*. (American Diplomatic History.) Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1997. Pp. xvii, 306. $49.00.

LAWRENCE, VERA BRODSKY. *Strong on Music: The New York Music Scene in the Days of George Templeton Strong*. Volume 3, *Repercussions, 1857—1862*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. xxviii, 630. Cloth $65.00, paper $25.00.

LEVERING, RALPH B., and MIRIAM L. LEVERING. *Citizen Action for Global Change: The Neptune Group and the Law of the Sea*. (Syracuse Studies on Peace and Conflict Resolution.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1999. Pp. xx, 189. Cloth $45.00, paper $19.95.

LEVY, LEONARD W. *Origins of the Bill of Rights*. (Contemporary Law Series.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 306. $30.00.

LEWIS, R. W. B., and NANCY LEWIS. *American Characters: Selections from the National Portrait Gallery, Accompanied by Literary Portraits*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 412. $45.00.

LIEDTKE, BORIS N. *Embracing a Dictatorship: US Relations with Spain, 1945–53*. New York: St. Martin's. 1998. Pp. ix, 230. $59.95.

MARABLE, MANNING. *Black Leadership: Four Great American Leaders and the Struggle for Civil Rights*. Reprint. New York: Penguin. 1998. Pp. xvii, 238. $13.95.

MCNAMARA, ROBERT S., JAMES G. BLIGHT, and ROBERT K. BRIGHAM. *Argument Without End: In Search of Answers to the Vietnam Tragedy*. Assisted by THOMAS J. BIERSTEKER and HERBERT Y. SCHANDLER. New York: PublicAffairs. 1999. Pp. xxiii, 479. $27.50.

MELLOW, JAMES R. *Walker Evans*. Foreword by HILTON KRAMER. New York: BasicBooks. 1999. Pp. 654. $40.00.

MELNICK, RALPH. *The Stolen Legacy of Anne Frank: Meyer Levin, Lillian Hellman, and the Staging of the Diary*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1997. Pp. xxii, 268. $27.50.

MELODY, M. E., and LINDA M. PETERSON. *Teaching America About Sex: Marriage Guides and Sex Manuals from the Late Victorians to Dr. Ruth*. New York: New York University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 287. $28.95.

MORAWSKA, EWA. *Insecure Prosperity: Small-Town Jews in Industrial America, 1890–1940*. Paperback edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. xxv, 369. $19.95.

MORRIS, MICHAEL P. *The Bringing of Wonder: Trade and the Indians of the Southeast, 1700–1783*. (Contributions in Comparative Colonial Studies, number 36.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1999. Pp. 160. $55.00.

NAISAWALD, L. VANLOAN. *Grape and Canister: The Story of the Field Artillery of the Army of the Potomac, 1861–1865*. 2d ed. Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 1999. Pp. xviii, 494. $34.95.

NAMORATO, MICHAEL V. *The Catholic Church in Mississippi, 1911–1984: A History*. (Contributions to the Study of Religion, number 54.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1998. Pp. xxiii, 313. $59.95.

NARDO, DON, editor. *North American Indian Wars*. (Turning Points in World History.) San Diego: Greenhaven Press Inc. 1999. Pp. 221.

NERI, MICHAEL CHARLES. *Hispanic Catholicism in Transitional California: The Life of José González Rubio, O.F.M. (1804–1875)*. (Academy of American Franciscan History Monography Series, number 14.) Berkeley, Calif.: Academy of American Franciscan History. 1997. Pp. xii, 175.

OHAEGBULAM, F. UGBOAJA. *A Concise Introduction to American Foreign Policy*. New York: Peter Lang. 1999. Pp. xix, 394.

PAYANT, KATHERINE B., and TOBY ROSE, editors. *The Immigrant Experience in North American Literature: Carving Out a Niche*. (Contributions to the Study of American Literature, number 4.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1999. Pp. xxvii, 190. $55.00.

PITT, LEONARD. *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846–1890*. Foreword by RAMÓN A. GUTIÉRREZ. Rev. ed. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1998. Pp. xvi, 324. $15.95.

POPKIN, WILLIAM D. *Statutes in Court: The History and Theory of Statutory Interpretation*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1999. Pp. 340. $54.95.

POSNER, RICHARD A. *An Affair of State: The Investigation, Impeachment, and Trial of President Clinton*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 276. $24.95.

PROMEY, SALLY M. *Painting Religion in Public: John Singer Sargent's* Triumph of Religion *at the Boston Public Library*.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 365. $45.00.

PYNE, STEPHEN J. *How the Canyon Became Grand: A Short History*. Paperback edition. New York: Penguin. 1999. Pp. xviii, 199. $12.95.

REILLY, P. T. *Lee's Ferry: From Mormon Crossing to National Park*. Edited by ROBERT H. WEBB. Assisted by RICHARD D. QUARTAROLI. Logan: Utah State University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 542. Cloth $39.95, paper $21.95.

REMINI, ROBERT V., *et al. Gathering History: The Marian S. Carson Collection of Americana*. Edited by SARA DAY. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress; distributed by the University Press of New England, Hanover, N.H. 1999. Pp. ix, 124.

RHODES, JANE. *Mary Ann Shadd Cary: The Black Press and Protest in the Nineteenth Century*. Paperback edition. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 284. $18.95.

RIESS, STEVEN A. *Touching Base: Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era*. (Sport and Society.) Rev. ed. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1999. Pp. x, 308. Cloth $49.95, paper $18.95.

RILEY, RUSSELL L. *The Presidency and the Politics of Racial Inequality: Nation-Keeping from 1831 to 1965*. (Power, Conflict, and Democracy: American Politics Into the Twenty-First Century.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 373. Cloth $49.50, paper $22.50.

ROBERTS, WILLIAM H. *USS* New Ironsides *in the Civil War*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 188. $49.95.

ROCHESTER, STUART I., and FREDERICK KILEY. *Honor Bound: American Prisoners of War in Southeast Asia, 1961–1973*. Reprint. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 706. $36.95.

ROY, WILLIAM G. *Socializing Capital: The Rise of the Large Industrial Corporation in America*. Paperback edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 338. $18.95.

RYAN, ALLAN J. *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony in Contemporary Native Art*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. University of Washington Press, Seattle. 1999. Pp. xv, 303.

SAITO, LELAND T. *Race and Politics: Asian Americans, Latinos, and Whites in a Los Angeles Suburb*. Foreword by ROGER DANIELS. (The Asian American Experience.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 250. Cloth $49.95, paper $21.95.

SANDERS, ELIZABETH. *Roots of Reform: Farmers, Workers, and the American State, 1877–1917*. (American Politics and Political Economy.) Paperback edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. x, 532. $16.00.

SCHEFTER, JAMES. *The Race: The Uncensored Story of How America Beat Russia to the Moon*. New York: Doubleday. 1999. Pp. xii, 303. $24.95.

SMALL, MELVIN. *The Presidency of Richard Nixon*. (American Presidency Series.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1999. Pp. xix, 387. $29.95.

SMITH, ANDREW F. *Popped Culture: A Social History of Popcorn in America*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xxi, 264. $24.95.

SMITH, MARK M. *Debating Slavery: Economy and Society in the Antebellum American South*. (New Studies in Economic and Social History.) New York: Cambridge University Press, for the Economic History Society. 1998. Pp. xii, 117. Cloth $39.95, paper $11.95.

STEEL, RONALD. *Walter Lippman and the American Century*. Reprint. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction. 1999. Pp. xix, 669. $29.95.

STEEPLES, DOUGLAS, and DAVID O. WHITTEN. *Democracy in Depression: The Depression of 1893*. (Contributions in Economics and Economic History, number 199.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1998. Pp. x, 261. $59.95.

STEPHENSON, DONALD GRIER, JR. *Campaigns and the Court: The U.S. Supreme Court in Presidential Elections*. (Power, Conflict, and Democracy.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 363. Cloth $49.50, paper $19.50.

STUART, PETER C. *Isles of Empire: The United States and Its Overseas Possessions*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1999. Pp. 486. Cloth $59.00, paper $37.50.

SZASZ, MARGARET CONNELL. *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination since 1928*. 3d ed., rev. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 326. $19.95.

TAYLOR, JOHN M. *Duty Faithfully Performed: Robert E. Lee and His Critics*. McLean, Va.: Brassey's. 1999. Pp. xv, 268. $27.95.

TAYLOR, WILLIAM BANKS. *Down on Parchman Farm: The Great Prison in the Mississippi Delta*. Foreword by PEGGY WHITMAN PRENSHAW. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 255. $16.95.

THWAITES, REUBEN GOLD. *Afloat on the Ohio: An Historical Pilgrimage of a Thousand Miles in a Skiff, From Redstone to Cairo*. (Shawnee Classics.) Reprint. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 334. $14.95.

TIJERINA, ANDRÉS. *Tejano Empire: Life on the South Texas Ranchos*. Assisted by RICARDO M. BEASLEY and SERVANDO G. HINOJOSA. (The Clayton Wheat Williams Texas Life Series, number 7.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1998. Pp. xxx, 159. $29.95.

TOLNAY, STEWART E. *The Bottom Rung: African American Family Life on Southern Farms*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 232. Cloth $45.00, paper $19.95.

TOMES, NANCY. *The Gospel of Germs: Men, Women, and the Microbe in American Life*. Paperback edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 351. $16.95.

TROIANI, DON, and BRIAN C. POHANKA. *Don Troiani's Civil War*. Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 1999. Pp. xxiv, 188. $29.95.

VALEO, FRANCIS R. *Mike Mansfield, Majority Leader: A Different Kind of Senate, 1961–1976*. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1999. Pp. xi, 284.

WALTER, JOHN. *The Guns that Won the West: Firearms on the American Frontier, 1848–1898*. Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 1999. Pp. 288. $34.95.

WASHINGTON, VERSALLE F. *Eagles on Their Buttons: A Black Infantry Regiment in the Civil War*. (Shades of Blue and Gray Series.) Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 113. $24.95.

WERT, JEFFRY D. *A Brotherhood of Valor: The Common Soldiers of the Stonewall Brigade, C.S.A., and the Iron Brigade, U.S.A*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1999. Pp. 413. $25.00.

WESTHEIDER, JAMES E. *Fighting on Two Fronts: African Americans and the Vietnam War*. Paperback edition. New York: New York University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 238. $17.95.

WHEELER, RICHARD. *Gettysburg 1863: Campaign of Endless Echoes*. (A Plume Book.) New York: Penguin. 1999. Pp. xiv, 302. $15.95.

WHITTINGTON, KEITH E. *Constitutional Construction: Divided Powers and Constitutional Meaning*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 303. $49.95.

WHITTINGTON, KEITH E. *Constitutional Interpretation: Textual Meaning, Original Intent, and Judicial Review*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1999. Pp. xiii, 299. $39.95.

WILHELM, CORNELIA. *Bewegung oder Verein? Nationalsozialistische Volkstumspolitik in den USA*. (Transatlantische Historische Studien, number 9.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1998. Pp. 329.

WILLIAMS, J. W. *The Big Ranch Country*. Foreword by LAW-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RENCE CLAYTON. (Double Mountain Books—Classic Reissues of the American West.) Reprint. Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press. 1999. Pp. 307. Paper $17.95.

WUESCHNER, SILVANO A. *Charting Twentieth-Century Monetary Policy: Herbert Hoover and Benjamin Strong, 1917–1927*. Foreword by ELLIS W. HAWLEY. (Contributions in Economics and Economic History, number 210.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1999. Pp. xi, 178. $59.95.

XING, JUN. *Asian Americans Through the Lens: History, Representations, and Identity*. (Critical Perspectives on Asian Pacific Americans Series.) Walnut Creek, Calif.: Altamira Press. 1998. Pp. 248. $21.00.

YEAGER, IVER F. *Julian M. Sturtevant 1805–1886: President of Illinois College, Ardent Churchman, Reflective Author*. Foreword by RICHARD A. PEAU. Jacksonville, Ill.: The Trustees of Illinois College. 1999. Pp. xxii, 537.

YOW, VALERIE RALEIGH. *Bernice Kelly Harris: A Good Life Was Writing*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1999. Pp. xx, 334. $39.95.

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

BLANTON, RICHARD E., *et al. Ancient Oaxaca: The Monte Albán State*. (Case Studies in Early Societies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 153. Cloth $49.95, paper $17.95.

EUBANKS, MARY W. *Corn in Clay: Maize Paleoethnobotany in Pre-Columbian Art*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 1999. Pp. xvi, 249. $49.95.

GORDON, SHIRLEY C. *Our Cause for His Glory: Christianisation and Emancipation in Jamaica*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies. 1998. Pp. xviii, 152. $25.00.

LEVINE, ROBERT M., and JOHN J. CROCITTI, editors. *The Brazil Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. (The Latin America Readers.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 527. Cloth $64.95, paper $21.95.

MACDONNELL, CARLOS SALVADOR. *Simplemente Evita: Hija dilecta de Los Toldos*. 2d ed. Buenos Aires: Corregidor. 1997. Pp. 206.

NAVARRO, MARYSA, and VIRGINIA SÁNCHEZ KORROL. *Women in Latin America and the Caribbean: Restoring Women to History*. Assisted by KECIA ALI. (Restoring Women to History.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999. Pp. lxvii, 128. Cloth $29.95, paper $11.95.

PAQUETTE, ROBERT L., and STANLEY L. ENGERMAN, editors. *The Lesser Antilles in the Age of European Expansion*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 1997. Pp. xii, 383. $49.95.

DE PAZ-SÁNCHEZ, MANUEL. *Zona Rebelde: La Diplomacia Española ante la Revolución Cubana (1957–1960)*. Foreword by JOSEP FONTANA. (Taller de Historia, number 22.) Tenerife: Centro de la Cultura Popular Canaria. 1997. Pp. 401.

SCHLESINGER, STEPHEN, and STEPHEN KINZER. *Bitter Fruit: The Story of the American Coup in Guatemala*. Rev. ed. Cambridge: Harvard University David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies; distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 1999. Pp. xxviii, 331. $19.95.

SCOTT, JOHN F. *Latin American Art: Ancient to Modern*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 1999. Pp. xxiv, 240. $49.95.

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

BROUN, DAUVIT. *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. (Studies in Celtic History, number 18.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1999. Pp. x, 228. $75.00.

DIXON, C. SCOTT, editor. *The German Reformation: The Essential Readings*. (Blackwell Essential Readings in History.) Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 1999. Pp. 288. $26.95.

GRETSCH, MECHTHILD. *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*. (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, number 25.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 471. $74.95.

KESSLER, ULRIKE. *Richard I. Löwenherz: König, Kreuzritter, Abenteurer*. Graz, Austria: Styria. 1995. Pp. 367.

LABUNKA, MIROSLAV. *The Legend of the Novgorodian White Cowl (The Study of Its "Prologue" and "Epilogue")*. (Monographs, number 56.) Munich: Ukrainian Free University. 1998. Pp. x, 339.

NARDO, DON, editor. *The Black Death*. (Turning Points in World History.) San Diego: Greenhaven Press Inc. 1999. Pp. 173.

SAUL, NIGEL. *Richard II*. (Yale English Monarchs.) Paperback edition. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 514. $18.00.

SEWARD, DESMOND. *The Hundred Years War: The English in France 1337–1453*. 2d ed. New York: Penguin. 1999. Pp. 296. $14.95.

WARD, BENEDICTA. *High King of Heaven: Aspects of Early English Spirituality*. (Cistercian Studies Series, number 181.) Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications. 1999. Pp. xi, 114.

WILLIAMS, A. N. *The Ground of Union: Deification in Aquinas and Palamas*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. 222. $49.00.

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

AHONEN, SIRKKA. *Historiaton sukupolvi? Historian vastaanotto ja historiallisen identiteetin rakentuminen 1990-luvun nuorison keskuudessa* [The No-History Generation? The Reception of History and the Construction of Historical Identity by Young People in the 1990s]. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 202.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1998. Pp. 213.

BAILEY, PETER. *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 258. $59.95.

BERRIDGE, VIRGINIA. *Health and Society in Britain since 1939*. (New Studies in Economic and Social History.) New York: Cambridge University Press, for the Economic History Society. 1999. Pp. viii, 133. Cloth $39.95, paper $13.95.

BLACK, JEREMY, editor. *European Warfare, 1453–1815*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. vii, 287. Cloth $59.95, paper $21.95.

BRADEN, GORDON. *Petrarchan Love and the Continental Renaissance*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 198. $25.00.

CHRIMES, S. B. *Henry VII*. (Yale English Monarchs.) Reprint. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. xxiv, 373. $18.00.

COBBAN, ALFRED. *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution*. Foreword by GWYNNE LEWIS. 2d ed. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xlix, 178. Cloth $49.95, paper $18.95.

COLLINS, IRENE. *Jane Austen: The Parson's Daughter*. Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press. 1998. Pp. xxi, 282. $40.00.

COPPA, FRANK J., editor. *Controversial Concordats: The Vatican's Relations with Napoleon, Mussolini, and Hitler*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 248. Cloth $44.95, paper $24.95.

DAVIS, JOHN. *A History of Britain, 1885–1939*. (British Studies Series.) New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. x, 300. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

DORMOIS, JEAN-PIERRE, and MICHAEL DINTENFASS, editors. *The British Industrial Decline*. (Routledge Explorations in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Economic History, number 10.) New York: Routledge. 1999. Pp. xii, 234. $95.00.

DOUGLAS, R. M. *Feminist Freikorps: The British Voluntary Women Police, 1914–1940*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1999. Pp. xiv, 171. $55.00.

DOYLE, WILLIAM. *Origins of the French Revolution*. 3d ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 237. Cloth $65.00, paper $19.95.

DURANT, DAVID N. *Bess of Hardwick: Portrait of an Elizabethan Dynast*. Paperback edition. London: Peter Owen. 1999. Pp. xiii, 274. $28.95.

FELIX, DAVID. *Keynes: A Critical Life*. (Contributions in Economics and Economic History, number 208.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1999. Pp. xvii, 322. $69.50.

FINNEY, PAUL CORBY, editor. *Seeing beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 1999. Pp. xviii, 540. $65.00.

FORBES, J. S. *Hallmark: A History of the London Assay Office*. Foreword by PHILIPPA GLANVILLE. London: Unicorn, in association with the Goldsmiths' Company. 1999. Pp. 367. $60.00.

FRASER, W. HAMISH. *A History of British Trade Unionism, 1700–1998*. (British Studies Series.) New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. vii, 291. $55.00.

FULBROOK, MARY. *German National Identity after the Holocaust*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 1999. Pp. vii, 248. $24.95.

GAW, JERRY L. *"A Time to Heal": The Diffusion of Listerism in Victorian Britain*. (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, number 89, part 1.) Philadelphia, Pa.: American Philosophical Society. 1999. Pp. xii, 173.

GEMIE, SHARIF. *French Revolutions, 1815–1914: An Introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 257.

HIRST, DEREK. *England in Conflict, 1603–1660: Kingdom, Community, Commonwealth*. London: Arnold. 1999. Pp. vii, 359. Cloth $80.00, paper $24.95.

HOWELLS, RICHARD. *The Myth of the Titanic*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xii, 213. $29.95.

JACKSON, MICHAEL. *A Scottish Life: Sir John Martin, Churchill and Empire*. Edited by JANET JACKSON. New York: Radcliffe; distributed by St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xiv, 279. $39.50.

JOHNSON, MARTIN P. *The Dreyfus Affair: Honour and Politics in the Belle Epoque*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xi, 171. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

JUNGNICKEL, CHRISTA, and RUSSELL MCCORMMACH. *Cavendish: The Experimental Life*. Rev. ed. Cranbury, N.J.: Bucknell University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 814. $34.50.

KAKKURI, PEKKA. *Suomettarelainen maalaisliitossa: Jalo Lahdensuon yhteiskunnalliset aatteet ja toiminta* [An "Old Finn" in the Agrarian Union: Jalo Lahdensuo's Ideals and Work in Public Life]. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 41.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1999. Pp. 411.

KÄRENLAMPI, PAAVO. *Taistelu kouludemokratiasta: Kouludemokratian aalto Suomessa*. [The Fight for School Democracy in Finland]. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 37.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1999. Pp. 264.

KELLY, AILEEN M. *Views from the Other Shore: Essays on Herzen, Chekhov, and Bakhtin*. (Russian Literature and Thought.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. 260. $30.00.

LAAKKONEN, SIMO, and SARI LAURILA, and MARJATTA RAHIKAINEN, editors. *Harmaat aallot: Ympäristönsuojelun tulo Suomeen*. [Grey Waves: The Introduction of Environmental Protection in Finland]. (Historiallinen Arkisto, number 113.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1999. Pp. 236.

LÄHTEENMAKI, MARIA. *Jänkäjäakäreitä ja parakkipiikoja: Lappilaisten sotakokemuksia 1939–1945* [Forest Fighters and Barracks Barmaids: The Wartime Experiences of Northern Finns 1939–1945]. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 203.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1999. Pp. 253.

LAURYSSENS, STAN. *The Man Who Invented the Third Reich: The Life and Times of Arthur Moeller van den Bruck*. Phoenix Mill, UK.: Sutton Publishing. 1999. Pp. x, 166. $35.00.

LINKE, ULI. *German Bodies: Race and Representation after Hitler*. New York: Routledge. 1999. Pp. xiii, 274.

MACLEAN, GERALD, DONNA LANDRY, and JOSEPH P. WARD, editors. *The Country and the City Revisited: England and the Politics of Culture, 1550–1850*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 258. $59.95.

MENDES-FLOHR, PAUL. *German Jews: A Dual Identity*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 149. $18.50.

MERTUS, JULIE A. *Kosovo: How Myths and Truths Started a War*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xxii, 378. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

MORGAN, KENNETH O. *The People's Peace: British History since 1945*. Rev. ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 611. $14.95.

MURPHY, PHILIP. *Alan Lennox-Boyd: A Biography*. London: I. B. Tauris. 1999. Pp. xi, 276. $39.50.

MUSGRAVE, PETER. *The Early Modern European Economy*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. vii, 236. Cloth $59.95, paper $22.95.

NETANYAHU, B. *The Marranos of Spain: From the Late Fourteenth to the Early Sixteenth Century, According to Contemporary Hebrew Sources*. 3d ed., rev. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 302. $16.95.

NEVALA, ARTO. *Korkeakoulutuksen kasvu, lohkoutuminen ja eriarvoisuus Suomessa* [Growth, Fragmentation, and Inequality in Higher Education in Finland]. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 43.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1999. Pp. 274.

NICHOLAS, DAVID. *The Transformation of Europe 1300–1600*. (The Arnold History of Europe.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. 486. Cloth $80.00, paper $24.95.

NÜNNING, VERA. *"A Revolution in Sentiments, Manners, and Moral Opinions": Catharine Macaulay und die politische Kultur des englischen Radikalismus, 1760–1790*. (Anglistische Forschungen, number 255.) Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter. 1998. Pp. xv, 448.

PANAYI, PANIKOS. *Outsiders: A History of European Minorities*. Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 208. $35.00.

PEREIRO, JAMES. *Cardinal Manning: An Intellectual Biography*. New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1998. Pp. xii, 360. $82.00.

PERRY, JOHN CURTIS, and CONSTANTINE PLESHAKOV. *The Flight of the Romanovs: A Family Saga*. New York: Basic Books. 1999. Pp. xviii, 427. $30.00.

PURDUE, A. W. *The Second World War*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xix, 203. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

REICHEL, PETER. *Politik mit der Erinnerung: Gedächtnisorte im Streit um die nationalsozialistische Vergangenheit*. (Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1999. Pp. 341. DM 29.90.

REID, ANNA. *Borderland: A Journey through the History of Ukraine*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1999. Pp. xiii, 258. $25.00.

ROBBINS, KEITH. *Present and Past: British Images of Germany in the First Half of the Twentieth Century and their Historical Legacy*. Foreword by JOSEPH CANNING. (Göttinger Gespräche zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 8.) Göttingen: Wallstein. 1999. Pp. 53. DM 18.

ROBERTSON, UNA A. *The Illustrated History of the Housewife, 1650–1950*. Paperback edition. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xii, 204. $18.95.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ROMERO SALVADÓ, FRANCISCO J. *Twentieth-Century Spain: Politics and Society in Spain, 1898–1998*. (European History in Perspective.) New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xxiii, 219. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

ROY, JAMES CHARLES. *The Vanished Kingdom: Travels Through the History of Prussia*. Foreword by AMOS ELON. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1999. Pp. xiii, 398. $28.00.

SCHERER, PAUL. *Lord John Russell: A Biography*. Selinsgrove, Pa.: Susquehanna University Press. Associated University Presses, Cranbury, N.J. 1999. Pp. 427. $57.50.

SCHILLING, HEINZ. *Die neue Zeit: Vom Christenheitseuropa zum Europa der Staaten, 1250 bis 1750*. (Siedler Geschichte Europas.) Berlin: Siedler. 1999. Pp. 559.

SCHÖLER, ULI. *Ein Gespenst verschwand in Europa: Über Marx und die sozialistische Idee nach dem Scheitern des sowjetischen Staatssozialismus*. (Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Reihe Politik- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, number 32.) Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz. 1999. Pp. 367. DM 48.

SEDERGREN, JARI. *Filmi poiki . . . Poliittinen elokuvasensuuri Suomessa 1939–1947* [Cut! Political Film Censorship in Finland, 1939–1947]. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 39.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1999. Pp. 323.

SHELL, ALSION. *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558–1660*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 309. $59.95.

SMART, NICK. *The National Government, 1931–40*. (British Studies Series.) New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. vii, 279. $59.95.

SMITH, DAVID L. *The Stuart Parliaments, 1603–1689*. (Reconstructions in Early Modern History.) New York: Arnold; distributed by Oxford University Press, New York. 1999. Pp. xi, 260. Cloth $75.00, paper $24.95.

SOFSKY, WOLFGANG. *The Order of Terror: The Concentration Camp*. Translated by WILLIAM TEMPLER. Paperback edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 356. $16.95.

SPUFFORD, FRANCIS. *I May Be Some Time: Ice and the English Imagination*. Paperback edition. New York: Picador USA. 1999. Pp. 372. $15.00.

STACKELBERG, RODERICK. *Hitler's Germany: Origins, Interpretations, Legacies*. New York: Routledge. 1999. Pp. x, 307. Cloth $85.00, paper $24.99.

SULLIVAN, GARRETT A., JR. *The Drama of Landscape: Land, Property, and Social Relations on the Early Modern Stage*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 292. $39.50.

TREBILCOCK, CLIVE. *Phoenix Assurance and the Development of British Insurance*. Volume 2, *The Era of the Insurance Giants, 1870–1984*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xxiv, 1064. $150.00.

WARD, CHRIS. *Stalin's Russia*. (Reading History.) 2d ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xxvi, 278. $19.95.

WILLIAMS, GEORGE K. *Biplanes and Bombsights: British Bombing in World War I*. Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama: Air University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 312.

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF, DORIS. *Beauty in Arabic Culture*. (Princeton Series on the Middle East.) Princeton: Markus Wiener. 1999. Pp. viii, 220. Cloth $49.95, paper $22.95.

HARE, TOM. *ReMembering Osiris: Number, Gender, and the Word in Ancient Egyptian Representational Systems*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. xx, 322. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

NASHAT, GUITY, and JUDITH E. TUCKER. *Women in the Middle East and North Africa: Restoring Women to History*. (Restoring Women to History.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999. Pp. lxi, 160. Cloth $29.95, paper $11.95.

POLLOCK, SUSAN. *Ancient Mesopotamia: The Eden that Never Was*. (Case Studies in Early Societies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 259. Cloth $49.95, paper $17.95.

RABINOVICH, ITAMAR. *The Brink of Peace: The Israeli-Syrian Negotiations*. Paperback edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 283. $15.95.

RICE, E. E. *Cleopatra*. (Sutton Pocket Biographies.) Phoenix Mill: Sutton. 1999. Pp. x, 117. $9.95.

STRUDWICK, NIGEL, and HELEN STRUDWICK. *Thebes in Egypt: A Guide to the Tombs and Temples of Ancient Luxor*. (Cornell Paperbacks.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1999. Pp. 232. Cloth $49.95, paper $24.95.

WILLIS, MICHAEL. *The Islamist Challenge in Algeria: A Political History*. Paperback edition. New York: New York University Press. 1997. Pp. xviii, 419. $22.50.

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

BERGER, IRIS, and E. FRANCES WHITE. *Women in Sub-Saharan Africa: Restoring Women to History*. (Restoring Women to History.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999. Pp. lxi, 169. Cloth $35.00, paper $12.95.

LESTER, ALAN. *From Colonization to Democracy: A New Historical Geography of South Africa*. London: I. B. Tauris. 1998. Pp. viii, 278. $22.50.

SAHA, SANTOSH. *Dictionary of Human Rights Advocacy Organizations in Africa*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1999. Pp. 200. $69.50.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Communications

A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editor's discretion. The AHA disclaims responsibility for statements, either of fact or opinion, made by the writers. Letters may not exceed seven hundred words for reviews and one thousand words for articles. They should be submitted in duplicate, typed double-spaced with wide margins, and headed "To the Editor."

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

To the Editor:

I had no intention on commenting on Patricia W. Romero's "review" of my book, *Sylvia Pankhurst: Sexual Politics and Political Activism* (1996), *AHR* 103 (February 1998: 185); I changed my mind after reading the exchange between Joseph White and Romero in the October *AHR* (103: 1398–99).

Romero writes, "I stand by my review." Readers of the *AHR* should know exactly what Romero "stands by"... and for. Two examples from her review should give *AHR* readers a sense of her professionalism, scholarship, attention to detail, and credibility: "I feel compassion for Barbara Winslow, who in the early 1970s, ... made the wrenching decision to drop out of academe and stay home to raise her children." This comes as a big surprise to me since I have been professionally active in the academy since 1972. Even the back page and frontispiece of the book state that I was an assistant professor at Medgar Evers College of the City University of New York. Along with twenty-six years of teaching at a number of colleges and universities, I have also appeared at countless academic conferences presenting papers on the subject of Sylvia Pankhurst. In 1986, I even appeared on a panel at the Social Science History Conference in St. Louis *with Romero* on the topic of Sylvia Pankhurst. In no way have I come "in so late to a field," as my conference participation and publications on the subject demonstrate. Why Romero writes these things about my personal life is somewhat of a mystery to me. However, they have no place in a scholarly professional journal such as the *AHR*.

Another example from Romero's review: "I am complimented by Winslow's paraphrase of my own description of Pankhurst in her introduction." Aside from the fact that there is no introduction in my book (Sheila Rowbotham wrote the foreword; there is a preface and acknowledgments), there is no mention of Romero in the foreword, preface, or acknowledgments. Romero's book is listed in a bibliographic footnote that includes over twenty-five books and articles on the subject of Pankhurst, suffragism, and communism (p. 196).

I leave it to the readers of the *AHR* to decide for themselves whether or not this book is "feminist heroine worship" of Pankhurst; if I "paraphrase" Romero's work or "follow" her chapter chronology, if Jill Craigie (not a suffragette, East London activist, or communist) and Fenner Brockway are a representative sample of *peer* opinions of Pankhurst, and whether or not my perspective regarding Pankhurst's contributions to socialist feminism is substantially well documented.

Barbara Winslow
Brooklyn College,
City University of New York

Patricia W. Romero does not wish to reply.

The Editors

To the Editor:

I write this in response to Karen Leonard's review of Saurabh Dube's *Untouchable Pasts* [*AHR* 104 (February 1999): 165–66]. Although the review carries some (seemingly grudging) praise for the book, its tenor is in the main set by its many critical remarks. However, both the criticisms and the compliments remain piecemeal, so that the reader has little context within which to appreciate either. Indeed, it would have been easier to understand the review had it provided a systematic critique of the book.

The review itself fails to grapple with or coherently present the arguments of the book, or even its terms. Thus Leonard states that *Untouchable Pasts* is "not a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

historical or anthropological investigation of the Satnami past, as Dube tells us himself. His book 'constructs a history of the Satnamis'; it is not 'a mere unfolding of a chronologically sequential set of events' but 'an interpretive exercise.'" But Dube's book does not resort to any such easy exorcism of history and anthropology. Here is what Dube actually says in the passage: "This book constructs a history of the Satnamis, but it does not present the past as a mere unfolding of a chronologically sequential set of events . . . [It] is an interpretive exercise, an exercise in which the perspectives of history and anthropology are each inseparably bound to the other; where archival and non-official sources are read in an ethnographic mode and fieldwork is cast as an engagement with the historical imagination" (p. 2). Whatever else may be said of the passage, it is certainly not the rejection of history or anthropology that Leonard makes it out to be.

The only attempt in the review to deal with the arguments of *Untouchable Pasts* is a chapterwise summary of the book, with each chapter assigned roughly a sentence. Since many of the book's most important arguments are made across several chapters, this is a particularly unhelpful way of trying to understand it. Furthermore, the summaries are not always accurate. Thus, according to the review, Chapter 4 is about "assess[ing the] benefits and losses to the Satnamis under British rule." Only the apologists for colonialism, and the nationalists who challenged colonialism, would even consider such an assessment necessary. Few serious historians today, and certainly not Dube, would consider such an assessment to be interesting or necessary. Similarly, the summary of Chapter 5 gets so lost in details that it fails, for example, to consider Dube's very interesting emphasis on how Baba Ramchandra's written text retained marks of orality. This is part of a larger problem. The review consistently ignores the creative and critical readings of different varieties of both oral testimonies and written records within *Untouchable Pasts*.

The review's lack of engagement with the book is particularly unfortunate since *Untouchable Pasts* is, to my mind, one of the most exciting books on South Asia to come out in recent times. It is an extremely innovative effort to combine history and anthropology in a precise way, where both are simultaneously bound up and distinct from each other. It is also theoretical in particularly interesting ways, for it "does not cast matters on a resolutely grand theoretical scale, characteristic of writings that turn theory into a touchstone of truth" (p. 4), but seeks to place its theory in relation to everyday life.

I cannot hope to provide an indication of the book's arguments and scope in this brief response. As one instance of the book's contributions, however, I would like to cite its attempt to think through the "two fetishized concept metaphors of community and state" (p. xii). Dube shows very persuasively that symbols of the colonial state were central to the constitution of the Satnampanth, the sect that the book focuses on. Nor was it as though these signs of dominance were acknowledged only at moments of passivity, only to be erased at moments of resistance. Dube's work shows how, from a historical or anthropological perspective, the distinction between state and community that has been constructed in much theoretically influential recent writing is far too simplistic. Through its narratives, *Untouchable Pasts* reveals how the intricate relationship between state and community could be reconceived.

AJAY SKARIA
University of Virginia

KAREN LEONARD REPLIES:

My praise for Dube's book was not grudging. I do not know the author, but I was very taken by his obvious brightness, stimulating ideas, and excellent writing, and I was sympathetic to his carving out a theoretical third position. I did not think Dube was rejecting history or anthropology, as Ajay Skaria alleges, but quoted Dube carefully to show that he sought to use methods and insights from both disciplines to construct and interpret a history of the Satnamis. As my review and Skaria's comments make clear, Skaria enthusiastically applauds Dube's "creative and critical readings" of his oral and written sources, while I, troubled by questions about methodology and what I felt was an often sketchy and confusing presentation of research findings, was unable to achieve a full understanding and appreciation of Dube's interpretations.

KAREN LEONARD
University of California, Irvine

TO THE EDITOR:

In her review of Mark Johnston's *At the Front Line: Experiences of Australian Soldiers in World War II* [*AHR* 104 (February 1999): 170–71], Margaret Barter hails the book as "a welcome addition to an area recently dubbed the 'New Military History' by Paul Addison and Angus Calder in . . . (1997)." In fact, the term "new military history" has appeared in print so many times since the 1970s that, in an article in the January 1988 *Military Affairs*, Benjamin Franklin Cooling declared it to be "passé."

In the first line of his review of Gary Gallagher's *The Confederate War* [*AHR* 104 (February 1999): 194–95], John M. McCardell, Jr., declares: "Military history, at least among Civil War historians, has been out of fashion for some time." This statement bewilders me. By "Civil War historians," McCardell might be referring to academic historians who specialize in the Civil War era, as opposed to antiquarians or writers of popular history, both of whom produce an annual avalanche of books on Civil War battles, leaders, and so forth, but neither of whom many academics con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sider "historians." Yet Joseph Glathaar, Earl Hess, John Marszalek, James McPherson, Reid Mitchell, Carol Reardon, and Emory Thomas, to name a few, all have PhDs, hold academic positions, and have recently written books on Civil War military history. Three recent bibliographic works—*Writing the Civil War: The Quest to Understand*, edited by James McPherson and William Cooper; *The American Civil War: Handbook of Literature and Research*, edited by Steven Woodworth; and the more popular *The Civil War in Books: An Analytical Bibliography*, by David Eicher—contain staggering numbers of references to recently published Civil War military histories, many of which were written by bona fide historians.

Perhaps by "military history," McCardell means the "drum-and-bugle" genre of operational history, as opposed to the new military history. If so, McCardell's definition of "military history" differs from those who define it as encompassing battles and leaders as well as the interaction between war and society.

The point is not to quibble about semantics, nor to criticize Margaret Barter or John McCardell or their reviews. However, their statements illustrate the fact that many nonmilitary historians don't seem to understand much about military history.

I entreat the *American Historical Review* to invite a senior scholar in the field to write an essay on the state of military history, focusing on current trends in the literature and currently debated topics. Such an article would be useful, both for its informative value and to spark debate, which is what all history is really about.

ROBERT J. SCHNELLER, JR.
Department of the Navy,
Contemporary History Branch

MARGARET BARTER REPLIES:

Robert J. Schneller, Jr.'s comments on the need for definition in military history writing are pertinent and would elicit spirited debate among military historians, whether they were academic historians or those seen by Schneller as belonging to a less formal group of practitioners, including antiquarians, aficionados, and "writers of popular history."

In reply, I confine my views to Schneller's opening paragraph, which dealt with my review of Mark Johnston's *At the Front Line: Experiences of Australian Soldiers in World War II*. Ironically, by drawing attention to my use of the term "New Military History" as passé, Schneller has emphasized the point that I was intending to convey within the limitations of a book review. Rather than herald Johnston's book as a newcomer to a novel genre in military history writing, I was seeking to recognize the context of the book's publication, and to highlight the salient attributes of its many worthy antecedents. In my review, after noting the use of the term "New Military History" by British historians at a 1996 inaugural conference on the solider's experience of war, I went on to illustrate that the so-called "New Military History" itself had a history of some twenty-five years.

While these issues are confusing for professional historians, we need also to consider the general reader, who is usually unaware of the nuances under discussion here. To the nonmilitary reader, all books pertaining to war are "war books," and by association the authors of those books are military historians. Increasingly, as more complex topics about war involve historians of all persuasions, those simple equations are no longer true. Thus Robert Schneller's plea for an essay on the state of military history is to be heartily endorsed. Indeed, with much attention focused on the sixtieth anniversaries of events in the Second World War, a commemorative issue of the *AHR* devoted to military history writing in all its varieties seems appropriate.

MARGARET BARTER
Artarmon, Australia

JOHN MCCARDELL REPLIES:

Robert J. Schneller's suggestion certainly has merit. Likewise, his letter contributes to readers' understanding of the current state of the field of military history.

JOHN M. MCCARDELL, JR.
Middlebury College

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Index to *American Historical Review,* Volume 104

The titles of articles and films in the *AHR* are printed in italics, and titles of books reviewed are in quotation marks. Books of collected essays are designated by (E). The reviewer of a book or film is designated by (R), the author of a letter for the Communications section by (C).

Abel, Kerry (R), 533
"Aboriginal Slavery on the Northwest Coast of North America," by Donald, 894
Abou-El-Haj, Rifa'at Ali (R), 538
Abu-Lughod, Lila, editor, "Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East," 1797
"Accomplished in All Departments of Art," by O'Gorman, 1685
"Acheson," by Chace, 1334
Adams, Adrian, and Jaabe So, "A Claim to Land by the River: A Household in Senegal 1720–1994," 293
Adams, David K., and Cornelis A. van Minnen, editors, "Religious and Secular Reform in America: Ideas, Beliefs, and Social Change" (E), 1815
Adams, Katherine J., and Lewis L. Gould, editors, "Inside the Natchez Trace Collection: New Sources for Southern History" (E), 1815
Adams, Michael C. C. (R), 948
Adams, Stephen B., "Mr. Kaiser Goes to Washington: The Rise of a Government Entrepreneur," 215
Adamson, Walter L. (R), 1034
Adas, Michael (R), 1045
Addison, Paul (R), 1758
Adeleke, Tunde, "UnAfrican Americans: Nineteenth-Century Black Nationalists and the Civilizing Mission," 569
Adelman, Jeremy (R), 620
Adelman, Jeremy, and Stephen Aron, *Of Lively Exchanges and Larger Perspectives*, 1235–39
Adelman, Jeremy, and Stephen Aron, *From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in Between in North American History*, 814–41
Adi, Hakim, "West Africans in Britain, 1900–1960: Nationalism, Pan-Africanism and Communism," 1803
Adshead, S. A. M. (R), 289, 1274
Affron, Matthew, and Mark Antliff, editors, "Fascist Visions: Art and Ideology in France and Italy," 873
"African American Views of the Japanese," by Kearney, 1711
"African American Women and Christian Activism," by Weisenfeld, 586
"African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850–1920," by Terborg-Penn, 1327
"African Americans and Jews in the Twentieth Century," edited by Franklin, *et al.* (E), 1055
"African Guerrillas," edited by Clapham (E), 307
"Afro-Brazilian Culture and Politics," edited by Kraay (E), 303
"After Consensus," edited by Löfgren and Shima (E), 1434
"After the End," edited by Scott (E), 1055
"After the Holocaust," by Brenner, 1407
Afton, B., M. E. Turner, and J. V. Beckett, "Agricultural Rent in England, 1690–1914," 636
"Against the Spirit of System," by Warner, 1300
"Age of Contradiction," by Brick, 1337
"Agricultural Rent in England, 1690–1914," by Turner, Beckett, and Afton, 636
"Agriculture, Proto-Industry and Mennonite Entrepreneurship," by Trompetter, 260
Ahlgren, Gillian T. W., "Teresa of Avila and the Politics of Sanctity," 257
Ahrweiler, Hélène, and Angeliki E. Laiou, editors, "Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire" (E), 300
Akenson, Donald Harman (R), 243
Akenson, Donald Harman, "If the Irish Ran the World: Montserrat, 1630–1730," 612
Albanese, Catherine L. (R), 915
Albertin, Lothar, "Demokratische Herausforderung und politische Parteien: Der Aufbau des Friedens in Ostwestfalen-Lippe 1945–1948," 1408
Alcock, Susan E., editor, "The Early Roman Empire in the East" (E), 304
Alexander, Martin S. (R), 254
Alexander, Roberta Sue (R), 1306
"L'alfabeto conquistato," by Roggero, 1788
Alford, Stephen, "The Early Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis, 1558–1569," 1743
"All That Glitters," by Jameson, 1314
"All the Pasha's Men," by Fahmy, 686
"All You Need Is Love," by Hoffman, 222
Allen, Ann Taylor (R), 1779
Allen, Ann Taylor, *Feminism, Social Science, and the Meanings of Modernity: The Debate on the Origin of the Family in Europe and the United States, 1860–1914*, 1085–1114
Allen, C. J. W., "The Law of Evidence in Victorian England," 1374
Allen, Michael (R), 1297
Allen, Raye Virginia, "Gordon Conway: Fashioning a New Woman," 207
Allmand, Christopher (R), 1733
Allmendinger, Blake, and Valerie J. Matsumoto,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

editors, "Over the Edge: Remapping the American West" (E), 699
Allsen, Thomas T., "Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles," 1632
" 'Almost a Man of Genius,' " by Harvey, 251
Alonzo, Armando C., "Tejano Legacy: Rancheros and Settlers in South Texas, 1734–1900," 566
"An Alternative Path," by Rogers, 587
Altick, Richard D., "Punch: The Lively Youth of a British Institution, 1841–1851," 995
Altoff, Gerard T., and David Curtis Skaggs, "A Signal Victory: The Lake Erie Campaign, 1812–1813," 561
Altstadt, Audrey L. (R), 1416
"Amanda Berry Smith," by Israel, 916
Amaral, Samuel, "The Rise of Capitalism on the Pampas: The Estancias of Buenos Aires, 1785–1870," 1354
Ambrosoli, Mauro, "The Wild and the Sown: Botany and Agriculture in Western Europe, 1350–1850," 238
Amelang, James S. (R), 1014
Amelang, James S., "The Flight of Icarus: Artisan *Autobiography in Early Modern Europe*," 1739
"The American Finances of the Spanish Empire," by Klein, 1718
"American Material Culture," edited by Martin and Garrison, 891
"American Mobbing, 1828–1861," by Grimsted, 1304
"American Scripture," by Maier, 560
"American Virtues," by Yarbrough, 1662
Amt, Emilie (R), 234
Amussen, Susan Dwyer (R), 1754
"Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture," by Flower, 233
Anderson, Benedict, "The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia, and the World," 1651
Anderson, Nancy Fix (R), 1262
Andrade, Ernest, Jr., "Unconquerable Rebel: Robert W. Wilcox and Hawaiian Politics, 1880–1903," 585
Angell, Stephen W. (R), 569
"Angels in the Machinery," by Edwards, 577
Anna, Timothy E., "Forging Mexico, 1821–1835," 230
"Anti-Semitism in Germany," by Bergmann and Erb, 669
Antliff, Mark, and Matthew Affron, editors, "Fascist Visions: Art and Ideology in France and Italy," 873
"Antoine Lavoisier—The Next Crucial Year, or The Sources of His Quantitative Method in Chemistry," by Holmes, 1004
Anz, Christoph, "Gilden im mittelalterlichen Skandinavien," 1734
Appier, Janis, "Policing Women: The Sexual Politics of Law Enforcement and the LAPD," 208
Applegate, Celia (R), 1777
Applegate, Celia, *A Europe of Regions: Reflections on the Historiography of Sub-National Places in Modern Times*, 1157–82
"Arabs and Young Turks," by Kayali, 1041
"Archaic States," edited by Feinman and Marcus (E), 1431
Archer, Julian P. W., "The First International in France, 1864–1872: Its Origins, Theories, and Impact," 660
Ardery, Julia S., "The Temptation: Edgar Tolson and the Genesis of Twentieth-Century Folk Art," 1342
Arditi, Jorge, "A Genealogy of Manners: Transformations of Social Relations in France and England from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Century," 1738
Argento, Elmiro (R), 1788
"The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile," by Barton, 1362
"The Aristocracy of Norman England," by Green, 622
"Aristocrats in Bourgeois Italy," by Cardoza, 1032
"Armed Martial Arts of Japan," by Hurst, 1651
"Armeen und ihre Deserteure," edited by Bröckling and Sikora (E), 306
"Arming against Hitler," by Kiesling, 254
Armitage, David, *Greater Britain: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis?* 427–45
Armstrong, Christopher, "Blue Skies and Boiler Rooms: Buying and Selling Securities in Canada, 1870–1940," 555
Armstrong, John A. (R), 680
Armstrong, W. A. (R), 636
Arnade, Peter, "Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent," 238
Arnesen, Eric, Julie Greene, and Bruce Laurie, editors, "Labor Histories: Class, Politics, and the Working-Class Experience" (E), 1433
Arnstein, Walter L. (R), 994
Aron, Stephen (R), 1664
Aron, Stephen, and Jeremy Adelman, *Of Lively Exchanges and Larger Perspectives*, 1235–39
Aron, Stephen, and Jeremy Adelman, *From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in Between in North American History*, 814–41
Arrizabalaga, Jon, John Henderson, and Roger French, "The Great Pox: The French Disease in Renaissance Europe," 1026
"The Art of Command in the Civil War," edited by Woodworth (E), 699
"The Artisan and the European Town, 1500–1900," edited by Crossick, 979
"Aryans and British India," by Trautmann, 639
"As If Jesus Walked on Earth," by Bantjes, 618
"An Ascendancy Army," by Blackstock, 1381
Ash, Stephen V. (R), 911
"Ashes to Ashes," by Kluger, 956
"The Ashio Riot of 1907," by Kazuo, 883
Ashton, Dianne, "Rebecca Gratz: Women and Judaism in Antebellum America," 1668
Assmann, Jan, "Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism," 1039
"Astronomies and Cultures in Early Medieval Europe," by McCluskey, 1725
"At the Front Line," by Johnston, 170
"At the Heart of the Empire," by Burton, 1262
Atabaki, Touraj, and John O'Kane, editors, "Post-Soviet Central Asia" (E), 698
"Athens from Alexander to Antony," by Habicht, 1724
Atkin, Muriel (R), 281
Atkin, Nicholas, and Frank Tallett, editors, "The Right in France, 1789–1997," 658
"Atlantic Crossings," by Rodgers, 1331
Attwood, Bain (R), 889
Augustine, Dolores L. (R), 265
Aung-Thwin, Michael A., "Myth and History in the Historiography of Early Burma: Paradigms, Primary Sources, and Prejudices," 142
" 'Avancement et fortune,' " by Soom, 1792

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The Baba and the Comrade," by Wood, 682
Baecque, Antoine de, "The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770–1800," 144
Baer, James A., and Ronn Pineo, editors, "Cities of Hope: People, Protests, and Progress in Urbanizing Latin America, 1870–1930," 608
"A Bahian Counterpoint," by Barickman, 964
Bailey, Beth (R), 1266
Baker, Jean Harvey (R), 1287
Baker, Keith Michael (R), 1259
Baker, Paula (R), 577
Bakos, Adrianna E., "Images of Kingship in Early Modern France: Louis XI in Political Thought, 1560–1789," 652
Baldwin, John W. (R), 237
Baldwin, John W., "The Language of Sex: Five Voices from Northern France around 1200," 972
Baldwin, Lewis V. (R), 601
"The Balkan Economies c. 1800–1914," by Palairet, 274
Banker, James R. (R), 1363
Bantjes, Adrian A., "As If Jesus Walked on Earth: Cardenismo, Sonora, and the Mexican Revolution," 618
Barany, George (R), 1034
Barclay, David E., "Frederick William IV and the Prussian Monarchy 1840–1861," 1022
Barclay, David E., and Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt, editors, "Transatlantic Images and Perceptions: Germany and America since 1776," 158
Barickman, B. J., "A Bahian Counterpoint: Sugar, Tobacco, Cassava, and Slavery in the Recôncavo, 1780–1860," 964
"Barmaids," by Kirkby, 169
Barnes, Kenneth C., "Who Killed John Clayton? Political Violence and the Emergence of the New South, 1861–1893," 579
Barr, Cyrilla, and Ralph P. Locke, editors, "Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons and Activists since 1860," 1696
Barrett, Thomas M. (R), 1049
Barrington, Linda, editor, "The Other Side of the Frontier: Economic Explorations into Native American History" (E), 699
Barry, Boubacar, "Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade," 292
Barstow, Anne Llewellyn (R), 1426
Barter, Margaret (R), 170; (C), 1832
Bartlett, Kenneth R. (R), 1372
Bartlett, Roger, and Karen Schönwalder, editors, "The German Lands and Eastern Europe: Essays on the History of Their Social, Cultural and Political Relations" (E), 1434
Barton, H. Arnold, "A Folk Divided: Homeland Swedes and Swedish Americans, 1840–1940," 158
Barton, H. Arnold (R), 922
Barton, Simon, "The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile," 1362
Barzman, John, "Dockers, métallos, ménagères: Mouvements sociaux et cultures militantes au Havre, 1912–1923," 661
Basch, Norma (R), 935
"Le basculement religieux de Paris au XVIII^{e} siècle," by Chaunu, Foisil, and de Noirfontaine, 1765
"The Bastille," by Lüsebrink and Reichardt, 250
Baswick, Daryl (C), 709
"Battling Western Imperialism," by Sheng, 545
Bauman, John F. (R), 224
Baumgarten, Marita, "Professoren und Universitäten im 19. Jahrhundert: Zur Sozialgeschichte deutscher Geistes- und Naturwissenschaftler," 266
Bayley, Edwin R. (R), 1333
Baynton, Douglas C., "Forbidden Signs: American Culture and the Campaign against Sign Language," 202
Bean, Jonathan J., "Beyond the Broker State: Federal Policies toward Small Business, 1936–1961," 1330
Beaver, Daniel C., "Parish Communities and Religious Conflict in the Vale of Gloucester, 1590–1690," 1745
Becker, Seymour (R), 1280
Becker, Susan D. (R), 939
Beckett, J. V., M. E. Turner, and B. Afton, "Agricultural Rent in England, 1690–1914," 636
"Becoming Citizens in the Age of Television," by Thelen, 606
"Becoming Modern in Toronto," by Walden, 174
Bee, Robert L. (R), 582
Beeler, John F., "British Naval Policy in the Gladstone-Disraeli Era, 1866–1880," 1374
"Before the Bobbies," by Reynolds, 1754
Beik, Mildred Allen, "The Miners of Windber: The Struggles of New Immigrants for Unionization, 1890s–1930s," 199
Beik, William, "Urban Protest in Seventeenth-Century France: The Culture of Retribution," 246
"Béla Bartók and Turn-of-the-Century Budapest," by Frigyesi, 1411
Belgrad, Daniel, "The Culture of Spontaneity: Improvisation and the Arts in Postwar America," 1708
Belknap, Michal R. (R), 932
Bell, Caryn Cossé, "Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana, 1718–1868," 1302
Bell, David A. (R), 651
Bell, Rudolph M. (R), 1032
Bellabarba, Marco, and Reinhard Stauber, editors, "Identità territoriali e cultura politica nella prima età moderna/Territoriale Identität und politische Kultur in der Frühen Neuzeit" (E), 1817
Beller, Steven (R), 1411
Belnap, Jeffrey, and Raúl Fernández, editors, "José Martí's 'Our America': From National to Hemispheric Cultural Studies" (E), 1057
Belz, Herman (R), 570
Benedict, Carol, "Bubonic Plague in Nineteenth-Century China," 1275
Benedict, Michael Les (R), 1675
"Benedict Arnold, Revolutionary Hero," by Martin, 186
Benes, Peter (R), 573
Ben-Gihat, Ruth (R), 298
Benigni, Roberto, 298
"Benjamin Franklin and His Gods," by Walters, 1296
Benson, Linda (R), 1647
Bentley, Amy (R), 1345
Bercuson, David J. (R), 558
Berezin, Mabel, "Making the Fascist Self: The Political Culture of Interwar Italy," 675
Berger, Ronald M. (R), 1371
Bergére, Marie-Claire, "Sun Yat-sen," 878
Berghoff, Hartmut, and Robert von Friedeburg, editors, "Change and Inertia: Britain under the Impact of the Great War" (E), 1058
Bergmann, Peter (R), 158

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bergmann, Werner, and Rainer Erb, "Anti-Semitism in Germany: The Post-Nazi Epoch since 1945," 669
Bergmeier, Horst J. P., and Rainer E. Lotz, "Hitler's Airwaves: The Inside Story of Nazi Radio Broadcasting and Propaganda Swing," 268
Berkowitz, Edward D. (R), 605
Berlin, Ira, "Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America," 1286
Berman, William C. (R), 227
Berry, Joanne, and Ray Laurence, editors, "Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire" (E), 304
Bethel, Elizabeth Rauh, "The Roots of African-American Identity: Memory and History in Free Antebellum Communities," 1302
"Between Justice and Beauty," by Gillette, 224
"Between Nation and State," by Miller, 677
"Between Two Revolutions," by Waldron, 276
"Between Worlds," by Salmond, 153
"Beyond Image and Convention," by Coryell, *et al.*, 1290
"Beyond Left and Right," by Horowitz, 210
"Beyond the Broker State," by Bean, 1330
"Beyond the Pass," by Millward, 1647
Bianconi, Lorenzo, and Giorgio Pestelli, editors, "The History of Italian Opera," Part 2, "Systems": Volume 4, "Opera Production and Its Resources," 1029
Biddick, Kathleen, "The Shock of Medievalism," 1258
Bigham, Darrel E., "Towns and Villages of the Lower Ohio," 188
Bigham, Darrel E. (R), 1302
Biles, Roger (R), 214
Bill, James A., "George Ball: Behind the Scenes in U.S. Foreign Policy," 949
Bilstein, Roger E. (R), 953
Bindas, Kenneth J. (R), 211
"Birth of the Leviathan," by Ertman, 526
Bisson, Thomas N., "Tormented Voices: Power, Crisis, and Humanity in Rural Catalonia, 1140–1200," 1728
"Bitter Harvest," by Dickinson, 214
"Bitter Legacy," edited by Gitelman, 281
Bjelajac, David (R), 906
"The Black Civil War Soldiers of Illinois," by Miller, 912
"Black Conservatism," edited by Eisenstadt (E), 1055
"The Black Douglases," by Brown, 976
Black, Gregory D., "The Catholic Crusade against the Movies, 1940–1975," 220
Black, Jeremy, "War and the World: Military Power and the Fate of Continents, 1450–2000," 538
Black, Jeremy (R), 632
Blackburn, Robin, "The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern 1492–1800," 1635
"Blacks in the Jewish Mind," by Forman, 954
Blackstock, Allan, "An Ascendancy Army: The Irish Yeomanry, 1796–1834," 1381
Blackwelder, Julia Kirk, "Now Hiring: The Feminization of Work in the United States, 1900–1995," 936
Blair, Ann, "The Theater of Nature: Jean Bodin and Renaissance Science," 239
Blair, Karen J. (R), 578
Blanchard, Mary Warner, "Oscar Wilde's America: Counterculture in the Gilded Age," 1684
Bland, Larry I., editor, "George C. Marshall's Mediation Mission to China, December 1945–January 1947" (E), 302
Blay, Michel, "Reasoning with the Infinite: From the Closed World to the Mathematical Universe," 1740
Blight, David W. (R), 572
"Blood in the Arena," by Futrell, 969
"The Blood-Red Arab Flag," by Davies, 1423
"Blue Skies and Boiler Rooms," by Armstrong, 555
Blum, Virginia L. (R), 1325
Bode, Frederick A. (R), 1666
Bodek, Richard, "Proletarian Performance in Weimar Berlin: Agitprop, Chorus, and Brecht," 668
Bodemann, Y. Michal (R), 1782
"The Body Politic," by Baecque, 144
Boemeke, Manfred F., Gerald D. Feldman, and Elisabeth Glaser, editors, "The Treaty of Versailles: A Reassessment after 75 Years" (E), 305
Bogue, Allan G., "Frederick Jackson Turner: Strange Roads Going Down," 1316
Boime, Albert, "The Unveiling of the National Icons: A Plea for Patriotic Iconoclasm in a Nationalist Era," 1341
"Bolshevik Women," by Clements, 682
Bolster, W. Jeffrey (R), 1270
Bond, Bradley G. (R), 580
"The Bondsman's Burden," by Wahl, 1303
Bonnet, Jean-Claude, "Naissance du Panthéon: Essai sur le culte des grandes hommes," 1386
Bonomi, Patricia U., "The Lord Cornbury Scandal: The Politics of Reputation in British America," 895
Bonsall, Penny, "The Irish RMs: The Resident Magistrates in the British Administration of Ireland," 1000
Booth, Alan R. (R), 1804
"Border Life," by Perkins, 1297
Borders and Borderlands of Interpretation, by Schmidt-Nowara, 1226–28
Borges, Dain (R), 1357
Boris, Eileen (R), 1321
Boritt, Gabor S., editor, "Jefferson Davis's Generals" (E), 1815
"Born Again in Brazil," by Chesnut, 1723
"Born to Die," by Cook, 559
Borstelmann, Thomas (R), 222
Bossenga, Gail (R), 246
Bossler, Beverly J., "Powerful Relations: Kinship, Status, and the State in Sung China (960–1279)," 875
"Boston's 'Changeful Times,'" by Holleran, 1686
Bostridge, Ian, "Witchcraft and Its Transformations, c. 1650–c. 1750," 527
Bosworth, R. J. B. (R), 271, 1789
"Bound for the Promised Land," by Sernett, 927
Boutilier, Beverly, and Alison Prentice, editors, "Creating Historical Memory: English-Canadian Women and the Work of History," 554
Bowling, Kenneth R., and Donald R. Kennon, editors, "Inventing Congress: Origins and Establishment of the First Federal Congress" (E), 1815
Boyce, Robert (R), 1379
Boyd, Carolyn P. (R), 1775
Boylan, Anne M. (R), 908
Boyle, Kevin, editor, "Organized Labor and American Politics, 1894–1994: The Labor-Liberal Alliance" (E), 699
Bracken, Christopher, "The Potlatch Papers: A Colonial Case History," 533
Brackman, Harold (C), 713, 1449
Bradshaw, Brendan, and Peter Roberts, editors, "British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533–1707," 982

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Brady, Thomas A., Jr., "Protestant Politics: Jacob Sturm (1489–1553) and the German Reformation," 1018
Brady, Thomas A., Jr. (R), 1409
Branch, Taylor, "Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years, 1963–65," 1717
Brandão, José António, "Your Fyre Shall Burn No More: Iroquois Policy toward New France and Its Native Allies to 1701," 171
Brands, H. W. (R), 1715
"The Brandy Trade under the *Ancien Régime*," by Cullen, 1003
Braslow, Joel, "Mental Ills and Bodily Cures: Psychiatric Treatment in the First Half of the Twentieth Century," 589
Braslow, Joel (R), 946
"Brazil," by Eakin, 232
Bredbenner, Candice Lewis, "A Nationality of Her Own: Women, Marriage, and the Law of Citizenship," 939
Breines, Wini (R), 941
Bremen, Christian, "Die Eisenhower-Administration und die zweite Berlin-Krise, 1958–1961," 1335
Brennan, James P., editor, "Peronism and Argentina" (E), 303
Brennan, James P. (R), 610
Brennan, Thomas (R), 169
Brennan, Thomas, "Burgundy to Champagne: The Wine Trade in Early Modern France," 650
Brenner, Michael, "After the Holocaust: Rebuilding Jewish Lives in Postwar Germany," 1407
Brewer, Susan A., "To Win the Peace: British Propaganda in the United States during World War II," 999
Brick, Howard, "Age of Contradiction: American Thought and Culture in the 1960s," 1337
Brinkley, Alan, "Liberalism and Its Discontents," 1332
"Britain and Indian Nationalism," by Low, 998
"Britain and the German Zollverein, 1848–66," by Davis, 640
"Britain and the Spanish Civil War," by Buchanan, 645
"The British Armed Nation, 1793–1815," by Cookson, 639
"British Consciousness and Identity," edited by Bradshaw and Roberts, 982
"The British Conservative Party in the Age of Universal Suffrage," by McCrillis, 1377
"British Immigration Policy since 1939," by Spencer, 999
"The British Monarchy and the French Revolution," by Morris, 638
"British Naval Policy in the Gladstone-Disraeli Era, 1866–1880," by Beeler, 1374
"Britons in the Ottoman Empire, 1642–1660," by Goffman, 538
Broadberry, S. N., "The Productivity Race: British Manufacturing in International Perspective, 1850–1990," 1273
Broadberry, Stephen (R), 646
Brock, Peggy (R), 1283
Brock, Peter, and Thomas P. Socknat, editors, "Challenge to Mars: Essays on Pacifism from 1918 to 1945" (E), 1052
Brock, William H., "Justus von Liebig: The Chemical Gatekeeper," 1021
Bröckling, Ulrich, and Michael Sikora, editors, "Armeen und ihre Deserteure: Vernachlässigte Kapitel einer Militärgeschichte der Neuzeit" (E), 306
Brode, Patrick, "Casual Slaughters and Accidental Judgements: Canadian War Crimes Prosecutions, 1944–1948," 558
Brodman, James William, "Charity and Welfare: Hospitals and the Poor in Medieval Catalonia," 1363
Brook, Timothy, "The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China," 876
Brooks, Jeffrey (R), 1418
Brooks, John I. III, "The Eclectic Legacy: Academic Philosophy and the Human Sciences in Nineteenth-Century France," 1769
Brooks, N. P. (R), 234
Brophy, James M. (R), 539
Brovkin, Vladimir, "Russia after Lenin: Politics, Culture and Society, 1921–1929," 1795
Brower, Daniel (R), 546
Brower, Daniel R., and Edward J. Lazzerini, editors, "Russia's Orient: Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700–1917," 1416
Brown, Canter, Jr., "Florida's Black Public Officials, 1867–1924," 1306
Brown, Dorothy M., and Elizabeth McKeown, "The Poor Belong to Us: Catholic Charities and American Welfare," 923
Brown, Jennifer S. H. (R), 894
Brown, Jennifer S. H., and Elizabeth Vibert, editors, "Reading beyond Words: Contexts for Native History," 892
Brown, Jonathan C., editor, "Workers' Control in Latin America, 1930–1979," 958
Brown, Joshua (R), 928
Brown, Judith C. (R), 670
Brown, Kathleen M., "Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia," 896
Brown, Kathleen M. (R), 900
Brown, Michael, "The Black Douglases: War and Lordship in Late Medieval Scotland, 1300–1455," 976
Brown, Michael (R), 1654
Brown, Richmond F. (R), 1352
Brownell, Blaine A. (R), 918
Brownlee, John S., "Japanese Historians and the National Myths, 1600–1945: The Age of the Gods and Emperor Jimmu," 529
Brüggemeier, Franz-Josef, "Das unendliche Meer der Lüfte: Luftverschmutzung, Industrialisierung und Risikodebatten im 19. Jahrhundert," 1403
Brundage, W. Fitzhugh (R), 1329
Brundage, W. Fitzhugh, "A Socialist Utopia in the New South: The Ruskin Colonies in Tennessee and Georgia, 1894–1901," 1689
Brunelle, Gayle K. (R), 1385
Brusse, Wendy Asbeek, "Tariffs, Trade and European Integration, 1947–1957," 241
Bryant, Keith L., Jr. (R), 195
"Bubonic Plague in Nineteenth-Century China," by Benedict, 1275
Buchanan, Tom, "Britain and the Spanish Civil War," 645
Buchenau, Jürgen (R), 619
"Buckingham and Ireland, 1616–1628," by Treadwell, 1747
Buckingham, Peter H., "Rebel against Injustice: The Life of Frank P. O'Hare," 209
Bucur, Maria (R), 1427
"Budapest-Róma Berlin Árnyékában," by György, 1412

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Buel, Richard, Jr., "In Irons: Britain's Naval Supremacy and the American Revolutionary Economy," 1663
Buhle, Mari Jo, "Feminism and Its Discontents: A Century of Struggle with Psychoanalysis," 590
Buisseret, David, editor, "Envisioning the City: Six Studies in Urban Cartography," 152
"The Bukharans," by Burton, 1280
Bulliet, Richard W., editor, "The Columbia History of the Twentieth Century," 546
Bundy, David (R), 916
Bungert, Heike (R), 1408
Bunting, Robert, "The Pacific Raincoast: Environment and Culture in an American Eden, 1778–1900," 583
Bunting, Robert (R), 584
Burbank, Jane, and David L. Ransel, editors, "Imperial Russia: New Histories for the Empire," 1414
"The Burden of Confederate Diplomacy," by Hubbard, 1305
"The Burden of Responsibility," by Judt, 1771
Burdiel, Isabel, and Roy Church, editors, "Viejos y nuevos imperios: España y Gran Bretaña s. XVII–XX" (E), 1434
Burds, Jeffrey, "Peasant Dreams and Market Politics: Labor Migration and the Russian Village, 1861–1905," 1417
Burgess, Glenn, editor, "The New British History: Founding a Modern State, 1603–1715" (E), 1058
"Burgundy to Champagne," by Brennan, 650
Burgwyn, H. James, "Italian Foreign Policy in the Interwar Period, 1918–1940," 271
Burke, Peter (R), 978
Burstyn, Joan N. (R), 996
Burton, Antoinette (R), 639
Burton, Antoinette, "At the Heart of the Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late-Victorian Britain," 1262
Burton, Audrey, "The Bukharans: A Dynastic, Diplomatic and Commercial History, 1550–1702," 1280
Burton, Janet (R), 622
Bush, Sargent, Jr. (R), 1295
"The Business of Abolishing the British Slave Trade 1783–1807," by Jennings, 1373
Butler, Anne M. (R), 1316
Butler, Jon (R), 1661
Butler, Kim D., "Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador," 1355
"The Buzzel about Kentuck," edited by Friend (E), 699

"Cadres and Kin," by Ruf, 1648
Caesar, Terry (R), 1683
Cahn, Susan K. (R), 1706
Calhoun, Charles W. (R), 1317
Calhoun, Daniel F. (R), 684
Callahan, Raymond (R), 998
"Calvin Coolidge and the Coolidge Era," edited by Haynes, 929
"The Cambridge Companion to Modern German Culture," edited by Kolinsky and van der Will (E), 1435
Campbell, Mavis C. (R), 613
Campbell, Randolph B., "Grass-Roots Reconstruction in Texas, 1865–1888," 1306
Cañizares, Jorge Esguerra, *New World, New Stars: Patriotic Astrology and the Invention of Indian and Creole Bodies in Colonial Spanish America, 1600–1650*, 33–68
Canning, Joseph, and Otto Gerhard Oexle, editors, "Political Thought and the Realities of Power in the Middle Ages/Politisches Denken und die Wirklichkeit der Macht im Mittelalter" (E), 1816
Canup, John (R), 1658
Capeci, Dominic J., Jr., "The Lynching of Cleo Wright," 1329
Capie, Forrest (R), 640
"Capital Cities at War," by Winter and Robert, 542
Capp, Bernard (R), 527
Cardoza, Anthony L., "Aristocrats in Bourgeois Italy: The Piedmontese Nobility, 1861–1930," 1032
"Cardozo," by Kaufman, 592
Carlisle, Rodney P., and Joan M. Zenzen, "Supplying the Nuclear Arsenal: American Production Reactors, 1942–1992," 603
Carlson, Eric Josef, editor, "Religion and the English Peoples, 1500–1640: New Voices, New Perspectives" (E), 1058
Carlsson, Erik, "Sverige och tysk motståandsrörelse under andra världskriget," 1783
Carlton, Charles (R), 648
"Carnevale e quaresima," by Ciappelli, 1786
Caron, François, "Histoire des chemins de fer en France," Volume 1, "1740–1883," 247
Carp, E. Wayne, "Family Matters: Secrecy and Disclosure in the History of Adoption," 175
Carroll, Stuart, "Noble Power during the French Wars of Religion: The Guise Affinity and the Catholic Cause in Normandy," 1762
"The Carter Presidency," edited by Fink and Graham, 605
Cartledge, Paul, Peter Garnsey, and Erich Gruen, editors, "Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography" (E), 303
"Cartographic Encounters," edited by Lewis (E), 301
Cass, Bettina, and Paul Smyth, editors, "Contesting the Australian Way: States, Markets, and Civil Society" (E), 1432
Cassell, Ronald D., "Medical Charities, Medical Politics: The Irish Dispensary System and the Poor Law, 1836–1872," 648
Cassels, Alan (R), 675, 1789
Castañeda, Jorge G., "Compañero: The Life and Death of Che Guevara," 615
"The Castles of the Rhine," by Taylor, 1777
"Casual Slaughters and Accidental Judgements," by Brode, 558
Caterina, Luis María, "La liga patriótica Argentina: Un grupo de presión frente a las convulsiones sociales de la década del veinte," 967
"The Catholic Crusade against the Movies, 1940–1975," by Black, 220
"Catholicism in the Second Spanish Republic," by Vincent, 258
"Cause for Alarm," by Greenberg, 1669
Cayton, Andrew R. L., and Fredrika J. Teute, editors, "Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830" (E), 301
Çelik, Zeynep, "Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French Rule," 1042

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cell, John W. (R), 888
Central Station [*Central do Brasil*], directed by Salles, reviewed by Davis, 692
Cervantes, Fernando (R), 1634
Chace, James, "Acheson: The Secretary of State Who Created the American World," 1334
Chakrabarty, Dipesh (R), 1282
"The Challenge of Interracial Unionism," by Letwin, 1310
"Challenge to Mars," edited by Brock and Socknat (E), 1052
Chambers, David S., and Trevor Dean, "Clean Hands and Rough Justice: An Investigating Magistrate in Renaissance Italy," 269
Chambers, Lori, "Married Women and Property Law in Victorian Ontario," 552
Chan, Alice, and Joan Chen, 1811
Chandavarkar, Rajnarayan, "Imperial Power and Popular Politics: Class, Resistance, and the State in India, c. 1850–1950," 1282
Chang, Gordon H. (R), 545
"Change and Inertia," edited by Berghoff and von Friedeburg (E), 1058
"Changing Identities in Early Modern France," edited by Wolfe, 651
Chao, Linda, and Ramon H. Myers, "The First Chinese Democracy: Political Life in the Republic of China on Taiwan," 881
Chaplin, Joyce E. (R), 189
Chappell, David A., "Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships," 154
Chappell, John D. (R), 951
"Charity and Economy in the Orphanages of Early Modern Augsburg," by Safley, 1776
"Charity and Welfare," by Brodman, 1363
"Charity, Philanthropy and Reform," edited by Cunningham and Innes (E), 305
"Charles XI and Swedish Absolutism," by Upton, 665
"Charting an Empire," by Cormack, 632
"Charting an Independent Course," edited by Ruddy (E), 1819
Chateauvert, Melinda, "Marching Together: Women of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters," 1327
Chaudhuri, Nupur, and Ruth Roach Pierson, editors, "Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race," 1629
Chaunu, Pierre, Madeleine Foisil, and Françoise de Noirfontaine, "Le basculement religieux de Paris au XVIII^{e} siècle: Essai d'histoire politique et religieuse," 1765
Cheek, Timothy, "Propaganda and Culture in Mao's China: Deng Tuo and the Intelligentsia," 1277
Chen, Joan, and Alice Chan, 1811
Cherny, Robert W. (R), 1679
"Cherokee Women," by Perdue, 1659
Chesnut, R. Andrew, "Born Again in Brazil: The Pentecostal Boom and the Pathogens of Poverty," 1723
Chesterman, John, and Brian Galligan, "Citizens without Rights: Aborigines and Australian Citizenship," 889
Chevedden, Paul E. (C), 1071
Chibnall, Marjorie (R), 1364
"The Chicago NAACP and the Rise of Black Professional Leadership, 1910–1966," by Reed, 930
Chick, Martin, "Industrial Policy in Britain, 1945–1951: Economic Planning, Nationalisation and the Labour Government," 646
Chick, Martin (R), 1759
Chickering, Roger (R), 1023
"Chief Justice," by Cray, 222
"Chiesa e religione in Machiavelli," by Cutinelli-Rèndina, 1787
"Children in Moral Danger and the Problem of Government in Third Republic France," by Schafer, 252
"Children of Wrath," by Hirrel, 909
"The Children's Civil War," by Marten, 1671
"China Transformed," by Wong, 868
"A Chinaman's Chance," by Zhu, 204
Chinese Millenarian Traditions, by Ownby, 1513–30
"The Chiricahua Apache Prisoners of War," by Turcheneske, 203
Chirot, Daniel (R), 1651
"The Choice for Europe," by Moravcsik, 1742
Chomsky, Aviva, and Aldo Lauria-Santiago, editors, "Identity and Struggle at the Margins of the Nation-State: The Laboring Peoples of Central America and the Hispanic Caribbean," 1346
Chorbajian, Levon, and George Shirinian, editors, "Studies in Comparative Genocide" (E), 1431
Chow, Kai-wing (R), 1645
"Christianizing Kinship," by Lynch, 1362
Christie, Clive J., "A Modern History of Southeast Asia: Decolonization, Nationalism and Separatism," 549
Chu, Jonathan M. (R), 1294
Chudacoff, Howard P. (R), 564
"Church and Culture in Seventeenth-Century France," by Phillips, 1763
Church, Roy, and Isabel Burdiel, editors, "Viejos y nuevos imperios: España y Gran Bretaña s. XVII–XX" (E), 1434
Church, Roy, and Quentin Outram, "Strikes and Solidarity: Coalfield Conflict in Britain 1889–1966," 1757
Churchill, Frederick B. (R), 655
Churchill, Ward, "A Little Matter of Genocide: Holocaust and Denial in the Americas, 1492 to the Present," 867
Chytry, Josef (R), 1019
Ciappelli, Giovanni, "Carnevale e quaresima: Comportamenti sociali e cultura a Firenze nel rinascimento," 1786
"Cities of Hope," edited by Pineo and Baer, 608
"Citizens without Rights," by Chesterman and Galligan, 889
"Civic Charity in a Golden Age," by McCants, 664
"The Civic Muse," by D'Accone, 1737
"Civil War Generals in Defeat," edited by Woodworth (E), 1433
"Civil War, Interregnum and Restoration in Gloucestershire, 1640–1672," by Warmington, 633
"La civilisation du coeur," by Nagle, 1002
"A Claim to Land by the River," by Adams and So, 293
Clancy-Smith, Julia, and Frances Gouda, editors, "Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism," 540
Clapham, Christopher, editor, "African Guerrillas" (E), 307
Clapson, Mark (R), 1756
Clark, Daniel J., "Like Night and Day: Unionization in a Southern Mill Town," 199

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Clark, Linda L. (R), 252
Clark, Peter (R), 976
Clark, Samuel (R), 1382
"A Clashing of the Soul," by Davis, 1691
"A Classical Republican in Eighteenth-Century France," by Wright, 657
Clausen, Edwin G., and William P. Head, editors, "Weaving a New Tapestry: Asia in the Post–Cold War World: Case Studies and General Trends" (E), 1432
Claydon, Tony, and Ian McBride, editors, "Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c. 1650–c. 1850," 1749
Clayton, Cornell W., and Howard Gillman, editors, "Supreme Court Decision-Making: New Institutionalist Approaches" (E), 700
"Clean Hands and Rough Justice," by Chambers and Dean, 269
"Cleaning Up the Great Lakes," by Kehoe, 604
"Clearcutting the Pacific Rain Forest," by Rajala, 584
Clegg, Claude A. III (R), 954
Clement, Priscilla Ferguson (R), 1318
Clements, Barbara Evans, "Bolshevik Women," 682
"El Clero en Cantabria en la edad moderna," by Montes, 662
Cliff, Andrew, Peter Haggett, and Matthew Smallman-Raynor, "Deciphering Global Epidemics: Analytical Approaches to the Disease Records of World Cities, 1888–1912," 1264
"Clipped Wings," by Merryman, 597
"The Clock and the Mirror," by Siraisi, 674
Clouse, Robert G. (R), 993
Clunas, Craig, *Modernity Global and Local: Consumption and the Rise of the West*, 1497–1511
Clymer, Kenton (R), 585
Coates, Peter, "Nature: Western Attitudes since Ancient Times," 1268
Coatsworth, John H. (R), 1718
Coatsworth, John H., and Alan M. Taylor, editors, "Latin America and the World Economy since 1800" (E), 1057
Cochrane, Feargal, "Unionist Politics and the Politics of Unionism since the Anglo-Irish Agreement," 244
Coetzee, Frans (R), 1376
Coffey, John, "Politics, Religion, and the British Revolutions: The Mind of Samuel Rutherford," 635
Cohen, Mark Nathan, "Culture of Intolerance: Chauvinism, Class, and Racism in the United States," 607
Cohen, Martin A. (R), 284
Cohen, Miriam (R), 937
Cohen, Patricia Cline, "The Murder of Helen Jewett: The Life and Death of a Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century New York," 907
Cohen, Paul A., *Time, Culture, and Christian Eschatology: The Year 2000 in the West and the World*, 1615–28
Cohen, Richard I., "Jewish Icons: Art and Society in Modern Europe," 979
Cohen, William B., "Urban Government and the Rise of the French City: Five Municipalities in the Nineteenth Century," 1009
Colbert, Charles, "A Measure of Perfection: Phrenology and the Fine Arts in America," 906
The Cold War, by Leffler, 501–24
"The Cold War American West, 1945–1989," edited by Fernlund (E), 302
"Cold-War Propaganda in the 1950s," edited by Rawnsley (E), 1053
Coleman, Michael C. (R), 568
Collier, Simon (R), 957
Collins, Robert M. (R), 1702
Collinson, Patrick, and John Craig, editors, "The Reformation in English Towns, 1500–1640" (E), 700
"Colonial Bridgehead," by Reimer, 287
"The Colony That Rose from the Sea," by Mauk, 922
"Colporteurs du Komintern," by Ter Minassian, 281
"The Columbia History of the Twentieth Century," edited by Bulliet, 546
"Comets, Popular Culture, and the Birth of Modern Cosmology," by Genuth, 240
"Commerce and Economic Change in West Africa," by Lynn, 1803
Commins, David (R), 1041
"Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire," by Allsen, 1632
"The Common Ground of Womanhood," by Murolo, 585
"Compañero," by Castañeda, 615
Conard, Rebecca (R), 604
"The Confederate War," by Gallagher, 194
Confino, Alon, "The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871–1918," 1260
"Confronting the Holocaust," edited by Feinstein, Schierman, and Littell (E), 301
"The Confusions of Pleasure," by Brook, 876
Conklin, Alice L., "A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930," 157
Connell-Szasz, Margaret (R), 1659
Conners, Richard, Stephen Taylor, and Clyve Jones, editors, "Hanoverian Britain and Empire: Essays in Memory of Philip Lawson" (E), 1058
Conrad, Peter, "Modern Times, Modern Places," 1641
Conroy, Mary Schaeffer, editor, "Emerging Democracy in Late Imperial Russia: Case Studies in Local Self-Government (the Zemstvos), State Duma Elections, the Tsarist Government, and the State Council before and during World War I" (E), 700
Conser, Walter H., Jr., and Sumner B. Twiss, editors, "Religious Diversity and American Religious History: Studies in Traditions and Cultures," 890
"Constant Minds," by McCrea, 1746
"Constitution and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Poland," edited by Fiszman, 272
"Consumers against Capitalism? Consumer Cooperation in Europe, North America, and Japan, 1840–1990," edited by Furlough and Strikwerda (E), 1053
"Consuming Power," by Nye, 605
"Contact Points," edited by Cayton and Teute (E), 301
"Contempt and Pity," by Scott, 1338
"The Contentious Crown," by Williams, 995
"Contentious Traditions," by Mani, 1281
"Contested Communities," by Klubock, 1358
"The Contested Plains," by West, 567
"Contesting the Australian Way," edited by Smyth and Cass (E), 1432
"Contours of Death and Disease in Early Modern England," by Dobson, 989
Contreni, John J. (R), 236
"Controlling Misbehavior in England, 1370–1600," by McIntosh, 976

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The Convent and the Community in Late Medieval England," by Oliva, 622
Convergence or Divergence? Recent Historical Writings on the Rape of Nanjing, by Yang, 842–65
"Conversing by Signs," by St. George, 1293
Cook, Noble David, "Born to Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492–1650," 559
Cookson, J. E., "The British Armed Nation, 1793–1815," 639
Cooper, Frederick, and Randall Packard, editors, "International Development and the Social Sciences: Essays on the History and Politics of Knowledge," 535
Cope, R. Douglas (R), 1349
"Il coraggio della ragione," edited by Guerci and Ricuperati (E), 1819
Corbin, Alain, "Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside," 1008
Cormack, Lesley B., "Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities, 1580–1620," 632
Cornell, Laurel L. (R), 164
Coryell, Janet L., *et al.*, "Beyond Image and Convention: Explorations in Southern Women's History," 1290
Coufoudakis, Van, Harry J. Psomiades, and Andre Gerolymatos, editors, "Greece and the New Balkans: Challenges and Opportunities" (E), 1436
"The Counter-Revolution in Revolution," by Shlapentokh, 1793
"Country Schoolwomen," by Weiler, 1698
Countryman, Edward (R), 1636
"Courts and Commerce," by Rosen, 899
"Cousins and Strangers," by Moya, 532
"The Cousins' Wars," by Phillips, 1636
Cova, Anne, "Maternité et droits des femmes en France (XIX^{e}–XX^{e} siècles)," 253
"Craftsmanship and Character," by Hyman, 1344
Craig, Campbell, "Destroying the Village: Eisenhower and Thermonuclear War," 952
Craig, John, and Patrick Collinson, editors, "The Reformation in English Towns, 1500–1640" (E), 700
Craig, Robert H. (R), 1337
"The Crash of Ruin," by Schrijvers, 948
Crass, David Colin, *et al.*, editors, "The Southern Colonial Backcountry: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Frontier Communities" (E), 698
Crawford, Michael J. (R), 184
Cray, Ed, "Chief Justice: A Biography of Earl Warren," 222
"Creating a National Home," by Kelly, 914
"Creating Born Criminals," by Rafter, 179
"Creating Historical Memory," edited by Boutilier and Prentice, 554
"Creating Modern Capitalism," edited by McCraw, 1271
"Creating the New Woman," by McArthur, 1693
Crecelius, Daniel (R), 287
Cressy, David (R), 985
"Crisis and Commission Government in Memphis," by Wrenn, 919
"The Crisis of the Standing Order," by Field, 1665
Crocker, Ruth (R), 1693
Crofts, Daniel W. (R), 565
Cross, Gary, "Kids' Stuff: Toys and the Changing World of American Childhood," 177
Cross, Gary (R), 1639
Crossick, Geoffrey, editor, "The Artisan and the European Town, 1500–1900," 979
"The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic," by Millar, 1359
Crowe, David M. (R), 273
Crowley, John E., *The Sensibility of Comfort*, 749–82
Crowson, N. J., "Facing Fascism: The Conservative Party and the European Dictators, 1935–1940," 1758
Cruz, Anne J. (R), 257, 1396
Cruz, Jesus, "Gentlemen, Bourgeois, and Revolutionaries: Political Change and Cultural Persistence among the Spanish Dominant Groups 1750–1850," 1015
Culham, Phyllis (R), 969
Cull, Nicholas J. (R), 1050
Cullather, Nick (R), 535
Cullen, L. M., "The Brandy Trade under the *Ancien Régime*: Regional Specialisation in the Charente," 1003
Cullen, L. M. (R), 1760
Cullinane, Michael (R), 887
"Cultivating Music in America," edited by Locke and Barr, 1696
"Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire," edited by Laurence and Berry (E), 304
"The Cultural Politics of Tel Quel," by Marx-Scouras, 255
"Cultural Realism," by Johnston, 525
"Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, A.D. 481–751," by Hen, 1361
"Culture and State in Chinese History," edited by Huters, Wong, and Yu, 868
"Culture of Intolerance," by Cohen, 607
"The Culture of Spontaneity," by Belgrad, 1708
Culture, Power, and Place, by Wigen, 1183–1201
Cumming, Carman, "Sketches from a Young Country: The Images of *Grip* Magazine," 556
Cunningham, Hugh, and Joanna Innes, editors, "Charity, Philanthropy and Reform: From the 1690s to 1850" (E), 305
Cuno, Kenneth M. (R), 1799
Curtin, Philip D., "Disease and Empire: The Health of European Troops in the Conquest of Africa," 1637
Cushner, Nicholas P. (R), 1354
Cutinelli-Rèndina, Emanuele, "Chiesa e religione in Machiavelli," 1787

D'Accone, Frank A., "The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance," 1737
Daddysman, James W. (R), 1305
Dahl, Gunnar, "Trade, Trust and Networks: Commercial Culture in Late Medieval Italy," 977
"Daimler-Benz in the Third Reich," by Gregor, 1406
"Dall'Europa libertina all'Europa illuminista," by Zoli, 1367
Dalzell, Robert F., Jr., and Lee Baldwin Dalzell, "George Washington's Mount Vernon: At Home in Revolutionary America," 1662
D'Amico, Francine, and Laurie Weinstein, editors, "Gender Camouflage: Women and the U.S. Military" (E), 1433
"Damned Women," by Reis, 183
Damousi, Joy, "Depraved and Disorderly: Female Convicts, Sexuality and Gender in Colonial Australia," 168

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Dan Daniel and the Persistence of Conservatism in Virginia," by Hayes, 1714
"The Dark Side of the Left," by Ellis, 1713
"Darlan," by Melton, 1770
Darsey, James, "The Prophetic Tradition and Radical Rhetoric in America," 179
"Darwinism Comes to America," by Numbers, 1316
Daunton, Martin, and Rick Halpern, editors, "Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600–1850" (E), 1818
Davies, Charles E., "The Blood-Red Arab Flag: An Investigation into Qasimi Piracy, 1797–1820," 1423
Davies, Edward J. II (R), 199
Davies, Richard O., editor, "The Maverick Spirit: Building the New Nevada" (E), 1056
Davis, Darién J. (R), 692, 1807
Davis, David Brion (R), 1286
Davis, James E., "Frontier Illinois," 1679
Davis, John A. (R), 1030
Davis, John R., "Britain and the German Zollverein, 1848–66," 640
Davis, Lance E., Robert E. Gallman, and Karin Gleiter, "In Pursuit of Leviathan: Technology, Institutions, Productivity, and Profits in American Whaling, 1816–1906," 189
Davis, Leroy, "A Clashing of the Soul: John Hope and the Dilemma of African American Leadership and Black Higher Education in the Early Twentieth Century," 1691
Dayton, Cornelia Hughes (R), 146
De Grave, Kathleen (R), 907
De La Pedraja, René (R), 189
de Noirfontaine, Françoise, Pierre Chaunu, and Madeleine Foisil, "Le basculement religieux de Paris au XVIII[e] siècle: Essai d'histoire politique et religieuse," 1765
De Vries, Jan, and Ad Van Der Woude, "The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815," 1398
"Deadly Dreams," by Wong, 1276
"Dealing with Britain," by Ludlow, 1759
Dean, Carolyn J. (R), 1640
Dean, Eric T., Jr., "Shook over Hell: Post-Traumatic Stress, Vietnam, and the Civil War," 147
Dean, Trevor, and David S. Chambers, "Clean Hands and Rough Justice: An Investigating Magistrate in Renaissance Italy," 269
Dean, Trevor, and K. J. P. Lowe, editors, "Marriage in Italy, 1300–1650," 670
The Death Triangle [*Triunghiul Morţii*], directed by Nicolaescu, reviewed by Bucur, 1427
DeBauche, Leslie Midkiff, "Reel Patriotism: The Movies and World War I," 928
"Decentering the Regime," by Rubin, 1351
"Deciphering Global Epidemics," by Cliff, Haggett, and Smallman-Raynor, 1264
Decker, Hannah S. (R), 1794
"Defenders of the Holy Land," by Phillips, 285
Delaney, David, "Race, Place, and the Law, 1836–1948," 1687
Delgado, Linda C., and Félix V. Matos Rodríguez, editors, "Puerto Rican Women's History: New Perspectives" (E), 1434
Deloria, Philip J., "Playing Indian," 1658
Delpar, Helen (R), 962
Demagogues or Mystagogues? Gender and the Language of Prophecy in the Age of Democratic Revolutions, by Juster, 1560–81
"Democracy and Socialism in Republican China," by Jeans, 161
"Demokratische Herausforderung und politische Parteien," by Albertin, 1408
den Boer, Pim, "History as a Profession: The Study of History in France, 1818–1914," 1391
den Otter, A. A., "The Philosophy of Railways: The Transcontinental Railway Idea in British North America," 173
Dennett, Andrea Stulman, "Weird and Wonderful: The Dime Museum in America," 201
"Depraved and Disorderly," by Damousi, 168
"Dereliction of Duty," by McMaster, 226
Derfler, Leslie (R), 660
Derfler, Leslie, "Paul Lafargue and the Flowering of French Socialism, 1882–1911," 1012
"Desegregating the Dollar," by Weems, 1704
"Designing Modern America," by Spann, 943
"Destroying the Village," by Craig, 952
DeVeaux, Scott (R), 1707
"Devil's Bargains," by Rothman, 1683
Dickerson, Dennis C., "Militant Mediator: Whitney M. Young, Jr.," 932
Dickinson, Matthew J., "Bitter Harvest: FDR, Presidential Power and the Growth of the Presidential Branch," 214
Diehl, James M. (R), 267
Dingman, Roger, "Ghost of War: The Sinking of the *Awa Maru* and Japanese-American Relations, 1945–1995," 874
Dinnerstein, Leonard (R), 191
"Diplomacy and Deception," by Elleman, 280
"The Diplomatic Retreat of France and Public Opinion on the Eve of the French Revolution, 1783–1789," by Murphy, 657
Dippie, Brian W. (C), 714
Dirks, Robert (R), 613
"Disease and Empire," by Curtin, 1637
"Disease and Medical Care in the Mountain West," edited by Hildreth and Moran (E), 1433
"Dismembering the Body Politic," by Halliday, 1748
"Dispossession by Degrees," by O'Brien, 182
"Disquiet in the Land," by Kniss, 917
"Divided Loyalties," by Fagan, 244
"Divided Memory," by Herf, 1780
Divitiis, Gigliola Pagano de, "English Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Italy," 1372
Dixon, Chris, "Perfecting the Family: Antislavery Marriages in Nineteenth-Century America," 1670
Dobak, William A., "Fort Riley and Its Neighbors: Military Money and Economic Growth, 1853–1895," 1681
Dobson, Mary J., "Contours of Death and Disease in Early Modern England," 989
"Dockers, métallos, ménagères," by Barzman, 661
Dolenc, Ervin, "Kulturni Boj: Slovenska kulturna politika v Kraljevini SHS 1918–1929" [Cultural Struggle: Slovene Cultural Policy in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, 1918–1929], 275
"Domesticating the Empire," edited by Clancy-Smith and Gouda, 540
Domesticity and Difference, by Lindsay, 783–812
Donald, Leland, "Aboriginal Slavery on the Northwest Coast of North America," 894

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Donaldson, Susan V. (R), 1290
Donnelly, James S., Jr., and Kerby A. Miller, editors, "Irish Popular Culture, 1650–1850," 1760
Doran, Robert (R), 282
Dorman, Robert L., "A Word for Nature: Four Pioneering Environmental Advocates, 1845–1913," 1312
Dorn, Jacob H., editor, "Socialism and Christianity in Early 20th Century America" (E), 302
Dotterweich, Volker, editor, "Kontroversen der Zeitgeschichte: Historisch-politische Themen im Meinungsstreit" (E), 1434
"Double Ghosts," by Chappell, 154
Doughty, Robin W. (R), 1682
Doumanis, Nicholas, "Myth and Memory in the Mediterranean: Remembering Fascism's Empire," 676
Dowd, Kevin, and Richard H. Timberlake, Jr., editors, "Money and the Nation State: The Financial Revolution, Government and the World Monetary System" (E), 1053
"Down from Olympus," by Marchand, 1019
Downs, Jacques M., "The Golden Ghetto: The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784–1844," 160
Doyle, William (R), 657
"Dr. Strangelove's America," by Henriksen, 951
Drachman, Virginia G., "Sisters in Law: Women Lawyers in Modern American History," 935
Dragojević, Srdjan, 693, 1428
"Les draps de Sedan 1646–1870," by Gayot, 1766
Dreger, Alice Domurat, "Hermaphrodites and the Medical Invention of Sex," 1265
Dreyer, Edward L. (R), 525
Drobney, Jeffrey A., "Lumbermen and Log Sawyers: Life, Labor, and Culture in the North Florida Timber Industry, 1830–1930," 581
Dube, Saurabh, "Untouchable Pasts: Religion, Identity, and Power among a Central Indian Community, 1780–1950," 165
"Dublin's Merchant-Quaker," by Greaves, 988
DuBois, Ellen Carol, "Harriot Stanton Blatch and the Winning of Woman Suffrage," 1694
Duchhardt, Heinz, and Andreas Kunz, editors, "Reich oder Nation? Mitteleuropa 1780–1815" (E), 306
Duden, Barbara, Jürgen Schlumbohm, and Jacques Gélis, *et al.*, editors, "Rituale der Geburt: Eine Kulturgeschichte" (E), 696
Duffin, Jacalyn, "To See with a Better Eye: A Life of R. T. H. Laennec," 1005
Duffy, Michael (R), 228
Duggan, Anne J., editor, "Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe," 234
Duguay, Christian, 1426
Duiker, William J. (R), 549
Duncan, Christopher J., and Susan Scott, "Human Demography and Disease," 1263
Dungan, Myles, "They Shall Grown Not Old: Irish Soldiers and the Great War," 1001
Dupre, Daniel (R), 920
Dupre, Daniel S., "Transforming the Cotton Frontier: Madison County, Alabama, 1800–1840," 565
Duram, James C. (R), 222
Durant, Thomas J., Jr., and J. David Knottnerus, editors, "Plantation Society and Race Relations: The Origins of Inequality" (E), 1815
Dutton, David, "The Politics of Diplomacy: Britain and France in the Balkans in the First World War," 1741
Dyreson, Mark, "Making the American Team: Sport, Culture, and the Olympic Experience," 1686
Dyzenhaus, David, editor, "Law as Politics: Carl Schmitt's Critique of Liberalism" (E), 1059

Eakin, Marshall C., "Brazil: The Once and Future Country," 232
"Earl Browder," by Ryan, 213
"The Early Elizabethan Polity," by Alford, 1743
"The Early Roman Empire in the East," edited by Alcock (E), 304
Early, Frances H., "A World without War: How U.S. Feminists and Pacifists Resisted World War I," 596
East Side Story, directed by Ranga, reviewed by Barrett, 1049
"Eastern Europe," edited by Ramet (E), 1059
Eatwell, Roger (R), 1024
"The Eclectic Legacy," by Brooks, 1769
"The Eclipse of Great Britain," by Orde, 647
"An Economic History of the Silk Industry, 1830–1930," by Federico, 1638
"Economics in the Long Run," by Rosenof, 1702
"The Economics of World War II," edited by Harrison, 543
"Economy and Environment in the Caribbean," by Richardson, 613
"Economy and Nature in the Fourteenth Century," by Kaye, 237
Edbury, Peter W., "John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem," 1040
Edles, Laura Desfor, "Symbol and Ritual in the New Spain: The Transition to Democracy after Franco," 1775
Edmond, Rod, "Representing the South Pacific: Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin," 1261
"Educating Middle Class Daughters," by Gold, 1399
"1898," by Traxel, 1323
Edwards, David B., "Heroes of the Age: Moral Fault Lines on the Afghan Frontier," 289
Edwards, Douglas R., "Religion and Power: Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greek East," 282
Edwards, Laura F., "Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction," 575
Edwards, Rebecca, "Angels in the Machinery: Gender in American Party Politics from the Civil War to the Progressive Era," 577
Edwards, Rebecca (R), 1693
Egerton, Douglas R. (R), 191
Egnal, Marc (R), 1663
"L'Égypte, une aventure savante," by Laissus, 1768
Eidintas, Alfonsas, and Vytautas Žalys, "Lithuania in European Politics: The Years of the First Republic, 1918–1940," 273
"1898," by Traxel, 1323
Eiler, Keith E., "Mobilizing America: Robert P. Patterson and the War Effort, 1940–1945," 947
"Eisenbahnen und Eisenbahnunternehmer in der Industriellen Revolution," by Then, 539
"Die Eisenhower-Administration und die zweite Berlin-Krise, 1958–1961," by Bremen, 1335
"Eisenhower's Heart Attack," by Lasby, 1715

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Eisenstadt, Peter, editor, "Black Conservatism: Essays in Intellectual and Political History" (E), 1055
Ekberg, Carl J., "French Roots in the Illinois Country: The Mississippi Frontier in Colonial Times," 1292
Eksteins, Modris (R), 1641
Eldridge, Larry D., editor, "Women and Freedom in Early America," 146
"Eleanor of Provence," by Howell, 1364
"Élites locales, señores, reformistas," by Windler, 1016
Elizabeth, directed by Kapur, reviewed by Sweet, 297
"The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland," by McGurk, 648
Elkin, Judith Laikin (R), 1370
"An Emotional History of the United States," edited by Stearns and Lewis, 1266
Elleman, Bruce A., "Diplomacy and Deception: The Secret History of Sino-Soviet Diplomatic Relations, 1917–1927," 280
Ellenblum, Ronnie, "Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," 285
Ellis, Richard J., editor, "Speaking to the People: The Rhetorical Presidency in Historical Perspective" (E), 700
Ellis, Richard J., "The Dark Side of the Left: Illiberal Egalitarianism in America," 1713
Ellis, William E., "Robert Worth Bingham and the Southern Mystique: From the Old South to the New South and Beyond," 1690
"Emerging Democracy in Late Imperial Russia," edited by Conroy (E), 700
"Emigration and the Labouring Poor," by Haines, 168
Emmerson, Richard K., *The Secret*, 1603–28
Emmons, Terence (R), 1037
"Empire and Others," edited by Daunton and Halpern (E), 1818
"Empire's Nature," edited by Meyers and Pritchard (E), 1054
"The Empress, the Queen, and the Nun," by Sánchez, 1396
"The End of the Peasantry," by Pereira, 232
"Endless Frontier," by Zachary, 216
"Endless Novelty," by Scranton, 1307
"Des enfances protégées," by Perrier, 1764
Eng, Robert Y. (R), 1638
Engerman, Stanley L., editor, "Terms of Labor: Slavery, Serfdom, and Free Labor" (E), 1813
"England and Germany in the High Middle Ages," edited by Haverkamp and Vollrath (E), 1816
"England's Empty Throne," by Strohm, 1733
"England's Jewish Solution," by Mundill, 1732
"English Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Italy," by de Divitiis, 1372
"English Population History from Family Reconstitution, 1580–1837," by Wrigley, *et al.*, 990
"The English Reformation and the Laity," by Litzenberger, 984
"The Enlightenment of Joseph Priestley," by Schofield, 992
"Enlisting Women for the Cause," by Kealey, 1285
Enstam, Elizabeth York, "Women and the Creation of Urban Life: Dallas, Texas, 1843–1920," 1693
Entelis, John P., editor, "Islam, Democracy, and the State in North Africa," 291
"Entre silencios y voces," edited by Rodríguez Sáenz, 1720
"Envisioning the City," edited by Buisseret, 152
Epstein, Steven A. (R), 977
"Erasmus, the Anabaptists, and the Great Commission," by Friesen, 666
Erb, Rainer, and Werner Bergmann, "Anti-Semitism in Germany: The Post-Nazi Epoch since 1945," 669
Erenberg, Lewis A., "Swingin' the Dream: Big Band Jazz and the Rebirth of American Culture," 1707
Ertman, Thomas, "Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe," 526
"Esau's Tears," by Lindemann, 1370
"The Este Monuments and Urban Development in Renaissance Ferrara," by Rosenberg, 672
Etulain, Richard W. (R), 1313
Eurocentricity Triumphant, by Mokyr, 1241–46
A Europe of Regions, by Applegate, 1157–82
Evans, Harry B. (R), 970
"Everyday Things in Premodern Japan," by Hanley, 164
Evtuhov, Catherine, *et al.*, editors, "Kazan, Moscow, St. Petersburg: Multiple Faces of the Russian Empire" (E), 701
"Exchanging Our Country Marks," by Gomez, 1660
Exner, Peter, "Ländliche Gesellschaft und Landwirtschaft in Westfalen, 1919–1969," 1778
"Expanding Class," by Kalb, 1017
"Extending Citizenship, Reconfiguring States," edited by Hanagan and Tilly (E), 1813
Ezergailis, Andrew (R), 281

"Face of Empire," by Golay, 926
"Faces along the Bar," by Powers, 1311
"The Faces of Honor," edited by Johnson and Lipsett-Rivera (E), 1057
"Facing Fascism," by Crowson, 1758
Fagan, Patrick, "Divided Loyalties: The Question of the Oath for Irish Catholics in the Eighteenth Century," 244
Fahey, David M. (R), 1306
Fahmy, Khaled, "All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, His Army and the Making of Modern Egypt," 686
"Fair Shares for All," by Gross, 249
Fairbanks, Robert B. (R), 944
Fairfield, John D. (R), 913
Falasca-Zamponi, Simonetta, "Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini's Italy," 675
Falcón, Romana, "Las rasgaduras de la descolonización: Españoles y mexicanos a mediados del siglo XIX," 156
"Families in Classical and Hellenistic Greece," by Pomeroy, 1358
"Family and Favela," by Pino, 965
"Family, Commerce, and Religion in London and Cologne," by Huffman, 1729
"Family Matters," by Carp, 175
"Famine, Land and Politics," by Gray, 1382
Fara, Patricia, "Sympathetic Attractions: Magnetic Practices, Beliefs, and Symbolism in Eighteenth-Century England," 243
Faragher, John Mack (R), 1292
Farber, David (R), 1688
Farber, Paul Lawrence (R), 1265
"Farming the Cutover," by Gough, 1681
Farnham, Christie (R), 192
Farnham, Christie Anne, editor, "Women of the American South: A Multicultural Reader," 1290

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Faron, Olivier, "La ville des destins croisés: Recherches sur la société milanaise du XIX[e] siècle (1811–1860)," 1031
"Fascist Spectacle," by Falasca-Zamponi, 675
"Fascist Visions," edited by Affron and Antliff, 873
Fass, Paula S., "Kidnapped: Child Abduction in America," 176
Fass, Paula S. (R), 1319
"Fat History," by Stearns, 1325
Faue, Elizabeth (R), 1327
Faulkner, Robert K. (R), 987
Faure, David (R), 1646
Faure, David, and Tao Tao Liu, editors, "Unity and Diversity: Local Cultures and Identities in China" (E), 697
Fay, Peter Ward (R), 1276
"FDR and the U.S. Navy," edited by Marolda (E), 302
"Fear in Early Modern Society," edited by Naphy and Roberts, 626
Federico, Giovanni, "An Economic History of the Silk Industry, 1830–1930," 1638
"Feeding the Baniya," by Hardiman, 164
Feigon, Lee (R), 877
Feingold, Mordechai (R), 1752
Feinman, Gary M., and Joyce Marcus, editors, "Archaic States" (E), 1431
Feinstein, Stephen C., Karen Schierman, and Marcia Sachs Littell, editors, "Confronting the Holocaust: A Mandate for the Twenty-First Century, Part Two" (E), 301
Feldman, Gerald D., Manfred F. Boemeke, and Elisabeth Glaser, editors, "The Treaty of Versailles: A Reassessment after 75 Years" (E), 305
Feldman, Glenn (R), 149
"Feminism and Its Discontents," by Buhle, 590
Feminism, Social Science, and the Meanings of Modernity, by Allen, 1085–1114
"Feminisms and Internationalism," edited by Sinha, Guy, and Woollacott (E), 1813
Fenton, William N., "The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy," 893
Fernández Pérez, Paloma, "El rostro familiar de la metrópoli: Redes de parentesco y lazos mercantiles en Cádiz, 1700–1812," 1014
Fernández, Raúl, and Jeffrey Belnap, editors, "José Martí's 'Our America': From National to Hemispheric Cultural Studies" (E), 1057
Fernlund, Kevin J., editor, "The Cold War American West, 1945–1989" (E), 302
Ferraro, Joanne M. (R), 1366
Ferrell, Robert H., "The Presidency of Calvin Coolidge," 929
Ferris, John (R), 647
Field, Daniel (R), 1417
Field, Peter S., "The Crisis of the Standing Order: Clerical Intellectuals and Cultural Authority in Massachusetts, 1780–1833," 1665
Figes, Orlando, "A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution, 1891–1924," 681
"Fighting on Two Fronts," by Westheider, 602
Filene, Peter G., "In the Arms of Others: A Cultural History of the Right-to-Die in America," 1341
Findlay, James (R), 1717
"La fine della "grande illusione," " by Violante, 1392
Fine, Lisa M. (R), 585
Fink, Carole, Philipp Gassert, and Detlef Junker, editors, "1968: The World Transformed" (E), 697
Fink, Deborah (R), 1681
Fink, Gary M., and Hugh Davis Graham, editors, "The Carter Presidency: Policy Choices in the Post–New Deal Era," 605
Finkelstein, Monte S., "Separatism, the Allies, and the Mafia: The Struggle for Sicilian Independence, 1943–1948," 1789
Finlayson, Michael (R), 242
Finucane, Ronald C., "The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles," 1731
Finzsch, Norbert, and Dietmar Schirmer, editors, "Identity and Intolerance: Nationalism, Racism, and Xenophobia in Germany and the United States" (E), 300
"The First Chinese Democracy," by Chao and Myers, 881
"The First Crusaders, 1095–1131," by Riley-Smith, 236
"The First Impeachment," by Melton, 1298
"The First International in France, 1864–1872," by Archer, 660
"The First Modern Economy," by De Vries and Van Der Woude, 1398
Fischer, David Hackett, "The Great Wave: Price Revolutions and the Rhythm of History," 866
Fischer, Gayle V. (R), 1810
Fisher, Michael H. (R), 1279
Fiske, Jo-Anne, Susan Sleeper-Smith, and William Wicken, editors, "New Faces of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the Seventh North American Fur Trade Conference, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1995" (E), 698
Fiszman, Samuel, editor, "Constitution and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Poland: The Constitution of 3 May 1791," 272
Fletcher, Marvin E. (R), 912
"The Flight of Icarus," by Amelang, 1739
"Flora Tristan," by Grogan, 1008
"Florida's Black Public Officials, 1867–1924," by Brown, 1306
Flower, Harriet I., "Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture," 233
Fogarty, Robert S. (R), 1689
Fogel, Joshua A., and Peter G. Zarrow, editors, "Imagining the People: Chinese Intellectuals and the Concept of Citizenship, 1890–1920," 877
Foisil, Madeleine, Pierre Chaunu, and Françoise de Noirfontaine, "Le basculement religieux de Paris au XVIII[e] siècle: Essai d'histoire politique et religieuse," 1765
Foley, Neil, "The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture," 149
"A Folk Divided," by Barton, 158
Follet, Joyce, 1810
Foltz, Richard, "Mughal India and Central Asia," 1279
"For Faith and Fortune," by Vinyard, 1692
"For Women and the Nation," by Johnson-Odim and Mba, 294
"Forbidden Signs," by Baynton, 202
Forey, A. J. (R), 285
"Forged in War," by Kimball, 218
"Forging Mexico, 1821–1835," by Anna, 230
"Forgotten Crisis," by Kaplan, 1010
Forman, Seth, "Blacks in the Jewish Mind: A Crisis of Liberalism," 954

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Forster, Ben (R), 555
"Fort Riley and Its Neighbors," by Dobak, 1681
"The Founding Myths of Israel," by Sternhell, 290
Fowler, Will, "Mexico in the Age of Proposals, 1821–1853," 1719
Fowler, William M., Jr. (R), 186
Fowler-Salamini, Heather (R), 1351
"Foxholes and Color Lines," by Mershon and Schlossman, 1339
"La France et l'Égypte de 1882 à 1914," by Saul, 288
"France on Display," by Peer, 1013
"France Restored," by Hitchcock, 1772
France, John (R), 1729
"Francis Bacon," by Zagorin, 986
Frank, Andre Gunder, "ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age," 1274
Frank, Joseph Allan, "With Ballot and Bayonet: The Political Socialization of American Civil War Soldiers," 911
"Frankenstein's Children," by Morus, 1755
"Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," by Ellenblum, 285
Franklin, Julian H. (R), 239
Franklin, V. P. (R), 600
Franklin, V. P., *et al.*, editors, "African Americans and Jews in the Twentieth Century: Studies in Convergence and Conflict" (E), 1055
"Franks and Alamanni in the Merovingian Period," edited by Wood (E), 1816
Fraser, Walter J., Jr. (R), 1674
Frederick, William H. (R), 885, 886
"Frederick Jackson Turner," by Bogue, 1316
"Frederick William IV and the Prussian Monarchy 1840–1861," by Barclay, 1022
"Free Speech in Its Forgotten Years," by Rabban, 593
"A Freeborn People," by Underdown, 632
Freed, John B. (R), 1735
Freedman, Estelle B., "Maternal Justice: Miriam Van Waters and the Female Reform Tradition," 937
"Freedom and Terror in the Donbas," by Kuromiya, 1420
"Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won," by Butler, 1355
Freeman, Susan Tax (R), 256
"The Free-Standing Company in the World Economy 1830–1996," edited by Wilkins and Schröter (E), 1052
"The French Idea of Freedom," edited by Kley, 248
"French Roots in the Illinois Country," by Ekberg, 1292
French, John D., and Daniel James, editors, "The Gendered Worlds of Latin American Women Workers: From Household and Factory to the Union Hall and Ballot Box," 610
French, R. K. (R), 674
French, Roger, Jon Arrizabalaga, and John Henderson, "The Great Pox: The French Disease in Renaissance Europe," 1026
"Freud and the Bolsheviks," by Miller, 1794
Freudenberger, Herman (R), 1401
Frey, Marsha L. (R), 257
Fried, Barbara H., "The Progressive Assault in Laissez Faire: Robert Hale and the First Law and Economics Movement," 1701
Friedeburg, Robert von, "Ländliche Gesellschaft und Obrigkeit: Gemeindeprotest und politische Mobilisierung im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert," 264
Friedland, Michael, "Lift Your Voice Like a Trumpet: White Clergy and the Civil Rights and Antiwar Movements, 1954–1973," 601
Friedman, Jonathan, "The Lion and the Star: Gentile-Jewish Relations in Three Hessian Communities, 1919–1945," 1023
Friedman, Murray, "What Went Wrong? The Creation and Collapse of the Black-Jewish Alliance," 954
Friedman, Saul S., "Jews and the American Slave Trade," 191
Friedrichs, Christopher R. (R), 1776
Friend, Craig Thompson, editor, "The Buzzel about Kentuck: Settling the Promised Land" (E), 699
Friesen, Abraham, "Erasmus, the Anabaptists, and the Great Commission," 666
Frigyesi, Judit, "Béla Bartók and Turn-of-the-Century Budapest," 1411
Fritzsche, Peter (R), 534
From Borderlands to Borders, by Adelman and Aron, 814–41
"From Clermont to Jerusalem," edited by Murray (E), 305
"From Liberalism to Fascism," by Passmore, 253
"From Mae to Madonna," by Sochen, 1697
"From Poliziano to Machiavelli," by Godman, 1027
"From Subject to Citizen," by Hazareesingh, 1390
"From the Royal to the Republican Body," edited by Melzer and Norberg, 653
"Front und Heimat," by Ziemann, 1023
"Frontier Illinois," by Davis, 1679
"The Frontier in the Colonial South," by Johnson, 897
"Frontier Nomads of Iran," by Tapper, 1422
"Frontiers in Question," edited by Power and Standen (E), 1431
"Frontiers of Historical Imagination," by Klein, 530
Fruchtman, Jack, Jr. (R), 1662
"The Fruits of Their Labor," by Hahamovitch, 921
Fuchs, Rachel G. (R), 1633
Furlough, Ellen, and Carl Strikwerda, editors, "Consumers against Capitalism? Consumer Cooperation in Europe, North America, and Japan, 1840–1990" (E), 1053
Futrell, Alison, "Blood in the Arena: The Spectacle of Roman Power," 969

Gabaccia, Donna R., "We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Foods and the Making of Americans," 1655
Gaines, Kevin K., "Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century," 599
Galambos, Louis (R), 196
Galbraith, Gretchen R., "Reading Lives: Reconstructing Childhood, Books, and Schools in Britain, 1870–1920," 996
Gallagher, Gary W., "The Confederate War," 194
Galligan, Brian, and John Chesterman, "Citizens without Rights: Aborigines and Australian Citizenship," 889
Gallman, Robert E., Lance E. Davis, and Karin Gleiter, "In Pursuit of Leviathan: Technology, Institutions, Productivity, and Profits in American Whaling, 1816–1906," 189
Galloway, Patricia (R), 867
Gandouly, Jacques, "Pédagogie et enseignement en Allemagne de 1800 à 1945," 1402

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Garavaglia, Juan Carlos, and Juan Carlos Grosso, "La región de Puebla y la economía novohispana: Las alcabalas en la Nueva España, 1776–1821," 962
Garnsey, Peter, Paul Cartledge, and Erich Gruen, editors, "Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography" (E), 303
Garrison, J. Ritchie, and Ann Smart Martin, editors, "American Material Culture: The Shape of the Field," 891
Gascoigne, John, "Science in the Service of Empire: Joseph Banks, the British State and the Uses of Science in the Age of Revolution," 1753
Gasman, Daniel (R), 1369
Gassert, Philipp, Carole Fink, and Detlef Junker, editors, "1968: The World Transformed" (E), 697
Gasster, Michael (R), 161
Gates, Hill (R), 1650
Gay, Peter, "Pleasure Wars: The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud": Volume 5, 627
Gayot, Gérard, "Les draps de Sedan 1646–1870," 1766
Geary, Patrick J. (R), 621
Geiger, Susan (R), 294
Geiger, Susan, "TANU Women: Gender and Culture in the Making of Tanganyikan Nationalism, 1955–1965," 688
Gelbart, Nina Rattner, "The King's Midwife: A History and Mystery of Madame du Coudray," 655
Gelbart, Nina Rattner (R), 1007
Gélis, Jacques, Jürgen Schlumbohm, and Barbara Duden, *et al.*, editors, "Rituale der Geburt: Eine Kulturgeschichte" (E), 696
"Gender and American Social Science," edited by Silverberg, 1321
"Gender and the Body in the Ancient Mediterranean," edited by Wyke (E), 303
"Gender Camouflage," edited by D'Amico and Weinstein (E), 1433
The Gender of Resistance in Communist Poland, by Kenney, 399–425
"Gender Politics in the Western Balkans," edited by Ramet (E), 1436
Gender, Vice, and the Political Imaginary in Nineteenth-Century France, by Margadant, 1461–96
"Gendered Colonialisms in African History," edited by Hunt, Liu, and Quataert, 687
"Gendered Strife and Confusion," by Edwards, 575
"The Gendered Worlds of Latin American Women Workers," edited by French and James, 610
Gendzier, Irene L., "Notes from the Minefield: United States Intervention in Lebanon and the Middle East, 1945–1958," 950
"A Genealogy of Manners," by Arditi, 1738
"The Gentleman's Daughter," by Vickery, 1754
"Gentlemen, Bourgeois, and Revolutionaries," by Cruz, 1015
Gentles, Ian (R), 634
Genuth, Sara Schechner, "Comets, Popular Culture, and the Birth of Modern Cosmology," 240
"George Ball," by Bill, 949
"George C. Marshall's Mediation Mission to China, December 1945–January 1947," edited by Bland (E), 302
"George Chastelain and the Shaping of Valois Burgundy," by Small, 1736
"George Washington's Mount Vernon," by Dalzell and Dalzell, 1662
"The German Lands and Eastern Europe," edited by Bartlett and Schönwalder (E), 1434
"Germany in Central America," by Schoonover, 667
"Germany's Transient Pasts," by Koshar, 534
Gerolymatos, Andre, Van Coufoudakis, and Harry J. Psomiades, editors, "Greece and the New Balkans: Challenges and Opportunities" (E), 1436
Gershoni, James Jankowski and Israel, editors, "Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East," 1798
Gerteis, Louis S. (R), 569
"Getting and Spending," edited by Strasser, McGovern, and Judt, 1639
Getz, Faye, "Medicine in the English Middle Ages," 1730
Getz, Lynne Marie, "Schools of Their Own: The Education of Hispanos in New Mexico, 1850–1940," 202
"The Ghost of Equality," by Higgs, 295
"Ghost of War," by Dingman, 874
Gibb, David R. (C), 321
Gilcher-Holtey, Ingrid, editor, "1968—Vom Ereignis zum Gegenstand der Geschichtswissenschaft" (E), 697
Gildea, Robert (R), 660
"Gilden im mittelalterlichen Skandinavien," by Anz, 1734
Giles, Paul (R), 1684
Gilfoyle, Timothy J., *Prostitutes in History: From Parables of Pornography to Metaphors of Modernity*, 117–41
Gilje, Paul A. (R), 1669
Gill, Christopher, Norman Postlethwaite, and Richard Seaford, editors, "Reciprocity in Ancient Greece" (E), 304
Gillespie, Raymond (R), 1379
Gillette, Howard, Jr., "Between Justice and Beauty: Race, Planning, and the Failure of Urban Policy in Washington, D.C," 224
Gillman, Howard, and Cornell W. Clayton, editors, "Supreme Court Decision-Making: New Institutionalist Approaches" (E), 700
Gilmartin, David (R), 167
Gilreath, James, editor, "Thomas Jefferson and the Education of a Citizen" (E), 1814
Gilsenan, Michael (R), 1421
Gitelman, Zvi, editor, "Bitter Legacy: Confronting the Holocaust in the USSR," 281
Given, James B., "Inquisition in Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc," 624
Glaser, Elisabeth, Manfred F. Boemeke, and Gerald D. Feldman, editors, "The Treaty of Versailles: A Reassessment after 75 Years" (E), 305
Glaser-Schmidt, Elisabeth, and David E. Barclay, editors, "Transatlantic Images and Perceptions: Germany and America since 1776," 158
Glassberg, David (R), 1341
Glazier, Ira A. (R), 1033
Gleach, Frederic W., "Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures," 181
Gleason, Elisabeth G. (R), 673
Gleiter, Karin, Lance E. Davis, and Robert E. Gallman, "In Pursuit of Leviathan: Technology, Institutions, Productivity, and Profits in American Whaling, 1816–1906," 189
Glennon, Robert Jerome (R), 1344
Glick, Thomas F. (R), 1773

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Glickman, Lawrence B., "A Living Wage: American Workers and the Making of Consumer Society," 1657
Godineau, Dominique, "The Women of Paris and Their French Revolution," 1007
"Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England," by Webster, 631
Godman, Peter, "From Poliziano to Machiavelli: Florentine Humanism in the High Renaissance," 1027
"God's Other Children," by Greaves, 243
Goffman, Daniel, "Britons in the Ottoman Empire, 1642–1660," 538
Golay, Frank Hindman, "Face of Empire: United States-Philippine Relations, 1898–1946," 926
Golb, Norman, "The Jews in Medieval Normandy: A Social and Intellectual History," 1731
Gold, Carol, "Educating Middle Class Daughters: Private Girls Schools in Copenhagen, 1790–1820," 1399
"Gold, France, and the Great Depression, 1919–1932," by Johnson, 1393
Goldberg, Robert Alan (R), 210
"Goldbugs and Greenbacks," by Ritter, 1679
"The Golden Ghetto," by Downs, 160
"A Golden State," edited by Rawls and Orsi (E), 1432
Goldfield, David (R), 1672
Goldman, Emily O., Peter Trubowitz, and Edward Rhodes, editors, "The Politics of Strategic Adjustment: Ideas, Institutions, and Interests" (E), 1056
Goldsmith, Barbara, "Other Powers: The Age of Suffrage, Spiritualism, and the Scandalous Victoria Woodhull," 915
Goldstein, Jonathan, editor, "The Jews of China," Volume 1, "Historical and Comparative Perspectives" (E), 1054
Goldy, Charlotte Newman (R), 622
Gomez, Michael A., "Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South," 1660
"The Good Citizen," by Schudson, 1287
"Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs," by Brown, 896
Goode, James (R), 950
Goodheart, Lawrence B. (R), 1308
Goodman, Nan, "Shifting the Blame: Literature, Law, and the Theory of Accidents in Nineteenth-Century America," 1669
"Goodness beyond Virtue," by Higonnet, 1387
Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas, "Hitler's Priestess: Savitri Devi, the Hindu-Aryan Myth, and Neo-Nazism," 1024
Goodwin, Joanne L. (R), 1703
Goossen, Rachel Waltner, "Women against the Good War: Conscientious Objection and Gender on the American Home Front, 1941–1947," 596
Gordon, Leonard H. D. (R), 881
Gordon, Michael D. (R), 973
Gordon, Sarah H., "Passage to Union: How the Railroads Transformed American Life, 1829–1929," 195
Gordon, Sarah H. (C), 1073
"Gordon Conway," by Allen, 207
Gordon-Reed, Annette, "Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings: An American Controversy," 900
Gorman, Paul R. (R), 594
Gosselin, Edward A. (R), 1028
Gossett, Thomas F. (R), 607
Gouda, Frances, and Julia Clancy-Smith, editors, "Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism," 540
Gough, Robert, "Farming the Cutover: A Social History of Northern Wisconsin, 1900–1940," 1681
Gould, Eliga H., *A Virtual Nation: Greater Britain and the Imperial Legacy of the American Revolution*, 476–89
Gould, Jeffrey L., "To Die in This Way: Nicaraguan Indians and the Myth of Mestizaje, 1880–1965," 1353
Gould, Lewis L., and Katherine J. Adams, editors, "Inside the Natchez Trace Collection: New Sources for Southern History" (E), 1815
Gouwens, Kenneth, "Remembering the Renaissance: Humanist Narratives of the Sack of Rome," 673
Grafenauer, Bogo, *et al.*, editors, "Slovenci in država: Zbornik prispevkov z znanstvenega posveta na SAZU (od 9. do 11. novembra 1994)" [Slovenes and the State: A Collection of Articles Dedicated to the Slovenian Academy of the Sciences] (E), 1435
Graff, Ellen, "Stepping Left: Dance and Politics in New York City, 1928–1942," 211
Graham, Hugh Davis (R), 1339
Graham, Hugh Davis, and Gary M. Fink, editors, "The Carter Presidency: Policy Choices in the Post–New Deal Era," 605
A Grand Tour of Exotic Landes, by Tilly, 1253–57
Grant, Julia, "Raising Baby by the Book: The Education of American Mothers," 591
Grantham, George W. (R), 650
"Grass-Roots Reconstruction in Texas, 1865–1888," by Campbell, 1306
Graves, Laura, "Thomas Varker Keam, Indian Trader," 568
Graves, Pamela M. (R), 1378
Gray, Peter, "Famine, Land and Politics: British Government and Irish Society, 1843–50," 1382
Gray, Ralph D. (R), 188
"The Great Famine," by Jordan, 1365
"The Great Law and the Longhouse," by Fenton, 893
"The Great Pox," by Arrizabalaga, Henderson, and French, 1026
"The Great South Sea," by Williams, 991
"The Great Wave," by Fischer, 866
Greater Britain, by Armitage, 427–45
Greaves, Richard L., "God's Other Children: Protestant Nonconformists and the Emergence of Denominational Churches in Ireland, 1660–1700," 243
Greaves, Richard L., "Dublin's Merchant-Quaker: Anthony Sharp and the Community of Friends, 1643–1707," 988
"Greece and the New Balkans," edited by Coufoudakis, Psomiades, and Gerolymatos (E), 1436
Green, Ian (R), 1745
Green, Judith A., "The Aristocracy of Norman England," 622
Green, S. J. D., "Religion in the Age of Decline: Organisation and Experience in Industrial Yorkshire, 1870–1920," 997
"A Green Place, a Good Place," by Schoenbrun, 1802
Greenberg, Amy S., "Cause for Alarm: The Volunteer Fire Department in the Nineteenth-Century City," 1669
Greenberg, Cheryl (R), 586
Greene, John C. (R), 992
Greene, Julie, "Pure and Simple Politics: The American

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Federation of Labor and Political Activism, 1881–1917," 1309
Greene, Julie, Eric Arnesen, and Bruce Laurie, editors, "Labor Histories: Class, Politics, and the Working-Class Experience" (E), 1433
Greene, Nathanael (R), 1012
Greene, Sandra E. (R), 689
"A Greener Vision of Home," by Rollins, 267
Gregor, Neil, "Daimler-Benz in the Third Reich," 1406
Gregory, Paul (R), 682
Grell, Chantal, Werner Paravicini, and Jürgen Voss, editors, "Les princes et l'histoire du XIV^e au XVIII^e siècle" (E), 1817
Grew, Raymond (R), 1392
Grimsley, Mark (R), 571
Grimsted, David, "American Mobbing, 1828–1861: Toward Civil War," 1304
Grogan, Susan, "Flora Tristan: Life Stories," 1008
Gross, Hanns (R), 1367
Gross, Jean-Pierre, "Fair Shares for All: Jacobin Egalitarianism in Practice," 249
Grosso, Juan Carlos, and Juan Carlos Garavaglia, "La región de Puebla y la economía novohispana: Las alcabalas en la Nueva España, 1776–1821," 962
"Growing Up," by Sutherland, 556
Grubbs, Judith Evans (R), 283
Gruen, Erich, Paul Cartledge, and Peter Garnsey, editors, "Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography" (E), 303
Guerci, Luciano, and Giuseppe Ricuperati, editors, "Il coraggio della ragione: Franco Venturi intellectuale e storico cosmopolita" (E), 1819
Guerra de Canudos, directed by Rezende, reviewed by Davis, 1807
Guerra, Lillian, "Popular Expression and National Identity in Puerto Rico: The Struggle for Self, Community, and Nation," 1347
Guida, Francesco, "Michelangelo Pinto: Un letterato e patriota romano tra Italia e Russia," 1410
Guinnane, Timothy W., "The Vanishing Irish: Households, Migration, and the Rural Economy in Ireland, 1850–1914," 650
Guirao, Fernando, "Spain and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1945–57: Challenge and Response," 1397
Gumbrecht, Hans Ulrich, "In 1926: Living at the Edge of Time," 148
Gustav-Wrathall, John Donald, "Take the Young Stranger by the Hand: Same-Sex Relations and the YMCA," 1706
Guy, Donna J., *The Morality of Economic History and the Immorality of Imperialism*, 1247–50
Guy, Donna, Mrinalini Sinha, and Angela Woollacott, editors, "Feminisms and Internationalism" (E), 1813
Györkei, Jenő, and Miklós Horváth, editors, "Soviet Military Intervention in Hungary 1956" (E), 1436

Haarmann, Ulrich, and Thomas Philipp, editors, "The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society" (E), 306
Haarsager, Sandra, "Organized Womanhood: Cultural Politics in the Pacific Northwest, 1840–1920," 578
Haas, J. M. (R), 1374
Haas, Louis, "The Renaissance Man and His Children: Childbirth and Early Childhood in Florence 1300–1600," 671
Habicht, Christian, "Athens from Alexander to Antony," 1724
Habinek, Thomas, and Alessandro Schiesaro, editors, "The Roman Cultural Revolution" (E), 304
Hackett, David G. (R), 223
Hacsi, Timothy A., "Second Home: Orphan Asylums and Poor Families in America," 1318
Haddad, William W., Ghada H. Talhami, and Janice J. Terry, editors, "The June 1967 War after Three Decades" (E), 1436
Haefeli, Evan, *A Note on the Use of North American Borderlands*, 1222–25
Hagan, William T. (R), 904
Haggett, Peter, Andrew Cliff, and Matthew Smallman-Raynor, "Deciphering Global Epidemics: Analytical Approaches to the Disease Records of World Cities, 1888–1912," 1264
Hahamovitch, Cindy, "The Fruits of Their Labor: Atlantic Coast Farmworkers and the Making of Migrant Poverty, 1870–1945," 921
Haigh, Christopher (R), 629
Haiken, Elizabeth, "Venus Envy: A History of Cosmetic Surgery," 1325
Haines, Robin F., "Emigration and the Labouring Poor: Australian Recruitment and Ireland, 1831–60," 168
Hajda, Lubomyr, editor, "Ukraine in the World: Studies in the International Relations and Security Structure of a Newly Independent State" (E), 1059
Halasz, Alexandra, "The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England," 985
Halbersleben, Karen I. (R), 1373
Hall, Gwendolyn Midlo (C), 712
Hall, Linda B. (R), 1350
Hall, Mark David, "The Political and Legal Philosophy of James Wilson, 1742–1798," 185
Hall, Timothy L., "Separating Church and State: Roger Williams and Religious Liberty," 1295
Haller, John S., Jr., "Kindly Medicine: Physio-Medicalism in America, 1836–1911," 588
Halliday, Paul D., "Dismembering the Body Politic: Partisan Politics in England's Towns, 1650–1730," 1748
Hallman, Barbara McClung (R), 672
Halpern, Martin (R), 945
Halpern, Rick, and Martin Daunton, editors, "Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600–1850" (E), 1818
Halttunen, Karen, "Murder Most Foul: The Killer and the American Gothic Imagination," 1289
Halttunen, Karen, and Lewis Perry, editors, "Moral Problems in American Life: New Perspectives on Cultural History" (E), 1055
Hämäläinen, Pekka, and John R. Wunder, *Of Lethal Places and Lethal Essays*, 1229–34
Hambly, Gavin R. G., editor, "Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety" (E), 300
Hambly, Gavin R. G. (R), 1800
Hamilton, Carolyn, "Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention," 1804
"Hamilton Park," by Wilson, 1710
Hamm, Richard F. (R), 1311
Hamm, Thomas D. (R), 917

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hamnett, Brian R. (R), 230
Hamscher, Albert N. (R), 1764
Hanagan, Michael, and Charles Tilly, editors, "Extending Citizenship, Reconfiguring States" (E), 1813
Hanchard, Michael (R), 1355
Hanchett, Thomas W., "Sorting Out the New South City: Race, Class, and Urban Development in Charlotte, 1875–1975," 918
Hanchett, Tom (R), 1710
"Handwriting in America," by Thornton, 905
Hane, Mikiso (R), 884
Hanley, Susan B., "Everyday Things in Premodern Japan: The Hidden Legacy of Material Culture," 164
Hanlon, David, "Remaking Micronesia: Discourses over Development in a Pacific Territory, 1944–1982," 551
Hanlon, David (R), 1261
Hanna, Nelly, "Making Big Money in 1600: The Life and Times of Isma'il Abu Taqiyya, Egyptian Merchant," 1799
"Hanoverian Britain and Empire," edited by Taylor, Conners, and Jones (E), 1058
Hansen, Karen Tranberg (R), 687
Hanson, Charles P., "Necessary Virtue: The Pragmatic Origins of Religious Liberty in New England," 1294
Hanson, John H. (R), 1044
Harbsmeier, Christoph, "Science and Civilisation in China"; Volume 7, Part 1, "Language and Logic," 1644
"A Hard Fight for We," by Schwalm, 1672
Hård, Mikael, and Andrew Jamison, editors, "The Intellectual Appropriation of Technology: Discourses on Modernity, 1900–1939" (E), 696
Hardiman, David, "Feeding the Baniya: Peasants and Usurers in Western India," 164
Hardwick, Julie, "The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France," 1385
Harp, Stephen L., "Learning to Be Loyal: Primary Schooling as Nation Building in Alsace and Lorraine, 1850–1940," 660
Harp, Stephen L. (R), 1402
Harran, Marilyn J., "Martin Luther: Learning for Life," 666
"Harriot Stanton Blatch and the Winning of Woman Suffrage," by DuBois, 1694
Harris, F. W. (R), 244
Harris, Robert D. (R), 657
Harris, Tim (R), 1744
Harrison, Joseph (R), 1397
Harrison, Mark, editor, "The Economics of World War II: Six Great Powers in International Comparison," 543
Harrison, Selig S., Paul H. Kreisberg, and Dennis Kux, editors, "India and Pakistan: The First Fifty Years" (E), 1054
"Harry Byrd of Virginia," by Heinemann, 1714
"Harry S. Truman and the News Media," by Mitchell, 598
Hart, D. G. (R), 206
Hart, John Mason (R), 615
Hart, Peter, "The I.R.A. and Its Enemies: Violence and Community in Cork, 1916–1923," 1762
Harte, N. B., editor, "The New Draperies in the Low Countries and England, 1300–1800" (E), 305
Hartford, William F., "Where Is Our Responsibility? Unions and Economic Change in the New England Textile Industry, 1870–1960," 198
Harvey, Anna L., "Votes without Leverage: Women in American Electoral Politics, 1920–1970," 939
Harvey, Joy, "'Almost a Man of Genius': Clémence Royer, Feminism, and Nineteenth-Century Science," 251
Haskett, Robert, Susan Schroeder, and Stephanie Wood, editors, "Indian Women of Early Mexico," 229
Hathaway, Jane, "The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt: The Rise of the Qazdağlıs," 286
Hatton, Helen E. (R), 648
Hauner, Milan (R), 1632
Hauptman, Laurence M. (R), 893
Hause, Steven C. (R), 659
Hauser, William B. (R), 1651
Haverkamp, Alfred, and Hanna Vollrath, editors, "England and Germany in the High Middle Ages" (E), 1816
Hawes, Joseph M. (R), 175
Hayes, Jack Irby, Jr., "Dan Daniel and the Persistence of Conservatism in Virginia," 1714
Haynes, John Earl, editor, "Calvin Coolidge and the Coolidge Era: Essays on the History of the 1920s," 929
Hazareesingh, Sudhir, "From Subject to Citizen: The Second Empire and the Emergence of Modern French Democracy," 1390
"He Is the Sun, She Is the Moon," by Wunder, 1400
Head, William P., and Edwin G. Clausen, editors, "Weaving a New Tapestry: Asia in the Post–Cold War World: Case Studies and General Trends" (E), 1432
Headley, John M., "Tommaso Campanella and the Transformation of the World," 1028
Heal, Felicity (R), 984
"Health and Healing in Eighteenth-Century Germany," by Lindemann, 262
"Hearing the Voices of Jonestown," by Maaga, 1721
Hecht, Gabrielle, "The Radiance of France: Nuclear Power and National Identity after World War II," 1395
Heinemann, Ronald L., "Harry Byrd of Virginia," 1714
Heinze, Andrew R. (R), 1655
Helfgott, Leonard (R), 1632
"Hellenistic Constructs," edited by Cartledge, Garnsey, and Gruen (E), 303
Hellmann, John (R), 602
Helmreich, Jonathan E., "United States Relations with Belgium and the Congo, 1940–1960," 1641
Hen, Yitzhak, "Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, A.D. 481–751," 1361
Henderson, John, Jon Arrizabalaga, and Roger French, "The Great Pox: The French Disease in Renaissance Europe," 1026
Hendrickson, Kenneth E., Jr. (R), 209
Henige, David, "Numbers from Nowhere: The American Indian Contact Population Debate," 867
Hennessey, Thomas, "A History of Northern Ireland, 1920–1996," 1384
Henriksen, Margot A., "Dr. Strangelove's America: Society and Culture in the Atomic Age," 951
Henriksson, Anders (R), 1415
"Henry Flood," by Kelly, 1759
Herf, Jeffrey, "Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys," 1780
Herken, Gregg (R), 952

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Herman, Ellen (R), 1698
"Hermaphrodites and the Medical Invention of Sex," by Dreger, 1265
"Heroes of the Age," by Edwards, 289
Hess, Earl J. (R), 147
Hesse, Carla (R), 250
Heuman, Susan, "Kistiakovsky: The Struggle for National and Constitutional Rights in the Last Years of Tsarism," 680
Heyrman, Christine Leigh, "Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt," 563
Heywood, Colin (R), 253
Hezel, Francis X. (R), 551
Higgs, Catherine, "The Ghost of Equality: The Public Lives of D. D. T. Jabavu of South Africa, 1885–1959," 295
Higgs, Catherine (R), 690
Higonnet, Patrice, "Goodness beyond Virtue: Jacobins during the French Revolution," 1387
Hilden, Patricia Penn (R), 259
Hildreth, Martha L., and Bruce T. Moran, editors, "Disease and Medical Care in the Mountain West: Essays on Region, History, and Practice" (E), 1433
Hill, Christopher V., "River of Sorrow: Environment and Social Control in Riparian North India, 1770–1994," 888
Hilty, James W., "Robert Kennedy: Brother Protector," 1716
Hindmarsh, D. Bruce (R), 637
Hindmarsh, D. Bruce, "John Newton and the English Evangelical Tradition: Between the Conversions of Wesley and Wilberforce," 993
"Hirohito and War," by Wetzler, 884
Hirrel, Leo P., "Children of Wrath: New School Calvinism and Antebellum Reform," 909
Hirt, Paul W. (R), 583
"His and Hers," edited by Horowitz and Mohun, 1630
"His Majesty's Rebels," by Luebke, 263
Hise, Greg, "Magnetic Los Angeles: Planning the Twentieth-Century Metropolis," 944
"Histoire des chemins de fer en France," Volume 1, "1740–1883," by Caron, 247
Historians on the Autobiographical Frontier, by Popkin, 725–48
"The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain," edited by Kelley and Sacks, 528
"Historical Reflections on Central Europe," edited by Kirschbaum (E), 1435
"Historiography of Imperial Russia," edited by Sanders (E), 1051
History and Africa/Africa and History, by Miller, 1–32
"History and the State in Nineteenth-Century Japan," by Mehl, 529
"History as a Profession," by den Boer, 1391
"The History of Cartography"; Volume 2, Book Three, edited by Woodward and Lewis (E), 696
"The History of Italian Opera," Part 2, "Systems"; Volume 4, "Opera Production and Its Resources," edited by Bianconi and Pestelli, 1029
"A History of Medicine in the Early U.S. Navy," by Langley, 1299
"A History of Northern Ireland, 1920–1996," by Hennessey, 1384
"A History of Twentieth-Century Russia," by Service, 685
Hitchcock, William I. (R), 1742
Hitchcock, William I., "France Restored: Cold War Diplomacy and the Quest for Leadership in Europe, 1944–1954," 1772
"The Hitler of History," by Lukacs, 1632
"Hitler's Airwaves," by Bergmeier and Lotz, 268
"Hitler's Priestess," by Goodrick-Clarke, 1024
Hobart, Michael E., and Zachary S. Schiffman, "Information Ages: Literacy, Numeracy, and the Computer Revolution," 1643
Hodes, Martha, "White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South," 192
Hodges, James A. (R), 581
Hoeveler, J. David (R), 1337
Hoffer, Peter Charles (R), 1298
Hoffman, Elizabeth Cobbs, "All You Need Is Love: The Peace Corps and the Spirit of the 1960s," 222
Hoffman, Philip T., Gilles Postel-Vinay, and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, *Information and Economic History: How the Credit Market in Old Regime Paris Forces Us to Rethink the Transition to Capitalism*, 69–94
Hoffmann, David L. (R), 1420
Hogan, David Gerard, "Selling 'em by the Sack: White Castle and the Creation of American Food," 1345
Hogendorn, Jan (R), 1803
Holl, Jack M. (R), 216
Holleran, Michael, "Boston's Changeful Times: Origins of Preservation and Planning in America," 1686
Holmes, Frederic L. (R), 1005
Holmes, Frederic Lawrence, "Antoine Lavoisier—The Next Crucial Year, or The Sources of His Quantitative Method in Chemistry," 1004
Holmes, Larry E. (R), 1038
Holton, Sandra Stanley (R), 872
"Honor's Voice," by Wilson, 910
"Hoods and Shirts," by Jenkins, 211
"Hope in a Jar," by Peiss, 941
Horden, Peregrine, and Richard Smith, editors, "The Locus of Care: Families, Communities, Institutions, and the Provision of Welfare since Antiquity," 151
Horn, Rebecca, "Postconquest Coyoacan: Nahua-Spanish Relations in Central Mexico, 1519–1690," 961
Horne, John, editor, "State, Society and Mobilization in Europe during the First World War," 542
Horowitz, David A., "Beyond Left and Right: Insurgency and the Establishment," 210
Horowitz, Maryanne Cline, "Seeds of Virtue and Knowledge," 1269
Horowitz, Roger, and Arwen Mohun, editors, "His and Hers: Gender, Consumption, and Technology," 1630
Horstman, Allen (R), 1374
Horváth, Miklós, and Jenő Györkei, editors, "Soviet Military Intervention in Hungary 1956" (E), 1436
"A House Divided," by Strikwerda, 259
Hovenkamp, Herbert (R), 1701
"How Life Writes the Book," by Lahusen, 150
Howarth, David, "Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485–1649," 981
Howell, Margaret, "Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England," 1364
Howell, Martha C., "The Marriage Exchange: Property, Social Place, and Gender in Cities of the Low Countries, 1300–1500," 623
Hoxie, Frederick E. (R), 530
Hubbard, Charles M., "The Burden of Confederate Diplomacy," 1305
Hudson, Benjamin (R), 976

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hudson, David (R), 1765
Hudson, John C. (R), 1312
Hudson, Michael C., editor, "Middle East Dilemma: The Politics and Economics of Arab Integration" (E), 1059
Huffman, Joseph P., "Family, Commerce, and Religion in London and Cologne," 1729
Hughes, Lindsey, "Russia in the Age of Peter the Great," 1413
Hughes, Michael J., "Inside the Enigma: British Officials in Russia, 1900–1939," 684
Hughes, Michael L. (R), 543
Hull, N. E. H., "Roscoe Pound and Karl Llewellyn: Searching for an American Jurisprudence," 593
"Human Demography and Disease," by Scott and Duncan, 1263
Humphreys, S. C. (R), 1358
Hunt, Lynn (C), 1072
Hunt, Lynn (R), 1767
Hunt, Nancy Rose, Tessie P. Liu, and Jean Quataert, editors, "Gendered Colonialisms in African History," 687
Hunter, Michael (R), 243
"The Hunter's Game," by Warren, 1682
Hurst, G. Cameron III, "Armed Martial Arts of Japan: Swordsmanship and Archery," 1651
Husband, William B. (R), 278
Huston, James L., "Securing the Fruits of Labor: The American Concept of Wealth Distribution, 1765–1900," 1288
Huters, Theodore, R. Bin Wong, and Pauline Yu, editors, "Culture and State in Chinese History: Conventions, Accommodations, and Critiques," 868
Hutton, Ronald (R), 630
Hyde, Samuel C., Jr., editor, "Plain Folk of the South Revisited," 193
Hyde, Samuel C., Jr., "Pistols and Politics: The Dilemma of Democracy in Louisiana's Florida Parishes, 1810–1899," 920
Hyman, Harold M., "Craftsmanship and Character: A History of the Vinson and Elkins Law Firm of Houston, 1917–1997," 1344
Hyman, Paula E. (R), 979
Hyman, Paula E., "The Jews of Modern France," 1770

"The I.R.A. and Its Enemies," by Hart, 1762
Iacovetta, Franca, and Wendy Mitchinson, editors, "On the Case: Explorations in Social History" (E), 1051
Ibarra, Jorge, "Prologue to Revolution: Cuba, 1898–1958," 1348
Ibragimova, Diliara Khanifovna, "NEP i Perestroika: Massovoe soznanie sel'skogo naseleniia v usloviiakh perekhoda k rynku" [NEP and Perestroika: Mass Consciousness of the Rural Population during the Transition to the Market], 682
"The Idea of Natural Rights," by Tierney, 973
"The Idea of the Middle Class," by Parker, 1357
"Identità territoriali e cultura politica nella prima età moderna/Territoriale Identität und politische Kultur in der Frühen Neuzeit," edited by Bellabarba and Stauber (E), 1817
"Identity and Intolerance," edited by Finzsch and Schirmer (E), 300
"Identity and Struggle at the Margins of the Nation-State," edited by Chomsky and Lauria-Santiago, 1346
"If the Irish Ran the World," by Akenson, 612
"Illicit Riches," by Klooster, 960
"Images of Kingship in Early Modern France," by Bakos, 652
"Images of Rule," by Howarth, 981
"Imagining the People," edited by Fogel and Zarrow, 877
"Imperial London," by Port, 642
"Imperial Power and Popular Politics," by Chandavarkar, 1282
"Imperial Russia," edited by Burbank and Ransel, 1414
"The Imperial Russian Army and Navy in Finland 1808–1918," by Luntinen, 1037
"In Irons," by Buel, 1663
"In 1926," by Gumbrecht, 148
"In Pursuit of Leviathan," by Davis, Gallman, and Gleiter, 189
"In the Arms of Others," by Filene, 1341
"In the Shadow of the Holocaust and the Inquisition," by Rein, 1043
Incurring a Debt of Gratitude, by Pérez, 356–98
"The Independence of Spanish America," by Rodríguez O., 957
"Independent India," edited by Karlekar (E), 1814
"India and Pakistan," edited by Harrison, Kreisberg, and Kux (E), 1054
"Indian Women of Early Mexico," edited by Schroeder, Wood, and Haskett, 229
"Industrial Policy in Britain, 1945–1951," by Chick, 646
"Information Ages," by Hobart and Schiffman, 1643
Information and Economic History, by Hoffman, Postel-Vinay, and Rosenthal, 69–94
Ingersoll, Thomas N. (C), 712
Ingham, John N. (R), 1704
Ingrao, Charles (R), 1022
"Inherited or Achieved? The Social Origins of the World's Leaders," by Main, 1269
Innes, Joanna, and Hugh Cunningham, editors, "Charity, Philanthropy and Reform: From the 1690s to 1850" (E), 305
"Inquisition in Medieval Society," by Given, 624
"Inside the Enigma," by Hughes, 684
"Inside the Natchez Trace Collection," edited by Adams and Gould (E), 1815
"The Intellectual Appropriation of Technology," edited by Hård and Jamison (E), 696
"International Development and the Social Sciences," edited by Cooper and Packard, 535
"Interzones," by Mumford, 1328
"Intimate Enemies," by Vella, 561
"Inventing a Republic," by Kelsey, 634
"Inventing Congress," edited by Bowling and Kennon (E), 1815
"Inventing the 'Great Awakening,' " by Lambert, 1661
"Inventing the Psychological," edited by Pfister and Schnog, 1267
"Irish Diplomacy at the United Nations, 1945–1965," by Skelly, 1383
"Irish Popular Culture, 1650–1850," edited by Donnelly and Miller, 1760
"The Irish RMs," by Bonsall, 1000
Irvine, William D. (R), 658
Irving, Helen, "To Constitute a Nation: A Cultural History of Australia's Constitution," 551

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Isaac, Jeffrey C. (R), 1771
"Islam, Democracy, and the State in North Africa," edited by Entelis, 291
"The Islamic Middle East," by Lindholm, 1421
Israel, Adrienne M., "Amanda Berry Smith: From Washerwoman to Evangelist," 916
Israel, John, "Lianda: A Chinese University in War and Revolution," 1649
"Issues of Regional Identity," edited by Royle (E), 306
"István Bethlen," by Romsics, 1034
"Italian Foreign Policy in the Interwar Period, 1918–1940," by Burgwyn, 271
"The Italian Navy and Fascist Expansionism, 1935–1940," by Mallett, 1789
Iverson, Peter (R), 1658

"J. S. Mill's Encounter with India," edited by Moir, Peers, and Zastoupil (E), 1818
Jablonsky, Thomas J. (R), 1695
Jackson, Donald C. (R), 195
Jackson, John N., "The Welland Canals and Their Communities: Engineering, Industrial, and Urban Transformation," 1284
Jacob, James R. (R), 986
Jacoby, Sanford M., "Modern Manors: Welfare Capitalism since the New Deal," 1703
Jaenen, Cornelius J. (R), 171
James, Daniel, and John D. French, editors, "The Gendered Worlds of Latin American Women Workers: From Household and Factory to the Union Hall and Ballot Box," 610
Jameson, Elizabeth, "All That Glitters: Class, Conflict, and Community in Cripple Creek," 1314
Jamison, Andrew, and Mikael Hård, editors, "The Intellectual Appropriation of Technology: Discourses on Modernity, 1900–1939" (E), 696
Jansen, Sharon L. (R), 980
"Japanese Historians and the National Myths, 1600–1945," by Brownlee, 529
Jay, Jennifer W. (R), 875
Jay, Stewart, "Most Humble Servants: The Advisory Role of Early Judges," 903
Jayne, Allen, "Jefferson's Declaration of Independence: Origins, Philosophy, and Theology," 899
Jeans, Roger B., Jr., "Democracy and Socialism in Republican China: The Politics of Zhang Junmai (Carsun Chang), 1906–1941," 161
Jedlicki, Jerzy, "A Suburb of Europe: Nineteenth-Century Polish Approaches to Western Civilization," 1790
"Jefferson Davis's Generals," edited by Boritt (E), 1815
"Jefferson's Declaration of Independence," by Jayne, 899
Jenkins, Brian (R), 1380
Jenkins, Philip (R), 179
Jenkins, Philip, "Hoods and Shirts: The Extreme Right in Pennsylvania, 1925–1950," 211
Jenkins, Philip, "Moral Panic: Changing Concepts of the Child Molester in Modern America," 1319
Jenkins, Wilbert L., "Seizing the New Day: African Americans in Post-Civil War Charleston," 1674
Jennings, Jeremy (R), 255
Jennings, Judith, "The Business of Abolishing the British Slave Trade 1783–1807," 1373
Jensen, Lionel M., "Manufacturing Confucianism: Chinese Traditions and Universal Civilization," 1645
"A Jew in the French Revolution," by Malino, 1006
"Jewish Icons," by Cohen, 979
"Jewish Immigrant Associations and American Identity in New York, 1880–1939," by Soyer, 924
"Jews against Prejudice," by Svonkin, 925
"Jews and the American Slave Trade," by Friedman, 191
"The Jews in Medieval Normandy," by Golb, 1731
"The Jews of China," Volume 1, "Historical and Comparative Perspectives," edited by Goldstein (E), 1054
"The Jews of Modern France," by Hyman, 1770
Joan of Arc, directed by Duguay, reviewed by Barstow, 1426
Jochens, Jenny, "Women in Old Norse Society," 971
Jochens, Jenny, "Old Norse Images of Women," 971
"John Newton and the English Evangelical Tradition," by Hindmarsh, 993
"John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem," by Edbury, 1040
Johns, Adrian, "The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making," 1751
Johnson, Christopher H. (R), 1388
Johnson, George Lloyd, Jr., "The Frontier in the Colonial South: South Carolina Backcountry, 1736–1800," 897
Johnson, H. Clark, "Gold, France, and the Great Depression, 1919–1932," 1393
Johnson, Jeffrey A. (R), 1021
Johnson, John W. (R), 593
Johnson, John W., "The Struggle for Student Rights: *Tinker v. Des Moines* and the 1960s," 603
Johnson, Lyman L., and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, editors, "The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame, and Violence in Colonial Latin America" (E), 1057
Johnson, R. E. (R), 679
Johnson-Odim, Cheryl (R), 688
Johnson-Odim, Cheryl, and Nina Emma Mba, "For Women and the Nation: Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti of Nigeria," 294
Johnston, Alastair Iain, "Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History," 525
Johnston, Mark, "At the Front Line: Experiences of Australian Soldiers in World War II," 170
Jonas, Manfred (R), 218
Jonas, Raymond (R), 1013
Jonassohn, Kurt (R), 867
"Jonathan Dickinson and the Formative Years of Presbyterianism," by Le Beau, 184
Jones, Clyve, Stephen Taylor, and Richard Conners, editors, "Hanoverian Britain and Empire: Essays in Memory of Philip Lawson" (E), 1058
Jones, Eric (R), 238
Jones, Richard (R), 557
Jordan, Mark D. (R), 972
Jordan, William Chester, "The Great Famine: Northern Europe in the Early Fourteenth Century," 1365
"José Martí's 'Our America,'" edited by Belnap and Fernández (E), 1057
"Joseph Henry," by Moyer, 562
Judd, Richard W. (R), 180
Judt, Matthias, Susan Strasser, and Charles McGovern, editors, "Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century," 1639

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Judt, Tony, "The Burden of Responsibility: Blum, Camus, Aron, and the French Twentieth Century," 1771
Juergens, George (R), 598
"The June 1967 War after Three Decades," edited by Haddad, Talhami, and Terry (E), 1436
Junker, Detlef, Carole Fink, and Philipp Gassert, editors, "1968: The World Transformed" (E), 697
"Just My Soul Responding," by Ward, 1709
Juster, Susan, *Demagogues or Mystagogues? Gender and the Language of Prophecy in the Age of Democratic Revolutions*, 1560–81
"Justus von Liebig," by Brock, 1021

Kaeuper, Richard W. (R), 526
Kaiser, Thomas E. (R), 1002
Kaiser, Wolfram, "Using Europe, Abusing the Europeans: Britain and European Integration, 1945–63," 1379
"The Kaiser's Voters," by Sperber, 1404
Kalb, Don, "Expanding Class: Power and Everyday Politics in Industrial Communities, The Netherlands, 1850–1950," 1017
Kamen, Henry (R), 624
Kamen, Henry, "The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision," 1773
Kane, Paula (R), 923
Kanya-Forstner, A. S. (R), 157
Kaplan, Benjamin J. (R), 1739
Kaplan, Robert Elliot, "Forgotten Crisis: The Fin-de-Siècle Crisis of Democracy in France," 1010
Kapur, Shekhar, 297
Karant-Nunn, Susan C. (R), 1400
Karlekar, Hiranmay, editor, "Independent India: The First Fifty Years" (E), 1814
Karras, Ruth Mazo (R), 1734
Karst, Kenneth L. (R), 933
Kates, Gary (R), 249
Katz, David S. (R), 241
Katz, Michael B. (R), 1331
Kaufman, Andrew L., "Cardozo," 592
Kauppi, Niilo (R), 1785
Kayali, Hasan, "Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1918," 1041
Kaye, Joel, "Economy and Nature in the Fourteenth Century: Money, Market Exchange, and the Emergence of Scientific Thought," 237
"Kazan, Moscow, St. Petersburg," edited by Evtuhov, *et al.* (E), 701
Kazin, Michael (R), 1713
Kazuo, Nimura, "The Ashio Riot of 1907: A Social History of Mining in Japan," 883
Kealey, Linda, "Enlisting Women for the Cause: Women, Labour, and the Left in Canada, 1890–1920," 1285
Kearney, Michael (R), 232
Kearney, Reginald, "African American Views of the Japanese: Solidarity or Sedition?" 1711
Keene, Derek (R), 1727
"Keeping the Faith," by Semonche, 933
Kehoe, Terence, "Cleaning Up the Great Lakes: From Cooperation to Confrontation," 604
Kelley, Donald R., and David Harris Sacks, editors, "The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric, and Fiction, 1500–1800," 528
Kellogg, Frederick (R), 1036
Kelly, Aileen M., "Toward Another Shore: Russian Thinkers between Necessity and Chance," 1037
Kelly, Catriona, and David Shepherd, editors, "Russian Cultural Studies: An Introduction" (E), 1819
Kelly, James (R), 1381
Kelly, James, "Henry Flood: Patriots and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Ireland," 1759
Kelly, Patrick J., "Creating a National Home: Building the Veterans' Welfare State, 1860–1900," 914
Kelsey, Sean, "Inventing a Republic: The Political Culture of the English Commonwealth, 1649–1653," 634
Kennedy, Michael J. (R), 1001
Kennedy, William P. (R), 1271
"Kennedy," edited by White (E), 1816
Kenney, John Peter (R), 1039
Kenney, Padraic, *The Gender of Resistance in Communist Poland*, 399–425
Kennon, Donald R., editor, "A Republic for the Ages: The United States Capitol and the Political Culture of the Early Republic" (E), 1432
Kennon, Donald R., and Kenneth R. Bowling, editors, "Inventing Congress: Origins and Establishment of the First Federal Congress" (E), 1815
Kenović, Ademir, 693
Kent, Dale (R), 1786
Kerber, Linda K., "*No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies*: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship," 934
Kerler, Dov-Ber, editor, "The Politics of Yiddish: Studies in Language, Literature, and Society" (E), 1051
Kern, Robert (R), 1016
Kershaw, Ian, and Moshe Lewin, editors, "Stalinism and Nazism: Dictatorships in Comparison," 159
Kett, Joseph F. (R), 905
Khalidi, Rashid I. (R), 1801
Khoury, Philip S. (R), 1422
"Kidnapped," by Fass, 176
"Kids' Stuff," by Cross, 177
Kierner, Cynthia A. (R), 899
Kiesling, Eugenia C., "Arming against Hitler: France and the Limits of Military Planning," 254
Kift, Dagmar, "The Victorian Music Hall: Culture, Class and Conflict," 641
Kimball, Jeffrey (R), 949
Kimball, Warren F., "Forged in War: Roosevelt, Churchill, and the Second World War," 218
"Kindly Medicine," by Haller, 588
"King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom," by Patterson, 629
"King Khama, Emperor Joe, and the Great White Queen," by Parsons, 643
"The King's Midwife," by Gelbart, 655
Kingsley, Karen (R), 974
Kinnear, Mary (R), 1285
Kinser, Samuel (R), 238
Kinzley, W. Dean (R), 1278
Kirby, Maurice (R), 1273
Kirkby, Diane, "Barmaids: A History of Women's Work in Pubs," 169
Kirsch, George B. (R), 1686
Kirschbaum, Stanislav J., editor, "Historical Reflections

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on Central Europe: Selected Papers from the Fifth World Congress of Central and East European Studies, Warsaw, 1995" (E), 1435
Kirshner, Julius (R), 1787
"Kistiakovsky," by Heuman, 680
Kivelson, Valerie A. (R), 625
Kivisto, Peter (R), 218
Klein, Herbert S., "The American Finances of the Spanish Empire: Royal Income and Expenditures in Colonial Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia, 1680–1809," 1718
Klein, Kerwin Lee, "Frontiers of Historical Imagination: Narrating the European Conquest of Native America, 1890–1990," 530
Kley, Dale Van, editor, "The French Idea of Freedom: The Old Regime and the Declaration of Rights of 1789," 248
Kling, David W. (R), 1665
Klooster, Wim, "Illicit Riches: Dutch Trade in the Caribbean, 1648–1795," 960
Klubock, Thomas Miller, "Contested Communities: Class, Gender, and Politics in Chile's El Teniente Copper Mine, 1904–1951," 1358
Kluger, Richard, "Ashes to Ashes: America's Hundred-Year Cigarette War, the Public Health, and the Unabashed Triumph of Philip Morris," 956
Knapp, Vincent J. (R), 1264
Kniss, Fred, "Disquiet in the Land: Cultural Conflict in American Mennonite Communities," 917
"Knocking at Our Own Door," by Taylor, 600
Knottnerus, J. David, and Thomas J. Durant, Jr., editors, "Plantation Society and Race Relations: The Origins of Inequality" (E), 1815
"Knowledge, Discovery and Imagination in Early Modern Europe," by Reiss, 1367
Knox, Oliver, "Rebels and Informers: Stirrings of Irish Independence," 1380
Koenker, Diane P. (R), 682
Kohl, Benjamin G., "Padua under the Carrara, 1318–1405," 1366
Kohlstedt, Sally Gregory (R), 562
Kolinsky, Eva (R), 1407
Kolinsky, Eva, and Wilfried van der Will, editors, "The Cambridge Companion to Modern German Culture" (E), 1435
Koller, Alexander, editor, "Kurie und Politik: Stand und Perspektiven der Nuntiaturberichtsforschung" (E), 1817
Konig, David Thomas (R), 185
"Kontroversen der Zeitgeschichte," edited by Dotterweich (E), 1434
Konvitz, Josef W. (R), 143
"Korean-American Relations, 1866–1997," edited by Lee and Patterson (E), 698
Kornwolf, James D. (R), 891
Koshar, Rudy, "Germany's Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century," 534
Kottek, Samuel S. (R), 1006
Kousser, J. Morgan (R), 1677
Kraay, Hendrik, editor, "Afro-Brazilian Culture and Politics: Bahia, 1790s to 1990s" (E), 303
Krammer, Arnold, "Undue Process: The Untold Story of America's German Alien Internees," 218
Krech, Shepard III (R), 904
Kreisberg, Paul H., Selig S. Harrison, and Dennis Kux, editors, "India and Pakistan: The First Fifty Years" (E), 1054
Kroll, Richard (R), 981
Kuehne, Dale S., "Massachusetts Congregationalist Political Thought, 1760–1790: The Design of Heaven," 185
Kuhn, William M. (R), 995
"Kulturni Boj," by Dolenc, 275
Kunz, Andreas, and Heinz Duchhardt, editors, "Reich oder Nation? Mitteleuropa 1780–1815" (E), 306
"Kurie und Politik," edited by Koller (E), 1817
Kuromiya, Hiroaki, "Freedom and Terror in the Donbas: A Ukrainian-Russian Borderland, 1870s-1990s," 1420
Kuromiya, Hiroaki (R), 1796
Kurzweil, Edith (R), 590
Kushner, Howard I. (R), 589
Kusturica, Emir, 1047
Kutzinski, Vera M. (R), 614
Kux, Dennis, Selig S. Harrison, and Paul H. Kreisberg, editors, "India and Pakistan: The First Fifty Years" (E), 1054
Kuznesof, Elizabeth A. (R), 965

Laas, Virginia Jeans, "Love and Power in the Nineteenth Century: The Marriage of Violet Blair," 575
"Labor Histories," edited by Arnesen, Greene, and Laurie (E), 1433
LaCapra, Dominick (C), 710
Laderman, Gary (R), 1341
"The Ladies of Zamora," by Linehan, 974
Lahusen, Thomas, "How Life Writes the Book: Real Socialism and Socialist Realism in Stalin's Russia," 150
Laiou, Angeliki E., and Hélène Ahrweiler, editors, "Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire" (E), 300
Laissus, Yves, "L'Égypte, une aventure savante: Avec Bonaparte, Kléber, Menou 1798–1801," 1768
Lambert, Frank, "Inventing the 'Great Awakening,'" 1661
Lamoreaux, Naomi R., Daniel M. G. Raff, and Peter Temin, editors, "Learning by Doing in Markets, Firms, and Countries" (E), 1056
"Land and Society in Edwardian Britain," by Short, 1756
"Ländliche Gesellschaft und Landwirtschaft in Westfalen, 1919–1969," by Exner, 1778
"Ländliche Gesellschaft und Obrigkeit," by Friedeburg, 264
Landsman, Ned (R), 1292
Landsman, Ned C., *Nation, Migration, and the Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600–1800*, 463–75
"Landwirtschaft, Staat und Autarkie," by Nützenadel, 1033
Lane, Kris (R), 1423
Lane, Kris E., "Pillaging the Empire: Piracy in the Americas, 1500–1750," 1270
Lane, Roger (R), 176
Lane, Roger, "Murder in America: A History," 178
Lang, Timothy (R), 528
Langley, Harold D., "A History of Medicine in the Early U.S. Navy," 1299
Langley, Lester D. (C), 711
"The Language of Sex," by Baldwin, 972

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lankford, Nelson D., "The Last American Aristocrat: The Biography of David K. E. Bruce, 1898–1977," 217
Lapp, Benjamin, "Revolution from the Right: Politics, Class, and the Rise of Nazism in Saxony, 1919–1933," 267
Larkin, John A. (R), 926
Larson, Edward J., "Summer for the Gods: The Scopes Trial and America's Continuing Debate over Science and Religion," 206
Lary, Diana (R), 878
Lasby, Clarence G., "Eisenhower's Heart Attack: How Ike Beat Heart Disease and Held on to the Presidency," 1715
Laslett, Peter (R), 155
"The Last American Aristocrat," by Lankford, 217
"Last Resort," by Pressman, 942
"Late Modernism," by Miller, 1640
"Latin America and the World Economy since 1800," edited by Coatsworth and Taylor (E), 1057
Launius, Roger D., and Howard E. McCurdy, editors, "Spaceflight and the Myth of Presidential Leadership," 953
Laurence, K. O., "Tobago in Wartime, 1793–1815," 228
Laurence, Ray, and Joanne Berry, editors, "Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire" (E), 304
Lauria-Santiago, Aldo, and Aviva Chomsky, editors, "Identity and Struggle at the Margins of the Nation-State: The Laboring Peoples of Central America and the Hispanic Caribbean," 1346
Laurie, Bruce, Eric Arnesen, and Julie Greene, editors, "Labor Histories: Class, Politics, and the Working-Class Experience" (E), 1433
Lauwers, Michel, "La mémoire des ancêtres, le souci des morts: Morts, rites et société au moyen âge (Diocèse de Liège, XI^{e}–XIII^{e} siècles)," 621
"Law as Politics," edited by Dyzenhaus (E), 1059
"The Law of Evidence in Victorian England," by Allen, 1374
"The Law under the Swastika," by Stolleis, 1405
Law, Cheryl, "Suffrage and Power: The Women's Movement, 1918–1928," 1378
Law, Robin (R), 292
Lawson, Fred H. (R), 686
"Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna," by Terpstra, 270
Lay, Shawn (R), 211
Lazzerini, Edward J., and Daniel R. Brower, editors, "Russia's Orient: Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700–1917," 1416
Le Beau, Bryan F. (R), 183
Le Beau, Bryan F., "Jonathan Dickinson and the Formative Years of Presbyterianism," 184
"Learning by Doing in Markets, Firms, and Countries," edited by Lamoreaux, Raff, and Temin (E), 1056
"Learning to Be Loyal," by Harp, 660
Lee, J. J. (R), 1383
Lee, Spike, 1429
Lee, Thomas H. C. (R), 547
Lee, Yur-Bok, and Wayne Patterson, editors, "Korean-American Relations, 1866–1997" (E), 698
Leed, Eric (R), 154
"Lee's Miserables," by Power, 571
Lees, Lynn Hollen (R), 650
Leeson, David (C), 709
Leffler, Melvyn P., *The Cold War: What Do "We Now Know"?* 501–24
"Left Out," by Lloyd, 594
Lehning, James R. (R), 1390
Leiren, Terje I. (R), 158
Leith, James A. (R), 1386
Lennon, Colm (R), 1747
LeoGrande, William M., "Our Own Backyard: The United States in Central America, 1977–1992," 1343
Leonard, Frank (R), 173
Leonard, Karen (R), 165; (C), 1831
Leonard, Thomas M. (R), 1343
Leonard, Virginia W. (R), 968
Lepore, Jill (R), 1289
Lepore, Jill, "The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity," 1658
Lesser, Jeffrey (R), 532
"Let the Cowboy Ride," by Starrs, 1313
Letwin, Daniel, "The Challenge of Interracial Unionism: Alabama Coal Miners, 1878–1921," 1310
Levering, Ralph B. (R), 1711
Levine, Robert M. (R), 1723
Levine, Steven I. (R), 280
Levy, David W. (R), 226
Lewin, Moshe, and Ian Kershaw, editors, "Stalinism and Nazism: Dictatorships in Comparison," 159
Lewis, G. Malcolm, editor, "Cartographic Encounters: Perspectives on Native American Mapmaking and Map Use" (E), 301
Lewis, G. Malcolm, and David Woodward, editors, "The History of Cartography"; Volume 2, Book Three: "Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies" (E), 696
Lewis, Jan, and Peter N. Stearns, editors, "An Emotional History of the United States," 1266
Lewis, Reina (R), 1629
Lewis, Ronald L., "Transforming the Appalachian Countryside: Railroads, Deforestation, and Social Change in West Virginia, 1880–1920," 917
"Lianda," by Israel, 1649
"Liberalism and Its Discontents," by Brinkley, 1332
"Liberals against Apartheid," by Vigne, 690
"Liberating the Family? Gender and British Slave Emancipation in the Rural Western Cape, South Africa, 1823–1853," by Scully, 689
"Liberty, Equality, and Justice," by Paulson, 197
Life Is Beautiful [*La vita è bella*], directed by Benigni, reviewed by Ben-Gihat, 298
"The Life Sciences in Eighteenth-Century French Thought," by Roger, 655
"Lift Your Voice Like a Trumpet," by Friedland, 601
"La liga patriótica Argentina," by Caterina, 967
"Light in the Darkness," by Mjagkij, 1705
Lightman, Bernard (R), 1755
"Like Night and Day," by Clark, 199
Lilly, Carol S. (R), 1428
Lincoln, Margarette, editor, "Science and Exploration in the Pacific: European Voyages to the Southern Oceans in the Eighteenth Century" (E), 1814
Lindemann, Albert S. (C), 713
Lindemann, Albert S., "Esau's Tears: Modern Anti-Semitism and the Rise of the Jews," 1370
Lindemann, Albert S. (R), 1394
Lindemann, Albert S. (C), 1448
Lindemann, Mary, "Health and Healing in Eighteenth-Century Germany," 262
Linderman, Gerald F., "The World within War: America's Combat Experience in World War II," 948

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lindholm, Charles, "The Islamic Middle East: An Historical Anthropology," 1421
Lindsay, Lisa A., *Domesticity and Difference: Male Breadwinners, Working Women, and Colonial Citizenship in the 1945 Nigerian General Strike*, 783–812
Linehan, Peter, "The Ladies of Zamora," 974
Ling, Huping, "Surviving on the Gold Mountain: A History of Chinese American Women and Their Lives," 940
Link, William A. (R), 1714
"The Lion and the Star," by Friedman, 1023
Lippy, Charles H. (R), 1296
Lipsett-Rivera, Sonya, and Lyman L. Johnson, editors, "The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame, and Violence in Colonial Latin America" (E), 1057
"Lithuania in European Politics," by Eidintas and Žalys, 273
Littell, Marcia Sachs, Stephen C. Feinstein, and Karen Schierman, editors, "Confronting the Holocaust: A Mandate for the Twenty-First Century, Part Two" (E), 301
"A Little Matter of Genocide," by Churchill, 867
Little, J. I., "State and Society in Transition: The Politics of Institutional Reform in the Eastern Townships, 1838–1852," 172
Litwack, Leon F., "Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow," 1688
Litzenberger, Caroline, "The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire, 1540–1580," 984
Liu, Tao Tao, and David Faure, editors, "Unity and Diversity: Local Cultures and Identities in China" (E), 697
Liu, Tessie P., Nancy Rose Hunt, and Jean Quataert, editors, "Gendered Colonialisms in African History," 687
"A Living Wage," by Glickman, 1657
"Living with Peril," by Wenger, 952
Lloyd, Brian (R), 212
Lloyd, Brian, "Left Out: Pragmatism, Exceptionalism, and the Poverty of American Marxism, 1890–1922," 594
Locke, Ralph P., and Cyrilla Barr, editors, "Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons and Activists since 1860," 1696
Lockman, Zachary (R), 290
"The Locus of Care," edited by Horden and Smith, 151
Löfgren, Hans, and Alan Shima, editors, "After Consensus: Critical Challenge and Social Change in America" (E), 1434
Longfellow, David (R), 1766
Lorcin, Patricia M. E. (R), 540
"The Lord Cornbury Scandal," by Bonomi, 895
Lorence, James J., "Organizing the Unemployed: Community and Union Activists in the Industrial Heartland," 945
Lotchin, Roger W. (R), 947
Lotz, Rainer E., and Horst J. P. Bergmeier, "Hitler's Airwaves: The Inside Story of Nazi Radio Broadcasting and Propaganda Swing," 268
Louthan, Howard (R), 1018
Louthan, Howard, "The Quest for Compromise: Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna," 1411
"Love and Power in the Nineteenth Century," by Laas, 575
Lovejoy, Paul E., and David Richardson, *Trust, Pawnship, and Atlantic History: The Institutional Foundations of the Old Calabar Slave Trade*, 333–55
Lovell, W. George (R), 1353
Low, D. A., "Britain and Indian Nationalism: The Imprint of Ambiguity, 1929–1942," 998
Lowe, K. J. P., and Trevor Dean, editors, "Marriage in Italy, 1300–1650," 670
Ludden, David (R), 1652
Ludlow, N. Piers, "Dealing with Britain: The Six and the First UK Application to the EEC," 1759
Luebke, David Martin, "His Majesty's Rebels: Communities, Factions, and Rural Revolt in the Black Forest, 1725–1745," 263
Lukacs, John, "The Hitler of History," 1632
Lukowski, Jerzy Tadeusz (R), 272
"Lumbermen and Log Sawyers," by Drobney, 581
Lumsden, Linda J., "Rampant Women: Suffragists and the Right of Assembly," 1326
Lundestad, Geir, editor, "No End to Alliance: The United States and Western Europe: Past, Present, and Future" (E), 1053
Luntinen, Pertti, "The Imperial Russian Army and Navy in Finland 1808–1918," 1037
Lüsebrink, Hans-Jürgen, and Rolf Reichardt, "The Bastille: A History of a Symbol of Despotism and Freedom," 250
Lyerly, Cynthia Lynn (R), 1297
Lyerly, Cynthia Lynn, "Methodism and the Southern Mind, 1770- 1810," 1666
Lynch, John, "Massacre in the Pampas, 1872: Britain and Argentina in the Age of Migration," 620
Lynch, Joseph H., "Christianizing Kinship: Ritual Sponsorship in Anglo-Saxon England," 1362
"The Lynching of Cleo Wright," by Capeci, 1329
Lynn, Martin, "Commerce and Economic Change in West Africa: The Palm Oil Trade in the Nineteenth Century," 1803
Lyons, Paul (R), 225

Maag, Karin, editor, "The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe" (E), 1818
Maaga, Mary McCormick, "Hearing the Voices of Jonestown," 1721
Macfarlane, Alan, "The Savage Wars of Peace: England, Japan and the Malthusian Trap," 155
MacFarquhar, Roderick, "The Origins of the Cultural Revolution"; Volume 3, "The Coming of the Cataclysm, 1961–1966," 548
Mackenthun, Gesa, "Metaphors of Dispossession: American Beginnings and the Translation of Empire, 1492–1637," 1634
MacKenzie, John M. (R), 888
MacLeod, Roy (R), 642
MacPherson, Kerrie L. (R), 1275
Maffly-Kipp, Laurie F. (R), 927
Maggi, Stefano (R), 270
"Magnetic Los Angeles," by Hise, 944
Magray, Mary Peckham, "The Transforming Power of the Nuns: Women, Religion, and Cultural Change in Ireland, 1750–1900," 1761
Maier, Pauline, "American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence," 560
Main, Jackson Turner, "Inherited or Achieved? The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Social Origins of the World's Leaders: 2000 B.C. to A.D. 1850," 1269
"Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation," by Wachtel, 678
"Making Big Money in 1600," by Hanna, 1799
"Making Constitutional Law," by Tushnet, 932
"Making History in Twentieth-Century Quebec," by Rudin, 557
"The Making of New World Slavery," by Blackburn, 1635
"Making the American Team," by Dyreson, 1686
"Making the Fascist Self," by Berezin, 675
Malick, Terrence, 1050
Malino, Frances, "A Jew in the French Revolution: The Life of Zalkind Hourwitz," 1006
Mallett, Robert, "The Italian Navy and Fascist Expansionism, 1935–1940," 1789
Mallon, Florencia E. (R), 963
Maltby, Judith, "Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England," 630
"The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society," edited by Philipp and Haarmann (E), 306
Manchuelle, François, "Willing Migrants: Soninke Labor Diasporas, 1848–1960," 1044
Mangini, Shirley (R), 1774
Mani, Lata, "Contentious Traditions: The Debate on *Sati* in Colonial India," 1281
Mann, Michael (R), 1269
Mann, Ralph (R), 917
"Manufacturing Confucianism," by Jensen, 1645
"Manufacturing Ideology," by Tsutsui, 1278
"Many Are the Crimes," by Schrecker, 1712
"Many Thousands Gone," by Berlin, 1286
"The Mapping of the Entradas into the Greater Southwest," edited by Reinhartz and Saxon (E), 1056
Marchand, Suzanne L., "Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970," 1019
"Marching Together," by Chateauvert, 1327
Marcus, Joyce, and Gary M. Feinman, editors, "Archaic States" (E), 1431
Margadant, Jo Burr, *Gender, Vice, and the Political Imaginary in Nineteenth-Century France: Reinterpreting the Failure of the July Monarchy, 1830–1848*, 1461–96
Margerison, Kenneth (R), 1387
"The Marketplace of Print," by Halasz, 985
Markoff, John, and Gilbert Shapiro, "Revolutionary Demands: A Content Analysis of the Cahiers de Doléances of 1789," 1767
Marks, Harry M., "The Progress of Experiment: Science and Therapeutic Reform in the United States, 1900–1990," 206
Marks, Robert B., "Tigers, Rice, Silk, and Silt: Environment and Economy in Late Imperial South China," 1646
Marling, Karal Ann (R), 1686
Marolda, Edward J., editor, "FDR and the U.S. Navy" (E), 302
Marquis, Alice Goldfarb (R), 1342
"The Marriage Exchange," by Howell, 623
"Marriage in Italy, 1300–1650," edited by Dean and Lowe, 670
"Married Women and Property Law in Victorian Ontario," by Chambers, 552
Marrus, Michael R. (R), 1770
Marsden, Richard, "The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England," 234
Marshall, Susan E., "Splintered Sisterhood: Gender and Class in the Campaign against Woman Suffrage," 1695
Marten, James, "The Children's Civil War," 1671
Martin, Ann Smart, and J. Ritchie Garrison, editors, "American Material Culture: The Shape of the Field," 891
Martin, James Kirby, "Benedict Arnold, Revolutionary Hero: An American Warrior Reconsidered," 186
Martin, John (R), 270
"Martin Luther," by Harran, 666
Martines, Lauro (R), 269
Marwick, Arthur, "The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c. 1958–c. 1974," 1642
Marx-Scouras, Danielle, "The Cultural Politics of Tel Quel: Literature and the Left in the Wake of Engagement," 255
Mass, Jeffrey P., editor, "The Origins of Japan's Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors, and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century," 162
"Massachusetts Congregationalist Political Thought, 1760–1790," by Kuehne, 185
"Massacre in the Pampas, 1872," by Lynch, 620
Masschaele, James, "Peasants, Merchants, and Markets: Inland Trade in Medieval England, 1150–1350," 975
Mate, Mavis (R), 975
"Materialismus," by Wittkau-Horgby, 1369
"Maternal Justice," by Freedman, 937
"Maternité et droits des femmes en France (XIX^{e}–XX^{e} siècles)," by Cova, 253
Mathisen, Ralph (R), 1361
Matos Rodríguez, Félix V., and Linda C. Delgado, editors, "Puerto Rican Women's History: New Perspectives" (E), 1434
Matson, Cathy, "Merchants and Empire: Trading in Colonial New York," 898
Matsuda, Matt K. (R), 147
Matsumoto, Valerie J., and Blake Allmendinger, editors, "Over the Edge: Remapping the American West" (E), 699
Matusow, Allen J., "Nixon's Economy: Booms, Busts, Dollars, and Votes," 227
Mauk, David C., "The Colony That Rose from the Sea: Norwegian Maritime Migration and Community in Brooklyn, 1850–1910," 922
"The Maverick Spirit," edited by Davies (E), 1056
Mawdsley, Evan (R), 1037
"Max II. Emanuel von Bayern und das spanische Erbe," by Schryver, 257
"Max Weber and the Culture of Anarchy," edited by Whimster (E), 1819
"Max Weber's Methodology," by Ringer, 1631
May, Elaine Tyler (R), 177
"The Maya World," by Restall, 1349
Mayaram, Shail, "Resisting Regimes: Myth, Memory and the Shaping of a Muslim Identity," 1283
Mayer, Hans Eberhard (R), 285
Mayers, David (R), 1334
Maza, Sarah (R), 1002
"Mazzini," by Sarti, 1030
Mba, Nina Emma, and Cheryl Johnson-Odim, "For Women and the Nation: Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti of Nigeria," 294
McAfee, Ward M., "Religion, Race, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reconstruction: The Public School in the Politics of the 1870s," 1677
McAndrews, Lawrence J. (R), 1716
McArthur, Judith N., "Creating the New Woman: The Rise of Southern Women's Progressive Culture in Texas, 1893–1918," 1693
McBride, I. R., "Scripture Politics: Ulster Presbyterians and Irish Radicalism in the Late Eighteenth Century," 1379
McBride, Ian, and Tony Claydon, editors, "Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c. 1650–c. 1850," 1749
McBride, Lawrence W. (R), 1000
McCandless, Peter (R), 942
McCants, Anne E., "Civic Charity in a Golden Age: Orphan Care in Early Modern Amsterdam," 664
McCants, Anne E. C. (R), 260
McCardell, John M., Jr. (R), 194; (C), 1832
McCarthy, Kathleen D. (R), 151
McCartin, Joseph A. (R), 1657
McClain, James L., and Wakita Osamu, editors, "Osaka: The Merchants' Capital of Early Modern Japan" (E), 1813
McClelland, Charles E. (R), 1405
McClelland, Peter D., "Sowing Modernity: America's First Agricultural Revolution," 189
McClendon, Muriel C., "The Quiet Reformation: Magistrates and the Emergence of Protestantism in Tudor Norwich," 1745
McClure, George W. (R), 1027
McCluskey, Stephen C., "Astronomies and Cultures in Early Medieval Europe," 1725
McCormick, Charles H., "Seeing Reds: Federal Surveillance of Radicals in the Pittsburgh Mill District, 1917–1921," 1699
McCoy, Drew R. (R), 902
McCraw, Thomas K., editor, "Creating Modern Capitalism: How Entrepreneurs, Companies, and Countries Triumphed in Three Industrial Revolutions," 1271
McCrea, Adriana, "Constant Minds: Political Virtue and the Lipsian Paradigm in England, 1584–1650," 1746
McCrillis, Neal R., "The British Conservative Party in the Age of Universal Suffrage: Popular Conservatism, 1918–1929," 1377
McCullough, Peter E., "Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching," 984
McCurdy, Howard E., and Roger D. Launius, editors, "Spaceflight and the Myth of Presidential Leadership," 953
McDonald, David (R), 1419
McDonald, Roderick A., editor, "West Indies Accounts: Essays on the History of the British Caribbean and the Atlantic Economy in Honour of Richard Sheridan," 613
McDonald, Roderick A. (R), 1660
McDonogh, Gary W. (R), 1015
McGovern, Charles, Susan Strasser, and Matthias Judt, editors, "Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century," 1639
McGovern, Constance M. (R), 588
McGurk, John, "The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: The 1590s Crisis," 648
McIntosh, Marjorie Keniston, "Controlling Misbehavior in England, 1370–1600," 976
McKay, John P. (R), 247
McKeown, Elizabeth, and Dorothy M. Brown, "The Poor Belong to Us: Catholic Charities and American Welfare," 923
McLaughlin, Mary Martin (R), 1731
McMaster, H. R., "Dereliction of Duty: Lyndon Johnson, Robert McNamara, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Lies That Led to Vietnam," 226
McMurry, Richard M. (R), 911
McNeill, J. R. (R), 559
McNeill, William H. (R), 536
"A Measure of Perfection," by Colbert, 906
"Measuring Minds," by Zenderland, 1698
"Medical Charities, Medical Politics," by Cassell, 648
"Medicine in the English Middle Ages," by Getz, 1730
Mehl, Margaret, "History and the State in Nineteenth-Century Japan," 529
Meigs, Mark, "Optimism at Armageddon: Voices of American Participants in the First World War," 205
Mellor, Ronald (R), 1724
Melton, Buckner F., Jr., "The First Impeachment: The Constitution's Framers and the Case of Senator William Blount," 1298
Melton, George E., "Darlan: Admiral and Statesman of France, 1881–1942," 1770
Melvoin, Richard I. (R), 182
Melzer, Sara E., and Kathryn Norberg, editors, "From the Royal to the Republican Body: Incorporating the Political in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France," 653
"La mémoire des ancêtres, le souci des morts," by Lauwers, 621
"Men and Violence," edited by Spierenburg, 871
"Mental Ills and Bodily Cures," by Braslow, 589
"Mental Territories," by Morrissey, 1315
"Mercantilism in a Japanese Domain," by Roberts, 1278
"Merchants and Empire," by Matson, 898
Merrens, H. Roy (R), 1048
Merrick, Jeffrey (R), 1386
Merriman, John (R), 1009
Merryman, Molly, "Clipped Wings: The Rise and Fall of the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASPs) of World War II," 597
Mershon, Sherie, and Steven Schlossman, "Foxholes and Color Lines: Desegregating the U.S. Armed Forces," 1339
Messer-Kruse, Timothy, "The Yankee International: Marxism and the American Reform Tradition, 1848–1876," 1308
"Metaphors of Dispossession," by Mackenthun, 1634
Metcalf, Alida C. (R), 964
Metcalf, Alida C., *Millenarian Slaves? The Santidade de Jaguaripe and Slave Resistance in the Americas*, 1531–59
Metcalf, Barbara D. (R), 1283
"Methodism and the Southern Mind, 1770–1810," by Lyerly, 1666
"Metropolitan Communities," by Ward, 1371
"Mexico between Hitler and Roosevelt," by Schuler, 1350
"Mexico in the Age of Proposals, 1821–1853," by Fowler, 1719
"México-India," edited by Uchmany (E), 697
Meyer, Michael (R), 669
Meyers, Amy R. W., and Margaret Beck Pritchard,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

editors, "Empire's Nature: Mark Catesby's New World Vision" (E), 1054
Meyerson, Mark D. (R), 1362
"Michelangelo Pinto," by Guida, 1410
Michelson, Paul E., "Romanian Politics 1859–1871: From Prince Cuza to Prince Carol," 1036
"Middle East Dilemma," edited by Hudson (E), 1059
Middlekauff, Robert (R), 895
Mikalson, Jon D., "Religion in Hellenistic Athens," 1724
"Mikrogeschichte Makrogeschichte," edited by Schlumbohm (E), 300
Milis, Ludo J. R., editor, "The Pagan Middle Ages" (E), 1057
"Militant Mediator," by Dickerson, 932
Milkman, Paul, "PM: A New Deal in Journalism, 1940–1948," 1333
Millar, Fergus, "The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic," 1359
Millenarian Slaves? The Santidade de Jaguaripe and Slave Resistance in the Americas, by Metcalf, 1531–59
Miller, David Philip (R), 1753
Miller, David W. (R), 1762
Miller, Edward A., Jr., "The Black Civil War Soldiers of Illinois: The Story of the Twenty-Ninth U.S. Colored Infantry," 912
Miller, F. Thornton (R), 903
Miller, Joseph C., *History and Africa/Africa and History,* 1–32
Miller, Joseph C. (R), 1635
Miller, Kerby A., and James S. Donnelly, Jr., editors, "Irish Popular Culture, 1650–1850," 1760
Miller, Martin A., "Freud and the Bolsheviks: Psychoanalysis in Imperial Russia and the Soviet Union," 1794
Miller, Maureen C. (R), 1025
Miller, Nicholas (R), 678, 1047
Miller, Nicholas J., "Between Nation and State: Serbian Politics in Croatia before the First World War," 677
Miller, Pavla, "Transformations of Patriarchy in the West, 1500–1900," 1633
Miller, Randall M. (R), 1676
Miller, Tyrus, "Late Modernism: Politics, Fiction, and the Arts Between the World Wars," 1640
Mills, Gary B. (R), 1302
Millward, James A., "Beyond the Pass: Economy, Ethnicity, and Empire in Qing Central Asia, 1759–1864," 1647
Milner, Clyde A. II, editor, "A New Significance: Re-envisioning the History of the American West," 582
Milward, Alan S. (R), 241
Minchin, Timothy J., "What Do We Need a Union For? The TWUA in the South, 1945–1955," 199
Minear, Richard H. (R), 529
"The Miners of Windber," by Beik, 199
"Mining Cultures," by Murphy, 595
"Mirror of Modernity," edited by Vlastos, 882
Misa, Thomas J. (R), 1307
Miscamble, Wilson D. (R), 217
"A Mission to Civilize," by Conklin, 157
Mitchell, Franklin D., "Harry S. Truman and the News Media: Contentious Relations, Belated Respect," 598
Mitchell, Harvey (R), 653, 1738
Mitchinson, Wendy (R), 554
Mitchinson, Wendy, and Franca Iacovetta, editors, "On the Case: Explorations in Social History" (E), 1051
Mjagkij, Nina, "Light in the Darkness: African Americans and the YMCA, 1852–1946," 1705
"Mobilizing America," by Eiler, 947
"A Modern History of Southeast Asia," by Christie, 549
"Modern Manors," by Jacoby, 1703
"Modern Times, Modern Places," by Conrad, 1641
"Modernity at the Edge of Empire," by Nugent, 963
Modernity Global and Local, by Clunas, 1497–1511
"Modernizing the Provincial City," by Wakeman, 1394
Mohr, Clarence L. (R), 1700
Mohun, Arwen, and Roger Horowitz, editors, "His and Hers: Gender, Consumption, and Technology," 1630
Moir, Martin I., Douglas M. Peers, and Lynn Zastoupil, editors, "J. S. Mill's Encounter with India" (E), 1818
Moise, Edwin E. (R), 226
Mokyr, Joel, *Eurocentricity Triumphant,* 1241–46
"Money and the Nation State," edited by Dowd and Timberlake (E), 1053
Monter, William (R), 626
Montes, Josué Fonseca, "El Clero en Cantabria en la edad moderna: Un estudio sobre la implantación de la contrarreforma en el norte de España," 662
Montgomery, David (R), 1323
Moore, Robin D., "Nationalizing Blackness: *Afrocubanismo* and Artistic Revolution in Havana, 1920–1940," 614
"Moral Panic," by Jenkins, 1319
"Moral Problems in American Life," edited by Halttunen and Perry (E), 1055
The Morality of Economic History and the Immorality of Imperialism, by Guy, 1247–50
Moran, Bruce T., and Martha L. Hildreth, editors, "Disease and Medical Care in the Mountain West: Essays on Region, History, and Practice" (E), 1433
Moravcsik, Andrew, "The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht," 1742
"The Moravian Church in England, 1728–1760," by Podmore, 1750
Morgan, Kenneth (R), 866
Morgan, Lynda (R), 1672
Mori, Jennifer (R), 638
Morris, Marilyn, "The British Monarchy and the French Revolution," 638
Morris, Richard, "Sinners, Lovers, and Heroes: An Essay on Memorializing in Three American Cultures," 573
Morrissey, Katherine G., "Mental Territories: Mapping the Inland Empire," 1315
Morton, Patricia (R), 1338
Morton, Suzanne (R), 556
Morus, Iwan Rhys, "Frankenstein's Children: Electricity, Exhibition, and Experiment in Early-Nineteenth-Century London," 1755
"Moses the Egyptian," by Assmann, 1039
"Moshe Sharett," by Sheffer, 1042
"Most Humble Servants," by Jay, 903
Mouré, Kenneth (R), 1393
Moya, Jose C., "Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850–1930," 532
Moya, Jose C. (R), 608
Moyer, Albert E., "Joseph Henry: The Rise of an American Scientist," 562
Moyer, Ann E. (R), 1029, 1737
"Mr. Kaiser Goes to Washington," by Adams, 215
Muccigrosso, Robert (R), 1685

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Mughal India and Central Asia," by Foltz, 1279
"Mugwumps," by Tucker, 1317
Muir, Rory, "Tactics and the Experience of Battle in the Age of Napoleon," 1368
Mukerji, Chandra, "Territorial Ambitions and the Gardens of Versailles," 143
Mukherjee, Rudrangshu, and Lakshmi Subramanian, editors, "Politics and Trade in the Indian Ocean World: Essays in Honour of Ashin Das Gupta" (E), 1814
Muller, Jerry Z. (R), 1780
Mumford, Kevin J., "Interzones: Black/White Sex Districts in Chicago and New York in the Early Twentieth Century," 1328
Mundill, Robin R. (R), 1731
Mundill, Robin R., "England's Jewish Solution: Experiment and Expulsion, 1262–1290," 1732
Mundy, John Hine (R), 1365
Munslow, Alun (R), 148
"Murder in America," by Lane, 178
"Murder Most Foul," by Halttunen, 1289
"The Murder of Helen Jewett," by Cohen, 907
Murolo, Priscilla, "The Common Ground of Womanhood: Class, Gender, and Working Girls' Clubs, 1884–1928," 585
Murphy, Cliona (R), 1761
Murphy, Mary, "Mining Cultures: Men, Women, and Leisure in Butte, 1914–1941," 595
Murphy, Orville T., "The Diplomatic Retreat of France and Public Opinion on the Eve of the French Revolution, 1783–1789," 657
Murray, Alan V., editor, "From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095–1500" (E), 305
Murrin, John M. (R), 560
Murshid, Tazeen M., "The Sacred and the Secular: Bengal Muslim Discourses, 1871–1977," 167
"Muscovy and the Mongols," by Ostrowski, 625
Myers, Ramon H., and Linda Chao, "The First Chinese Democracy: Political Life in the Republic of China on Taiwan," 881
"Myth and History in the Historiography of Early Burma," by Aung-Thwin, 142
"Myth and Memory in the Mediterranean," by Doumanis, 676

Nadelhaft, Jerome (R), 897
Nagle, Jean, "La civilisation du coeur: Histoire du sentiment politique en France, du XII^{e} au XIX^{e} siècle," 1002
Naimark, Norman M. (R), 159
"Naissance du Panthéon," by Bonnet, 1386
"The Name of War," by Lepore, 1658
Naphy, William G., and Penny Roberts, editors, "Fear in Early Modern Society," 626
"Narratives of Enlightenment," by O'Brien, 145
Nasaw, David (R), 201
"The Nation as a Local Metaphor," by Confino, 1260
"Nation, Empire, Colony," edited by Pierson and Chaudhuri, 1629
Nation, Migration, and the Province in the First British Empire, by Landsman, 463–75
"Nationalism and the Genealogical Imagination," by Shryock, 1801
"Nationalism, Anti-Semitism, and Fascism in France," by Winock, 1394
"A Nationality of Her Own," by Bredbenner, 939
"Nationalizing Blackness," by Moore, 614
"The Natural Rights Republic," by Zuckert, 902
"Nature," by Coates, 1268
Nature, Nurture, and Memory in a Socialist Utopia, by Weiner, 1114–55
"The Nature of the Book," by Johns, 1751
Neal, Donn C. (R), 929
"Necessary Virtue," by Hanson, 1294
Neely, Mark E., Jr. (R), 910
Nekrich, Aleksandr M., "Pariahs, Partners, Predators: German-Soviet Relations, 1922–1941," 279
Nelson, Bruce (R), 213
Nelson, Daniel (R), 1309
Nelson, Keith L. (R), 205
Nelson, W. Dale, "Who Speaks for the President? The White House Press Secretary from Cleveland to Clinton," 598
Nenner, Howard (R), 1743
"NEP i Perestroika," by Ibragimova, 682
Neville, Cynthia J. (R), 1732
"The New British History," edited by Burgess (E), 1058
The New British History in Atlantic Perspective, by Pocock, 490–500
"The New Draperies in the Low Countries and England, 1300–1800," edited by Harte (E), 305
"New Faces of the Fur Trade," edited by Fiske, Sleeper-Smith, and Wicken (E), 698
"New Perspectives on the Civil War," edited by Simon and Stevens (E), 301
"A New Plantation South," by Whayne, 1700
"A New Significance," edited by Milner, 582
"A New South Rebellion," by Shapiro, 1678
New World, New Stars, by Cañizares, 33–68
Nicholas, David (R), 1736
"Nicholas II," by Warth, 1419
Nichols, John A. (R), 971
Nichols, Roger L. (R), 1679
Nicolaescu, Sergiu, 1427
Niewyk, Donald L. (R), 1023
"1968," edited by Fink, Gassert, and Junker (E), 697
"1968—Vom Ereignis zum Gegenstand der Geschichtswissenschaft," edited by Gilcher-Holtey (E), 697
"Nixon's Economy," by Matusow, 227
"No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies," by Kerber, 934
"No End to Alliance," edited by Lundestad (E), 1053
"Nobilitas," edited by Oexle and Paravicini, 1735
"Noble Power during the French Wars of Religion," by Carroll, 1762
Noël, Françoise (R), 172
Noer, Thomas J. (R), 931
Noer, Tom (C), 1073
Noll, Steven (R), 202
"The Non-Jewish Origins of the Sephardic Jews," by Wexler, 284
Norberg, Kathryn, and Sara E. Melzer, editors, "From the Royal to the Republican Body: Incorporating the Political in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France," 653
Nordholt, Henk Schulte, "The Spell of Power: A History of Balinese Politics 1650–1940," 886
Nordstrom, Byron J. (R), 1783
Norwood, Stephen H. (C), 1448

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nosco, Peter (R), 1278
A Note on the Use of North American Borderlands, by Haefeli, 1222–25
"Notes from the Minefield," by Gendzier, 950
"Now Hiring," by Blackwelder, 936
Nugent, David, "Modernity at the Edge of Empire: State, Individual, and Nation in the Northern Peruvian Andes, 1885–1935," 963
Numbers, Ronald L., "Darwinism Comes to America," 1316
"Numbers from Nowhere," by Henige, 867
Nützenadel, Alexander, "Landwirtschaft, Staat und Autarkie: Agrarpolitik im faschistischen Italien (1922–1943)," 1033
Nybakken, Elizabeth (R), 575
Nye, David E., "Consuming Power: A Social History of American Energies," 605
Nye, David E. (R), 1630
Nye, Mary Jo (R), 1004
Nye, Robert A. (R), 1769

Oberly, James W. (R), 914
"Objectivity in the Making," by Solomon, 987
O'Brien, Jean M., "Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650–1790," 182
O'Brien, Karen, "Narratives of Enlightenment: Cosmopolitan History from Voltaire to Gibbon," 145
O'Brien, Michael, *On Observing the Quicksand*, 1202–07
O'Brien, Thomas F. (R), 667
Ochsenwald, William (R), 1798
Oexle, Otto Gerhard, and Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, editors, "Die Repräsentation der Gruppen: Text-Bilder-Objekte" (E), 1057
Oexle, Otto Gerhard, and Joseph Canning, editors, "Political Thought and the Realities of Power in the Middle Ages/Politisches Denken und die Wirklichkeit der Macht im Mittelalter" (E), 1816
Oexle, Otto Gerhard, and Werner Paravicini, editors, "Nobilitas: Funktion und Repräsentation des Adels in Alteuropa," 1735
Of Lethal Places and Lethal Essays, by Wunder and Hämäläinen, 1229–34
Of Lively Exchanges and Larger Perspectives, by Adelman and Aron, 1235–39
Ofer, Dalia, and Lenore J. Weitzman, editors, "Women in the Holocaust," 1779
Offenberg, Ulrike, "'Seid vorsichtig gegen die Machthaber': Die jüdischen Gemeinden in der SBZ und der DDR 1945 bis 1990," 1782
Ogilvie, Sheilagh, "State Corporatism and Proto-Industry: The Württemberg Black Forest, 1580–1797," 1401
O'Gorman, Frank (R), 1748
O'Gorman, James F., "Accomplished in All Departments of Art: Hammatt Billings of Boston, 1818–1874," 1685
Ohlmeyer, Jane, *Seventeenth-Century Ireland and the New British and Atlantic Histories*, 446–62
Oja, Linda, editor, "Vägen till Blåkulla: Nya perspektiv på de stora svenska häxprocesserna" [The Journey to Blåkulla: New Perspectives on the Great Swedish Witch Trials] (E), 306
O'Kane, John, and Touraj Atabaki, editors, "Post-Soviet Central Asia" (E), 698
Olavo, Antônio, 1807
"Old Norse Images of Women," by Jochens, 971
Oliva, Marilyn, "The Convent and the Community in Late Medieval England: Female Monasteries in the Diocese of Norwich, 1350–1540," 622
On Observing the Quicksand, by O'Brien, 1202–07
"On the Boundaries of American Evangelicalism," by Stone, 1336
"On the Case," edited by Iacovetta and Mitchinson (E), 1051
"On the Road to Rebellion," by Weber, 1380
"Optimism at Armageddon," by Meigs, 205
Orde, Anne, "The Eclipse of Great Britain: The United States and British Imperial Decline, 1895–1956," 647
O'Reilly, Kenneth (R), 1712
"Organized Labor and American Politics, 1894–1994," edited by Boyle (E), 699
"Organized Womanhood," by Haarsager, 578
"Organizing the Unemployed," by Lorence, 945
"The Origins of Japan's Medieval World," edited by Mass, 162
"The Origins of the Cultural Revolution"; Volume 3, "The Coming of the Cataclysm, 1961–1966," by MacFarquhar, 548
Orner, Mimi, 1810
Orsi, Richard J., and James J. Rawls, editors, "A Golden State: Mining and Economic Development in Gold Rush California" (E), 1432
"Osaka," edited by McClain and Osamu (E), 1813
Osamu, Wakita, and James L. McClain, editors, "Osaka: The Merchants' Capital of Early Modern Japan" (E), 1813
Osborne, Michael A. (R), 1042
"Oscar Wilde's America," by Blanchard, 1684
Osmond, Jonathan (R), 1778
Osterud, Grey (R), 921
Osthaus, Carl R. (R), 1690
Ostrowski, Donald, "Muscovy and the Mongols: Cross-Cultural Influences on the Steppe Frontier, 1304–1589," 625
"Other Powers," by Goldsmith, 915
"The Other Side of the Frontier," edited by Barrington (E), 699
"Our Lady of the Exile," by Tweed, 223
"Our Own Backyard," by LeoGrande, 1343
Outram, Quentin, and Roy Church, "Strikes and Solidarity: Coalfield Conflict in Britain 1889–1966," 1757
Ovendale, Ritchie (R), 1042
"Over Lincoln's Shoulder," by Tap, 570
"Over the Edge," edited by Matsumoto and Allmendinger (E), 699
Owen, Christopher H., "The Sacred Flame of Love: Methodism and Society in Nineteenth-Century Georgia," 1667
Ownby, David (R), 879
Ownby, David, *Chinese Millenarian Traditions: The Formative Age*, 1513–30
Oxley, Deborah (R), 168
Ozouf, Mona, "Women's Words: Essay on French Singularity," 659

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pace, David (R), 1395
"The Pacific Raincoast," by Bunting, 583
Packard, Randall, and Frederick Cooper, editors, "International Development and the Social Sciences: Essays on the History and Politics of Knowledge," 535
"Padua under the Carrara, 1318–1405," by Kohl, 1366
"The Pagan Middle Ages," edited by Milis (E), 1057
"Painting the Heavens," by Reeves, 626
Palairet, Michael, "The Balkan Economies c. 1800–1914: Evolution without Development," 274
"Palestinian Women of Gaza and the West Bank," edited by Sabbagh (E), 307
Palmer, Stanley H. (R), 612
Palmer, Steven (R), 1720
Palmer, William (R), 1749
Pandora, Katherine, "Rebels within the Ranks: Psychologists' Critique of Scientific Authority and Democratic Realities in New Deal America," 946
Paolini, Lorenzo, and Paolo Prodi, editors, "Storia della chiesa di Bologna," 1025
Papke, David Ray (R), 1669
Parascandola, John (R), 206
Paravicini, Werner, and Otto Gerhard Oexle, editors, "Nobilitas: Funktion und Repräsentation des Adels in Alteuropa," 1735
Paravicini, Werner, Chantal Grell, and Jürgen Voss, editors, "Les princes et l'histoire du XIV^{e} au XVIII^{e} siècle" (E), 1817
"Pariahs, Partners, Predators," by Nekrich, 279
"Parish Communities and Religious Conflict in the Vale of Gloucester, 1590–1690," by Beaver, 1745
Park, Katharine (R), 1026
Parker, Alison M. (R), 574
Parker, Alison M., "Purifying America: Women, Cultural Reform, and Pro-Censorship Activism, 1873–1933," 937
Parker, Anthony W., "Scottish Highlanders in Colonial Georgia: The Recruitment, Emigration, and Settlement at Darien, 1735–1748," 1292
Parker, Charles H., "The Reformation of Community: Social Welfare and Calvinist Charity in Holland, 1572–1620," 1776
Parker, D. S., "The Idea of the Middle Class: White-Collar Workers and Peruvian Society, 1900–1950," 1357
Parkins, Helen M., editor, "Roman Urbanism: Beyond the Consumer City" (E), 304
Parkins, Helen, and Christopher Smith, editors, "Trade, Traders and the Ancient City" (E), 303
Parnham, David, "Sir Henry Vane, Theologian: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Religious and Political Discourse," 242
Parpart, Jane L. (R), 1424
Parsons, Neil, "King Khama, Emperor Joe, and the Great White Queen: Victorian Britain through African Eyes," 643
"Party Spirit in a Frontier Republic," by Ratcliffe, 1664
Paskaljević, Goran, 693
"Passage to Union," by Gordon, 195
Passerini, Luisa (R), 1642
Passion and War in the Backlands of Canudos [*Pax ão e Guerra no Sert ão de Canudos*], directed by Olavo, reviewed by Davis, 1807
"Passions of the Tongue," by Ramaswamy, 1653
Passmore, Kevin, "From Liberalism to Fascism: The Right in a French Province, 1928–1939," 253
"The Past as Text," by Spiegel, 526
Pastor, Peter (R), 1412
Pateman, Carole (R), 934
"The Patron State," by Stone, 1034
Patterson, Lee (R), 1258
Patterson, W. B., "King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom," 629
Patterson, Wayne, and Yur-Bok Lee, editors, "Korean-American Relations, 1866–1997" (E), 698
"Paul Lafargue and the Flowering of French Socialism, 1882–1911," by Derfler, 1012
Paulson, Ross Evans, "Liberty, Equality, and Justice: Civil Rights, Women's Rights, and the Regulation of Business, 1865–1932," 197
Paxton, Robert O. (R), 1770
Paz, María Emilia, "Strategy, Security, and Spies: Mexico and the U.S. as Allies in World War II," 619
Pearson, David (R), 153
Pearson, Michael N., "Port Cities and Intruders: The Swahili Coast, India, and Portugal in the Early Modern Era," 870
"Peasant Dreams and Market Politics," by Burds, 1417
"Peasants, Merchants, and Markets," by Masschaele, 975
"Peasants on Plantations," by Peloso, 1722
"Pédagogie et enseignement en Allemagne de 1800 à 1945," by Gandouly, 1402
Peer, Shanny, "France on Display: Peasants, Provincials, and Folklore in the 1937 Paris World's Fair," 1013
Peers, Douglas M., Martin I. Moir, and Lynn Zastoupil, editors, "J. S. Mill's Encounter with India" (E), 1818
Peirce, Leslie (R), 286
Peiss, Kathy, "Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture," 941
Peloso, Vincent C., "Peasants on Plantations: Subaltern Strategies of Labor and Resistance in the Pisco Valley, Peru," 1722
Peltonen, Matti, editor, "Rillumarei ja valistus: Kulttuurikahakoita 1950–luvun Suomessa" [Cultural Themes in Finland in the 1950s] (E), 306
Pennybacker, Susan D., "A Vision for London, 1889–1914: Labour, Everyday Life and the LCC Experiment," 1375
"A People's Tragedy," by Figes, 681
Perdue, Theda (R), 896
Perdue, Theda, "Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700–1835," 1659
Pereira, Anthony W., "The End of the Peasantry: The Rural Labor Movement in Northeast Brazil, 1961–1988," 232
Pérez, Louis A., Jr., *Incurring a Debt of Gratitude: 1898 and the Moral Sources of United States Hegemony in Cuba*, 356–98
Pérez-Mallaína, Pablo E., "Spain's Men of the Sea: Daily Life on the Indies Fleets in the Sixteenth Century," 1014
Pérez-Stable, Marifeli (R), 1348
The Perfect Circle [*Savršeni krug*], directed by Kenović, reviewed by Portuges, 693
"Perfecting the Family," by Dixon, 1670
Peris, Daniel, "Storming the Heavens: The Soviet League of the Militant Godless," 1038
Perkins, Elizabeth A., "Border Life: Experience and Memory in the Revolutionary Ohio Valley," 1297
Perkins, Kenneth J. (R), 291
Perko, F. Michael (R), 1692
"Peronism and Argentina," edited by Brennan (E), 303

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Perpetua's Passion," by Salisbury, 283
Perrier, Sylvie, "Des enfances protégées: La tutelle des mineurs en France (XVII^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles); Enquête à Paris et à Châlons-sur-Marne," 1764
Perry, Lewis, and Karen Halttunen, editors, "Moral Problems in American Life: New Perspectives on Cultural History" (E), 1055
Pestelli, Giorgio, and Lorenzo Bianconi, editors, "The History of Italian Opera," Part 2, "Systems"; Volume 4, "Opera Production and Its Resources," 1029
Peterson, Glen, "The Power of Words: Literacy and Revolution in South China, 1949–95," 880
Peterson, Glen (R), 1277
Peterson, Larry (R), 668
Peterson, Mark A. (R), 1293
Petrow, Stefan (R), 1754
Pfanz, Donald C., "Richard S. Ewell: A Soldier's Life," 911
Pfister, Joel, and Nancy Schnog, editors, "Inventing the Psychological: Toward a Cultural History of Emotional Life in America," 1267
Phelps, Christopher, "Young Sidney Hook: Marxist and Pragmatist," 212
Philipp, Thomas, and Ulrich Haarmann, editors, "The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society" (E), 306
Phillips, Henry, "Church and Culture in Seventeenth-Century France," 1763
Phillips, Jonathan, "Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 1119–1187," 285
Phillips, Kevin, "The Cousins' Wars: Religion, Politics, and the Triumph of Anglo-America," 1636
Phillips, Ruth B., and Christopher B. Steiner, editors, "Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds" (E), 1054
"The Philosophy of Railways," by den Otter, 173
Pick, Daniel (R), 873
Pickering, Mary (R), 251
"Pickett's Charge in History and Memory," by Reardon, 572
"Picturing Old New England," edited by Truettner and Stein (E), 1432
Pierard, Richard V. (R), 1336
Pierson, Ruth Roach, and Nupur Chaudhuri, editors, "Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race," 1629
"Piety, Power, and Politics," by Sullivan-González, 1352
Pike, Ruth (R), 1014
Pikkusaari, Jussi, "Vaikea vapaus: Sosialidemokratian häviö kirkolle 1850-luvulta 1920-luvulle käydyssä Suomen kulttuuritaistelussa" [A Difficult Freedom: Social Democracy's Defeat to the Church in the Finnish Cultural Struggle], 1784
Pilcher, Jeffrey M., "¿Que Vivan los Tamales! Food and the Making of Mexican Identity," 962
"Pillaging the Empire," by Lane, 1270
"Pillar of Fire," by Branch, 1717
Pineo, Ronn, and James A. Baer, editors, "Cities of Hope: People, Protests, and Progress in Urbanizing Latin America, 1870–1930," 608
Pino, Julio César (R), 232
Pino, Julio César, "Family and Favela: The Reproduction of Poverty in Rio de Janeiro," 965
Pintner, Walter M. (R), 1414
Pinto, António Costa, "Salazar's Dictatorship and European Fascism: Problems of Interpretation," 1017
Pisano, Dominick A. (R), 597
"Pistols and Politics," by Hyde, 920
Pittenger, Mark (R), 179
"Plain Folk of the South Revisited," edited by Hyde, 193
"Plantation Society and Race Relations," edited by Durant and Knottnerus (E), 1815
"Playing Indian," by Deloria, 1658
"Pleasure Island," by Schwartz, 1348
"Pleasure Wars," by Gay, 627
Plummer, Brenda Gayle, "Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935–1960," 1711
Plut-Pregelj, Leopoldina (R), 275
"PM," by Milkman, 1333
Pocock, J. G. A., *The New British History in Atlantic Perspective: An Antipodean Commentary*, 490–500
Podmore, Colin, "The Moravian Church in England, 1728–1760," 1750
"Poland between the Wars, 1918–1939," edited by Stachura, 1792
Polasky, Janet L. (R), 1017
"Policing Women," by Appier, 208
"La política en las calles," by Sabato, 966
"The Political and Legal Philosophy of James Wilson, 1742–1798," by Hall, 185
"Political Thought and the Realities of Power in the Middle Ages/Politisches Denken und die Wirklichkeit der Macht im Mittelalter," edited by Canning and Oexle (E), 1816
"Politics and Education in Argentina, 1946–1962," by Rein, 968
"Politics and Trade in the Indian Ocean World," edited by Mukherjee and Subramanian (E), 1814
"The Politics of Authenticity," by Rossinow, 1337
"The Politics of Diplomacy," by Dutton, 1741
"The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt," by Hathaway, 286
"The Politics of Strategic Adjustment," edited by Trubowitz, Goldman, and Rhodes (E), 1056
"The Politics of Yiddish," edited by Kerler (E), 1051
"Politics, Religion, and the British Revolutions," by Coffey, 635
Pollack, Eunice G. (C), 1448
Pollack, Norman (R), 1288
Pomeranz, Kenneth (R), 1648
Pomeroy, Sarah B., "Families in Classical and Hellenistic Greece: Representations and Realities," 1358
"The Poor Belong to Us," by Brown and McKeown, 923
Poos, L. R. (R), 989
Popkin, Jeremy D. (R), 248
Popkin, Jeremy D., *Historians on the Autobiographical Frontier*, 725–48
"Popular Expression and National Identity in Puerto Rico," by Guerra, 1347
"The Popular Theatre Movement in Russia, 1862–1919," by Thurston, 1418
"Port Cities and Intruders," by Pearson, 870
Port, M. H., "Imperial London: Civil Government Building in London, 1851–1915," 642
Porter, Jonathan (R), 160
Portuges, Catherine (R), 693
Poska, Allyson M. (R), 662
"Postconquest Coyoacan," by Horn, 961
Postel-Vinay, Gilles, Philip T. Hoffman, and Jean-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Laurent Rosenthal, *Information and Economic History: How the Credit Market in Old Regime Paris Forces Us to Rethink the Transition to Capitalism*, 69–94
Postlethwaite, Norman, Christopher Gill, and Richard Seaford, editors, "Reciprocity in Ancient Greece" (E), 304
Postma, Johannes (R), 960
"Post-Soviet Central Asia," edited by Atabaki and O'Kane (E), 698
"Post-Suburbia," by Teaford, 225
"The Potlatch Papers," by Bracken, 533
Poulot, Dominique, "'Surveiller et s'instruire': La Révolution française et l'intelligence de l'héritage historique," 1259
Pounds, N. J. G. (R), 1398
Pouwels, Randall L. (R), 870
Powaski, Ronald E. (R), 603
The Powder Keg [*Bure Baruta*], directed by Paskaljević, reviewed by Portuges, 693
"Power and the Sacred in Revolutionary Russia," by Young, 278
"The Power of Feminity in the New South," by Sims, 578
"The Power of God against the Guns of Government," by Vanderwood, 617
"The Power of Words," by Peterson, 880
Power, Daniel, and Naomi Standen, editors, "Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700" (E), 1431
Power, J. Tracy, "Lee's Miserables: Life in the Army of Northern Virginia from the Wilderness to Appomattox," 571
Power, Thomas P. (R), 1759
"Powerful Relations," by Bossler, 875
Powers, Madelon, "Faces along the Bar: Lore and Order in the Workingman's Saloon, 1870–1920," 1311
"Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia," by Gleach, 181
"The Practice of Patriarchy," by Hardwick, 1385
"Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England," by Maltby, 630
Prentice, Alison (R), 1698
Prentice, Alison, and Beverly Boutilier, editors, "Creating Historical Memory: English-Canadian Women and the Work of History," 554
"The Presidency of Calvin Coolidge," by Ferrell, 929
Pressman, Jack D., "Last Resort: Psychosurgery and the Limits of Medicine," 942
Pretty Village, Pretty Flame [*Lepa sela, Lepo gore*], directed by Dragojević, reviewed by Lilly, 1428
Price, J. L. (R), 664, 1776
"Prierias," by Tavuzzi, 672
Prince, Hugh, "Wetlands of the American Midwest: A Historical Geography of Changing Attitudes," 1312
"Les princes et l'histoire du XIV^{e} au XVIII^{e} siècle," edited by Grell, Paravicini, and Voss (E), 1817
Pritchard, Margaret Beck, and Amy R. W. Meyers, editors, "Empire's Nature: Mark Catesby's New World Vision" (E), 1054
"The Problem of Mental Deficiency," by Thomson, 1265
Prodi, Paolo, and Lorenzo Paolini, editors, "Storia della chiesa di Bologna," 1025
"The Productivity Race," by Broadberry, 1273
"Professoren und Universitäten im 19. Jahrhundert," by Baumgarten, 266
"The Progress of Experiment," by Marks, 206
"The Progressive Assault in Laissez Faire," by Fried, 1701
"Proletarian Performance in Weimar Berlin," by Bodek, 668
"Prologue to Revolution," by Ibarra, 1348
"The Promise of Private Pensions," by Sass, 1703
"Propaganda and Culture in Mao's China," by Cheek, 1277
"The Prophetic Tradition and Radical Rhetoric in America," by Darsey, 179
Prostitutes in History, by Gilfoyle, 117–41
"Protestant Politics," by Brady, 1018
"Protestantism and National Identity," edited by Claydon and McBride, 1749
"Protestantism, Capitalism, and Nature in America," by Stoll, 180
Prothero, Iorwerth, "Radical Artisans in England and France, 1830–1870," 531
Psomiades, Harry J., Van Coufoudakis, and Andre Gerolymatos, editors, "Greece and the New Balkans: Challenges and Opportunities" (E), 1436
"Puerto Rican Women's History," edited by Matos Rodríguez and Delgado (E), 1434
Pugach, Noel H. (R), 219
Pugliese, Stanislao G. (R), 1809
Pullat, Raimo, "Die Stadtbevölkerung Estlands im 18. Jahrhundert," 1415
"Punch," by Altick, 995
"Pure and Simple Politics," by Greene, 1309
"Purifying America," by Parker, 937
Pycior, Helena M., "Symbols, Impossible Numbers, and Geometric Entanglements: British Algebra through the Commentaries on Newton's *Universal Arithmetick*," 1752
Pyne, Stephen J., "Vestal Fire: An Environmental History, Told through Fire, of Europe and Europe's Encounter with the World," 536

Quataert, Jean, Nancy Rose Hunt, and Tessie P. Liu, editors, "Gendered Colonialisms in African History," 687
"¿Que Vivan los Tamales! Food and the Making of Mexican Identity," by Pilcher, 962
"Queen Emma and Queen Edith," by Stafford, 234
"Queen of the Methodists," by Schlenther, 637
"Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe," edited by Duggan, 234
"The Quest for Compromise," by Louthan, 1411
"The Quiet Reformation," by McClendon, 1745

Rabb, Theodore K. (R), 990
Rabban, David M., "Free Speech in Its Forgotten Years," 593
Rabban, David M. (R), 937
Raby, David L. (R), 1017
"Race against Empire," by Von Eschen, 931
"Race, Place, and the Law, 1836–1948," by Delaney, 1687
"'Race,' Rights and the Law in the Supreme Court of Canada," by Walker, 1654
Rachleff, Peter (R), 198
Radcliff, Pamela Beth (R), 258
Radding, Cynthia (R), 229
"The Radiance of France," by Hecht, 1395

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Radical Artisans in England and France, 1830–1870," by Prothero, 531
Raeff, Marc (R), 665
Rafael, Vicente L., *Regionalism, Area Studies, and the Accidents of Agency*, 1208–20
Raff, Daniel M. G., Naomi R. Lamoreaux, and Peter Temin, editors, "Learning by Doing in Markets, Firms, and Countries" (E), 1056
Rafter, Nicole Hahn, "Creating Born Criminals," 179
Ragsdale, Hugh (R), 1793
"Railways and the Formation of the Italian State in the Nineteenth Century," by Schram, 270
"Raising Baby by the Book," by Grant, 591
Rajala, Richard A., "Clearcutting the Pacific Rain Forest: Production, Science, and Regulation," 584
Ralston, David B. (R), 538
Ramaswamy, Sumathi, "Passions of the Tongue: Language Devotion in Tamil India, 1891–1970," 1653
Ramet, Sabrina P., editor, "Eastern Europe: Politics, Culture, and Society since 1939" (E), 1059
Ramet, Sabrina P., editor, "Gender Politics in the Western Balkans: Women and Society in Yugoslavia and the Former Yugoslav States" (E), 1436
"Rampant Women," by Lumsden, 1326
Ramsey, Matthew (R), 262
Ranga, Dana, 1049
Ranlet, Philip (R), 187
Ransel, David L., and Jane Burbank, editors, "Imperial Russia: New Histories for the Empire," 1414
Rantala, Jukka, "Sopimaton lasten kasvattajaksi! Opettajiin kohdistuneet poliittiset puhdistuspyrkimykset Suomessa 1944–1948," 1785
Raphael, Marc Lee (R), 1668
"Las rasgaduras de la descolonización," by Falcón, 156
Ratcliffe, Donald J., "Party Spirit in a Frontier Republic: Democratic Politics in Ohio, 1793–1821," 1664
Ravitch, Norman (R), 1763
Rawls, James J., and Richard J. Orsi, editors, "A Golden State: Mining and Economic Development in Gold Rush California" (E), 1432
Rawnsley, Gary D., editor, "Cold-War Propaganda in the 1950s" (E), 1053
"Reading beyond Words," edited by Brown and Vibert, 892
"Reading Lives," by Galbraith, 996
"Realms of Ritual," by Arnade, 238
Reardon, Carol, "Pickett's Charge in History and Memory," 572
Rearick, Charles (R), 1391
"Reasoning with the Infinite," by Blay, 1740
"Rebecca Gratz," by Ashton, 1668
"Rebel against Injustice," by Buckingham, 209
"Rebel on the Right," by Witherell, 1376
"Rebels and Informers," by Knox, 1380
"Rebels within the Ranks," by Pandora, 946
"Rebuilding Zion," by Stowell, 1676
"Reciprocity in Ancient Greece," edited by Gill, Postlethwaite, and Seaford (E), 304
"The Recluse of Loyang," by Wyatt, 547
"Reconstructing Women's Thoughts," by Schott, 596
"The Reconstruction Presidents," by Simpson, 1675
"Redeemer Empire," by Rowley, 1582–1602
Reed, Christopher Robert, "The Chicago NAACP and the Rise of Black Professional Leadership, 1910–1966," 930
"Le réel de l'utopie," by Riot-Sarcey, 1388
"Reel Patriotism," by DeBauche, 928
Reeves, Eileen, "Painting the Heavens: Art and Science in the Age of Galileo," 626
"The Reformation and the Towns in England," by Tittler, 1744
"The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe," edited by Maag (E), 1818
"The Reformation in English Towns, 1500–1640," edited by Collinson and Craig (E), 700
"The Reformation of Community," by Parker, 1776
Regalado, Samuel O., "Viva Baseball! Latin Major Leaguers and Their Special Hunger," 611
Reger, Gary (R), 1724
"La región de Puebla y la economía novohispana," by Grosso and Garavaglia, 962
Regionalism, Area Studies, and the Accidents of Agency, by Rafael, 1208–20
"Reich oder Nation? Mitteleuropa 1780–1815," edited by Duchhardt and Kunz (E), 306
Reichardt, Rolf, and Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, "The Bastille: A History of a Symbol of Despotism and Freedom," 250
Reid, Donald (R), 531
Reidy, Joseph P. (R), 1303
Reimer, Michael J., "Colonial Bridgehead: Government and Society in Alexandria, 1807–1882," 287
Reimers, David M. (R), 1711
Rein, Mónica Esti, "Politics and Education in Argentina, 1946–1962," 968
Rein, Raanan, "In the Shadow of the Holocaust and the Inquisition: Israel's Relations with Francoist Spain," 1043
Reinhartz, Dennis, and Gerald D. Saxon, editors, "The Mapping of the Entradas into the Greater Southwest" (E), 1056
Reis, Elizabeth, "Damned Women: Sinners and Witches in Puritan New England," 183
Reiss, Timothy J., "Knowledge, Discovery and Imagination in Early Modern Europe: The Rise of Aesthetic Rationalism," 1367
Reiss, Timothy J. (R), 1740
"Religion and Power," by Edwards, 282
"Religion and the English Peoples, 1500–1640," edited by Carlson (E), 1058
"Religion in Hellenistic Athens," by Mikalson, 1724
"Religion in the Age of Decline," by Green, 997
"Religion, Race, and Reconstruction," by McAfee, 1677
"Religious and Secular Reform in America," edited by Adams and van Minnen (E), 1815
"Religious Diversity and American Religious History," edited by Conser and Twiss, 890
"Reluctant Revolutionaries," by Tiedemann, 187
"Remaking Micronesia," by Hanlon, 551
"Remaking Women," edited by Abu-Lughod, 1797
"Remembering the Renaissance," by Gouwens, 673
"The Renaissance Man and His Children," by Haas, 671
"ReOrient," by Frank, 1274
"Die Repräsentation der Gruppen," edited by Oexle and von Hülsen-Esch (E), 1057
"Representing the South Pacific," by Edmond, 1261
"A Republic for the Ages," edited by Kennon (E), 1432
"The Rescue of the Innocents," by Finucane, 1731
"Resisting Regimes," by Mayaram, 1283
Restall, Matthew, "The Maya World: Yucatec Culture and Society, 1550–1850," 1349

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East," edited by Gershoni, 1798
Réti, György, "Budapest-Róma Berlin Árnyékában: Magyar-Olasz diplomáciai kapcsolatok a Gömbös-kormány megalaqulásától a berlini háromhatalmi egyezményig, 1932–1940" [Budapest-Rome in the Shadow of Berlin: Hungarian-Italian Diplomatic Relations from the Formation of the Gömbös Government to the Tripartite Pact of Berlin, 1932–1940], 1412
"Revolution from the Right," by Lapp, 267
"Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana, 1718–1868," by Bell, 1302
"Revolutionary Demands," by Shapiro and Markoff, 1767
Rewriting Histories of Nationalism, by Seth, 95–116
Reynolds, Elaine A., "Before the Bobbies: The Night Watch and Police Reform in Metropolitan London, 1720–1830," 1754
Rezende, Sergio, 1807
Rhinehart, Marilyn D. (R), 1310
Rhodes, Edward, Peter Trubowitz, and Emily O. Goldman, editors, "The Politics of Strategic Adjustment: Ideas, Institutions, and Interests" (E), 1056
Riasonovsky, Nicholas V. (R), 1413
Rich, Paul (R), 1803
Richard, Carl J. (R), 899
"Richard S. Ewell," by Pfanz, 911
Richards, David A. J., "Women, Gays, and the Constitution: The Grounds for Feminism and Gay Rights in Culture and Law," 1340
Richards, Michael, "A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936–1945," 1774
Richardson, Bonham C., "Economy and Environment in the Caribbean: Barbados and the Windwards in the Late 1800s," 613
Richardson, David, and Paul E. Lovejoy, *Trust, Pawnship, and Atlantic History: The Institutional Foundations of the Old Calabar Slave Trade*, 333–55
Richardson, R. C. (R), 633
Richmond, Charles, and Paul Smith, editors, "The Self-Fashioning of Disraeli, 1818–1851" (E), 1058
Richmond, Douglas W. (R), 616
Ricklefs, M. C. (R), 550
Ricklefs, M. C., "The Seen and Unseen Worlds in Java, 1726–1749: History, Literature, and Islam in the Court of Pakubuwana II," 885
Ricuperati, Giuseppe, and Luciano Guerci, editors, "Il coraggio della ragione: Franco Venturi intellectuale e storico cosmopolita" (E), 1819
Riess, Jonathan B. (R), 672
Riess, Steven A. (R), 611
"The Right in France, 1789–1997," edited by Atkin and Tallett, 658
Righter, Robert W., "Wind Energy in America: A History," 195
Riley, Glenda (R), 567
Riley, James D. (R), 961
Riley-Smith, Jonathan, "The First Crusaders, 1095–1131," 236
"Rillumarei ja valistus," edited by Peltonen (E), 306
Ringer, Fritz, "Max Weber's Methodology: The Unification of the Cultural and Social Sciences," 1631
Riot-Sarcey, Michèle, "Le réel de l'utopie: Essai sur le politique au XIX^{e} siècle," 1388
"The Rise of Capitalism on the Pampas," by Amaral, 1354
"Rising Wind," by Plummer, 1711
Ritchie, Robert C. (R), 991
Ritter, Gretchen, "Goldbugs and Greenbacks: The Antimonopoly Tradition and the Politics of Finance in America," 1679
"Rituale der Geburt," edited by Schlumbohm, Duden, and Gélis, *et al.* (E), 696
"River Jordan," by Trotter, 564
"River of Sorrow," by Hill, 888
"Rizal and Republican Spain and Other Rizalist Essays," by Sarkisyanz, 887
Robbins, Richard G., Jr. (R), 276
Robert, Jean-Louis, and Jay Winter, "Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin, 1914–1919," 542
"Robert Kennedy," by Hilty, 1716
"Robert Worth Bingham and the Southern Mystique," by Ellis, 1690
Roberts, Luke S., "Mercantilism in a Japanese Domain: The Merchant Origins of Economic Nationalism in Eighteenth-Century Tosa," 1278
Roberts, Penny, and William G. Naphy, editors, "Fear in Early Modern Society," 626
Roberts, Peter, and Brendan Bradshaw, editors, "British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533–1707," 982
Robertson, Claire C., "Trouble Showed the Way: Women, Men, and Trade in the Nairobi Area, 1890–1990," 1424
Robinson, David (R), 293
Robinson, W. Stitt (R), 181
Rock, David (R), 967
Rockefeller, Terry, 1810
Rodgers, Daniel T., "Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age," 1331
Rodríguez O., Jaime E., "The Independence of Spanish America," 957
Rodríguez Sáenz, Eugenia, editor, "Entre silencios y voces: Género e historia en América Central (1750–1990)," 1720
Roeder, George H., Jr. (R), 1708
Rogel, Carole (R), 677
Roger, Jacques, "The Life Sciences in Eighteenth-Century French Thought," 655
Rogers, Katharine M. (R), 991
Rogers, Naomi, "An Alternative Path: The Making and Remaking of Hahnemann Medical College and Hospital of Philadelphia," 587
Roggero, Marina, "L'alfabeto conquistato: Apprendere e insegnare nell'Italia tra Sette et Ottocento," 1788
Rogin, Michael (R), 1324
Rollins, William (R), 1403
Rollins, William H., "A Greener Vision of Home: Cultural Politics and Environmental Reform in the German *Heimatschutz* Movement, 1904–1918," 267
"The Roman Cultural Revolution," edited by Habinek and Schiesaro (E), 304
"The Roman Empire and Its Germanic Peoples," by Wolfram, 970
"Roman Urbanism," edited by Parkins (E), 304
"Romanian Politics 1859–1871," by Michelson, 1036
Romsics, Ignác, "István Bethlen: A Great Conservative Statesman of Hungary, 1874–1946," 1034

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rooke, Patricia (R), 552
"The Roots of African-American Identity," by Bethel, 1302
"Roscoe Pound and Karl Llewellyn," by Hull, 593
Rose, Sonya (C), 321
Rosen, Deborah A. (R), 898
Rosen, Deborah A., "Courts and Commerce: Gender, Law, and the Market Economy in Colonial New York," 899
Rosen, Stanley (R), 548
Rosenberg, Charles M., "The Este Monuments and Urban Development in Renaissance Ferrara," 672
Rosenberg, Daniel (R), 199
Rosenblatt, Helena, "Rousseau and Geneva: From the *First Discourse* to the *Social Contract*, 1749–1762," 261
Rosenof, Theodore (R), 215
Rosenof, Theodore, "Economics in the Long Run: New Deal Theorists and Their Legacies, 1933–1993," 1702
Rosenthal, Jean-Laurent, Philip T. Hoffman, and Gilles Postel-Vinay, *Information and Economic History: How the Credit Market in Old Regime Paris Forces Us to Rethink the Transition to Capitalism*, 69–94
Rosenthal, Joel T. (R), 1362
Rosenzweig, Linda W. (R), 591
Rosenzweig, Roy (C), 321; (R), 1643
Rosi, Francesco, 1048
Ross, Ellen (R), 644
Ross, Steven J. (R), 595
Ross, Steven J., "Working-Class Hollywood: Silent Film and the Shaping of Class in America," 1324
Rossinow, Doug, "The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity, and the New Left in America," 1337
"El rostro familiar de la metrópoli," by Fernández Pérez, 1014
Roth, Ralf, "Stadt und Bürgertum in Frankfurt am Main: Ein besonderer Weg von der ständischen zur modernen Bürgergesellschaft 1760–1914," 265
Rothermund, Dietmar (R), 164
Rothman, Hal K., "Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West," 1683
Rothstein, William G. (R), 587
"Rousseau and Geneva," by Rosenblatt, 261
Rowley, David G., *"Redeemer Empire": Russian Millenarianism*, 1582–1602
Rowse, Tim, "White Flour, White Power: From Rations to Citizenship in Central Australia," 1283
Roy, Parama (R), 1653
Roy, William G., "Socializing Capital: The Rise of the Large Industrial Corporation in America," 196
Royle, Edward, editor, "Issues of Regional Identity: In Honour of John Marshall" (E), 306
Rubin, Jeffrey W., "Decentering the Regime: Ethnicity, Radicalism, and Democracy in Juchitán, Mexico," 1351
Rubinstein, Murray A., editor, "Taiwan: A New History," 1650
Ruddy, T. Michael, editor, "Charting an Independent Course: Finland's Place in the Cold War and in U.S. Foreign Policy" (E), 1819
Rudin, Ronald, "Making History in Twentieth-Century Quebec," 557
Ruf, Gregory A., "Cadres and Kin: Making a Socialist Village in West China, 1921–1991," 1648
Rugeley, Terry, "Yucatán's Maya Peasantry and the Origins of the Caste War," 616
Ruggiero, Guido (R), 871
Runcis, Maija, "Steriliseringar i folkhemmet," 1783
Runyan, Timothy J. (R), 1299
Rupp, Leila J. (R), 596
Rupp, Leila J., "Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement," 872
Rush, Mark E., editor, "Voting Rights and Redistricting in the United States" (E), 1055
Russell, James M. (R), 919
Russett, Cynthia (R), 1265
"Russia after Lenin," by Brovkin, 1795
"Russia after the War," by Zubkova, 1796
"Russia in the Age of Peter the Great," by Hughes, 1413
"Russian Academicians and the Revolution," by Tolz, 277
"Russian Cultural Studies," edited by Kelly and Shepherd (E), 1819
"Russia's Orient," edited by Brower and Lazzerini, 1416
Russo, Daniel G., "Town Origins and Development in Early England, c. 400–950 A.D.," 1727
Ryan, James G., "Earl Browder: The Failure of American Communism," 213
Ryan, James G. (R), 1699

Sabato, Hilda, "La política en las calles: Entre el voto y la movilización: Buenos Aires, 1862–1880," 966
Sabbagh, Suha, editor, "Palestinian Women of Gaza and the West Bank" (E), 307
Sacks, David Harris, and Donald R. Kelley, editors, "The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric, and Fiction, 1500–1800," 528
"The Sacred and the Secular," by Murshid, 167
"The Sacred Flame of Love," by Owen, 1667
Safley, Thomas Max, "Charity and Economy in the Orphanages of Early Modern Augsburg," 1776
"Salazar's Dictatorship and European Fascism," by Pinto, 1017
Sale, Maggie Montesinos, "The Slumbering Volcano: American Slave Revolts and the Production of Rebellious Masculinity," 191
Salisbury, Joyce E., "Perpetua's Passion: The Death and Memory of a Young Roman Woman," 283
Salles, Walter, Jr., 692
Salmon, J. H. M. (R), 1762
Salmond, Anne, "Between Worlds: Early Exchanges between Maori and Europeans, 1773–1815," 153
"Salt of the Earth," by Thaxton, 879
San Miguel, Guadalupe, Jr. (R), 202
San Miguel, Pedro L. (R), 1347
Sánchez, Magdalena S., "The Empress, the Queen, and the Nun: Women and Power at the Court of Philip III of Spain," 1396
Sanders, Thomas, editor, "Historiography of Imperial Russia: The Profession and Writing of History in a Multinational State" (E), 1051
Santoni, Pedro (R), 1719
Sarkisyanz, Manuel, "Rizal and Republican Spain and Other Rizalist Essays," 887
Sarti, Roland, "Mazzini: A Life for the Religion of Politics," 1030
Sass, Steven A., "The Promise of Private Pensions: The First Hundred Years," 1703

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Saul, Samir, "La France et l'Égypte de 1882 à 1914: Intérêts économiques et implications politiques," 288
"The Savage Wars of Peace," by Macfarlane, 155
Savage, Kirk, "Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America," 913
Saxon, Gerald D., and Dennis Reinhartz, editors, "The Mapping of the Entradas into the Greater Southwest" (E), 1056
Sbacchi, Alberto (R), 676
Scates, Bruce (R), 551
"Scenes from the Marriage of Louis XIV," by Zanger, 1002
Schaeper, Thomas J. (R), 1003
Schafer, Sylvia, "Children in Moral Danger and the Problem of Government in Third Republic France," 252
Schaffer, Kay (R), 168
Schatzberg, Michael G. (R), 1641
Schierman, Karen, Stephen C. Feinstein, and Marcia Sachs Littell, editors, "Confronting the Holocaust: A Mandate for the Twenty-First Century, Part Two" (E), 301
Schiesaro, Alessandro, and Thomas Habinek, editors, "The Roman Cultural Revolution" (E), 304
Schiffman, Zachary S., and Michael E. Hobart, "Information Ages: Literacy, Numeracy, and the Computer Revolution," 1643
Schild, Georg (R), 1335
Schirmer, Dietmar, and Norbert Finzsch, editors, "Identity and Intolerance: Nationalism, Racism, and Xenophobia in Germany and the United States" (E), 300
Schlenther, Boyd Stanley, "Queen of the Methodists: The Countess of Huntingdon and the Eighteenth-Century Crisis of Faith and Society," 637
Schlenther, Boyd Stanley (R), 1750
Schlossman, Steven, and Sherie Mershon, "Foxholes and Color Lines: Desegregating the U.S. Armed Forces," 1339
Schlumbohm, Jürgen, editor, "Mikrogeschichte Makrogeschichte: Komplementär oder inkommensurabel?" (E), 300
Schlumbohm, Jürgen, Barbara Duden, and Jacques Gélis, *et al.*, editors, "Rituale der Geburt: Eine Kulturgeschichte" (E), 696
Schmidt-Nowara, Christopher Ebert, *Borders and Borderlands of Interpretation*, 1226–28
Schneid, Frederick C. (R), 1368
Schneider, Laurence (R), 1649
Schneider, William H. (R), 1637
Schneller, Robert J., Jr. (C), 1831
Schnog, Nancy, and Joel Pfister, editors, "Inventing the Psychological: Toward a Cultural History of Emotional Life in America," 1267
Schoenbrun, David Lee, "A Green Place, a Good Place: Agrarian Change, Gender, and Social Identity in the Great Lakes Region to the Fifteenth Century," 1802
Schofield, Robert E., "The Enlightenment of Joseph Priestley: A Study of His Life and Work from 1733 to 1773," 992
Scholz, Bernhard W. (R), 526
Schönwalder, Karen, and Roger Bartlett, editors, "The German Lands and Eastern Europe: Essays on the History of Their Social, Cultural and Political Relations" (E), 1434
"Schools of Their Own," by Getz, 202
Schoonover, Thomas, "Germany in Central America: Competitive Imperialism, 1821–1929," 667
Schor, Laura Strumingher (R), 1008
Schott, Linda K., "Reconstructing Women's Thoughts: The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom before World War II," 596
Schram, Albert, "Railways and the Formation of the Italian State in the Nineteenth Century," 270
Schrecker, Ellen, "Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America," 1712
Schrijvers, Peter, "The Crash of Ruin: American Combat Soldiers in Europe during World War II," 948
Schroeder, Paul W. (C), 712
Schroeder, Susan, Stephanie Wood, and Robert Haskett, editors, "Indian Women of Early Mexico," 229
Schröter, Harm, and Mira Wilkins, editors, "The Free-Standing Company in the World Economy 1830–1996" (E), 1052
Schryver, Reginald de, "Max II. Emanuel von Bayern und das spanische Erbe: Die europäischen Ambitionen des Hauses Wittelsbach 1665–1715," 257
Schubert, Frank N. (R), 1681
Schudson, Michael, "The Good Citizen: A History of American Civic Life," 1287
Schuler, Friedrich E., "Mexico between Hitler and Roosevelt: Mexican Foreign Relations in the Age of Lázaro Cárdenas, 1934–1940," 1350
Schulz, Dorothy Moses (R), 208
Schumann, Reinhold (R), 1410
Schuyler, David (R), 943
Schwalm, Leslie A., "A Hard Fight for We: Women's Transition from Slavery to Freedom in South Carolina," 1672
Schwartz, Rosalie, "Pleasure Island: Tourism and Temptation in Cuba," 1348
Schwartz, Vanessa R., "Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris," 147
Schwarz, Angela (R), 267
"Der schweizerische Bauernkrieg von 1653," by Suter, 1409
"Science and Civilisation in China"; Volume 7, Part 1, by Harbsmeier, 1644
"Science and Exploration in the Pacific," edited by Lincoln (E), 1814
"Science and Power in Colonial Mauritius," by Storey, 1045
"Science in the Service of Empire," by Gascoigne, 1753
Scott, Alan (R), 1631
Scott, Daryl Michael, "Contempt and Pity: Social Policy and the Image of the Damaged Black Psyche, 1880–1996," 1338
Scott, James M., editor, "After the End: Making U.S. Foreign Policy in the Post–Cold War World" (E), 1055
Scott, Susan, and Christopher J. Duncan, "Human Demography and Disease," 1263
"Scottish Highlanders in Colonial Georgia," by Parker, 1292
Scranton, Philip, "Endless Novelty: Specialty Production and American Industrialization, 1865–1925," 1307
"Scripture Politics," by McBride, 1379
Scully, Pamela, "Liberating the Family? Gender and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

British Slave Emancipation in the Rural Western Cape, South Africa, 1823–1853," 689
Seaford, Richard, Christopher Gill, and Norman Postlethwaite, editors, "Reciprocity in Ancient Greece" (E), 304
Sealander, Judith (R), 197
Sears, Laurie J., "Shadows of Empire: Colonial Discourse and Javanese Tales," 550
"Second Home," by Hacsi, 1318
"The Second Quebec Conference Revisited," edited by Woolner (E), 1053
The Secret, by Emmerson, 1603–28
"Secretaries of God," by Watt, 980
"Securing the Fruits of Labor," by Huston, 1288
Sedgwick, Alexander, "The Travails of Conscience: The Arnauld Family and the Ancien Régime," 1386
"Seeds of Virtue and Knowledge," by Horowitz, 1269
"Seeing Reds," by McCormick, 1699
"The Seen and Unseen Worlds in Java, 1726–1749," by Ricklefs, 885
"'Seid vorsichtig gegen die Machthaber,'" by Offenberg, 1782
Seigel, Jerrold (R), 627
"Seizing the New Day," by Jenkins, 1674
"The Self-Fashioning of Disraeli, 1818–1851," edited by Richmond and Smith (E), 1058
Sellers, Christopher (R), 956
"Selling 'em by the Sack," by Hogan, 1345
Semonche, John E., "Keeping the Faith: A Cultural History of the U.S. Supreme Court," 933
Semonche, John E. (R), 1340
"Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade," by Barry, 292
Senn, Alfred Erich (R), 1792
Sensbach, Jon (R), 1667
Sensbach, Jon F., "A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763–1840," 1297
"The Senses of Humor," by Wickberg, 1656
The Sensibility of Comfort, by Crowley, 749–82
"A Separate Canaan," by Sensbach, 1297
"Separating Church and State," by Hall, 1295
"Separatism, the Allies, and the Mafia," by Finkelstein, 1789
"Sermons at Court," by McCullough, 984
Sernett, Milton C., "Bound for the Promised Land: African American Religion and the Great Migration," 927
Service, Robert, "A History of Twentieth-Century Russia," 685
Seth, Sanjay, *Rewriting Histories of Nationalism: The Politics of "Moderate Nationalism" in India, 1870–1905*, 95–116
"Seventeenth-Century Cultural Discourse," by Worcester, 245
Seventeenth-Century Ireland and the New British and Atlantic Histories, by Ohlmeyer, 446–62
"Shadows of Empire," by Sears, 550
Shank, Michael H. (R), 626
Shannon, Christopher (R), 220
"Shaping History," by te Brake, 978
Shapiro, Gilbert, and John Markoff, "Revolutionary Demands: A Content Analysis of the Cahiers de Doléances of 1789," 1767
Shapiro, Karin A., "A New South Rebellion: The Battle against Convict Labor in the Tennessee Coalfields, 1871–1896," 1678
Shatzmiller, Maya (R), 1040
Shaw, Stephanie J. (R), 1327
Shea, William (R), 240
Sheffer, Gabriel, "Moshe Sharett: Biography of a Political Moderate," 1042
Sheikholeslami, A. Reza, "The Structure of Central Authority in Qajar Iran, 1871–1896," 1800
Sheng, Michael M., "Battling Western Imperialism: Mao, Stalin, and the United States," 545
Shepherd, David, and Catriona Kelly, editors, "Russian Cultural Studies: An Introduction" (E), 1819
Shifflett, Andrew (R), 1746
Shifflett, Crandall (R), 1678
"Shifting the Blame," by Goodman, 1669
Shima, Alan, and Hans Löfgren, editors, "After Consensus: Critical Challenge and Social Change in America" (E), 1434
Shiman, Lilian Lewis (R), 1375
Shimizu, Sayuri (R), 874
"Shining and Other Paths," edited by Stern (E), 303
Shirinian, George, and Levon Chorbajian, editors, "Studies in Comparative Genocide" (E), 1431
Shlapentokh, Dmitry, "The Counter-Revolution in Revolution: Images of Thermidor and Napoleon at the Time of Russian Revolution and Civil War," 1793
"The Shock of Medievalism," by Biddick, 1258
Shoemaker, Nancy (R), 892
"Shook over Hell," by Dean, 147
Short, Brian, "Land and Society in Edwardian Britain," 1756
Shryock, Andrew, "Nationalism and the Genealogical Imagination: Oral History and Textual Authority in Tribal Jordan," 1801
"A Signal Victory," by Skaggs and Altoff, 561
Sikora, Michael, and Ulrich Bröckling, editors, "Armeen und ihre Deserteure: Vernachlässigte Kapitel einer Militärgeschichte der Neuzeit" (E), 306
Silverberg, Helene, editor, "Gender and American Social Science: The Formative Years," 1321
Silverstein, Mark (R), 592
Simmons, I. G. (R), 1268
Simon, John Y., and Michael E. Stevens, editors, "New Perspectives on the Civil War: Myths and Realities of the National Conflict" (E), 301
Simon, Julia (R), 261
Simpson, Brooks D. (R), 1674
Simpson, Brooks D., "The Reconstruction Presidents," 1675
Simpson, James, "Spanish Agriculture: The Long Siesta, 1765–1965," 663
Sims, Anastatia, "The Power of Feminity in the New South: Women's Organizations and Politics in North Carolina, 1880–1930," 578
Sims, Harold Dana (R), 156
Singal, Daniel J., "William Faulkner: The Making of a Modernist," 221
Sinha, Mrinalini, Donna Guy, and Angela Woollacott, editors, "Feminisms and Internationalism" (E), 1813
"Sinners, Lovers, and Heroes," by Morris, 573
"Sino-American Economic Relations, 1944–1949," by Wei, 219
Sinsheimer, Bernard (C), 712
"Sir Henry Vane, Theologian," by Parnham, 242

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Siraisi, Nancy G., "The Clock and the Mirror: Girolamo Cardano and Renaissance Medicine," 674
"Sisters in Law," by Drachman, 935
Siu, Helen F. (R), 880
Sivan, Emmanuel, and Jay Winter, editors, "War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century" (E), 1052
"The Sixties," by Marwick, 1642
Skaggs, David Curtis, and Gerard T. Altoff, "A Signal Victory: The Lake Erie Campaign, 1812–1813," 561
Skaria, Ajay (C), 1830
Skeeters, Martha C. (R), 984
Skelly, Joseph Morrison, "Irish Diplomacy at the United Nations, 1945–1965: National Interests and the International Order," 1383
"Sketches from a Young Country," by Cumming, 556
Skinner, James M. (R), 1697
Sleeper-Smith, Susan, Jo-Anne Fiske, and William Wicken, editors, "New Faces of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the Seventh North American Fur Trade Conference, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1995" (E), 698
Sloan, John W. (R), 606
Slocum, J. David (R), 1429
"Slovenci in država," edited by Grafenauer, *et al.* (E), 1435
"The Slumbering Volcano," by Sale, 191
Smaby, Beverly (C), 714
Small, Graeme, "George Chastelain and the Shaping of Valois Burgundy: Political and Historical Culture at Court in the Fifteenth Century," 1736
Smallman-Raynor, Matthew, Andrew Cliff, and Peter Haggett, "Deciphering Global Epidemics: Analytical Approaches to the Disease Records of World Cities, 1888–1912," 1264
Smith, Bonnie G. (R), 561
Smith, Christopher, and Helen Parkins, editors, "Trade, Traders and the Ancient City" (E), 303
Smith, Helmut Walser (R), 1404
Smith, Michael S. (R), 288
Smith, Paul, and Charles Richmond, editors, "The Self-Fashioning of Disraeli, 1818–1851" (E), 1058
Smith, Richard, and Peregrine Horden, editors, "The Locus of Care: Families, Communities, Institutions, and the Provision of Welfare since Antiquity," 151
Smith, Sherry L. (R), 1322
Smuts, R. Malcolm (R), 629
Smyth, Denis (R), 645
Smyth, Paul, and Bettina Cass, editors, "Contesting the Australian Way: States, Markets, and Civil Society" (E), 1432
So, Jaabe, and Adrian Adams, "A Claim to Land by the River: A Household in Senegal 1720–1994," 293
Sochen, June, "From Mae to Madonna: Women Entertainers in Twentieth-Century America," 1697
"Social Identity in Imperial Russia," by Wirtschafter, 679
"Socialism and Christianity in Early 20th Century America," edited by Dorn (E), 302
"A Socialist Utopia in the New South," by Brundage, 1689
"Socializing Capital," by Roy, 196
Socknat, Thomas P., and Peter Brock, editors, "Challenge to Mars: Essays on Pacifism from 1918 to 1945" (E), 1052
Solomon, Julie Robin, "Objectivity in the Making: Francis Bacon and the Politics of Inquiry," 987
Soloway, Richard A. (R), 1263
Sommerville, C. John (R), 1751
Sommerville, Johann P. (R), 632
Soom, Jost, "'Avancement et fortune': Schweizer und ihre Nachkommen als Offiziere, Diplomaten und Hofbeamte im Dienst des Zarenreiches," 1792
"Sopimaton lasten kasvattajaksi! Opettajiin kohdistuneet poliittiset puhdistuspyrkimykset Suomessa 1944–1948," by Rantala, 1785
Sorin, Gerald (R), 925
"Sorting Out the New South City," by Hanchett, 918
Soucy, Robert (R), 253
"The Southern Colonial Backcountry," edited by Crass, *et al.* (E), 698
"Southern Cross," by Heyrman, 563
"Soviet Military Intervention in Hungary 1956," edited by Györkei and Horváth (E), 1436
"Sowing Modernity," by McClelland, 189
Soyer, Daniel, "Jewish Immigrant Associations and American Identity in New York, 1880–1939," 924
"Spaceflight and the Myth of Presidential Leadership," edited by Launius and McCurdy, 953
"Spain and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1945–57," by Guirao, 1397
"Spain's Men of the Sea," by Pérez-Mallaína, 1014
"Spanish Agriculture," by Simpson, 663
"The Spanish Inquisition," by Kamen, 1773
Spann, Edward K., "Designing Modern America: The Regional Planning Association of America and Its Members," 943
"Speaking to the People," edited by Ellis (E), 700
Spear, Thomas (R), 1802
"Spectacular Realities," by Schwartz, 147
"The Spectre of Comparisons," by Anderson, 1651
"The Spell of Power," by Nordholt, 886
Spence, Jonathan (C), 1072
Spencer, Ian R. G., "British Immigration Policy since 1939: The Making of Multi-Racial Britain," 999
Sperber, Jonathan, "The Kaiser's Voters: Electors and Elections in Imperial Germany," 1404
Spiegel, Gabrielle M., "The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography," 526
Spielman, John P. (R), 1411
Spierenburg, Pieter, editor, "Men and Violence: Gender, Honor, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America," 871
"Splintered Sisterhood," by Marshall, 1695
Squatriti, Paolo, "Water and Society in Early Medieval Italy, AD 400–1000," 970
Srebnick, Amy Gilman (R), 1328
St. George, Robert Blair, "Conversing by Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England Culture," 1293
Stachura, Peter D., editor, "Poland between the Wars, 1918–1939," 1792
"Stadt und Bürgertum in Frankfurt am Main," by Roth, 265
"Die Stadtbevölkerung Estlands im 18. Jahrhundert," by Pullat, 1415
Stafford, Pauline, "Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England," 234
"Stalinism and Nazism," edited by Kershaw and Lewin, 159
Standen, Naomi, and Daniel Power, editors, "Frontiers

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700" (E), 1431
"Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves," by Savage, 913
Stanley, Peter, "White Mutiny: British Military Culture in India," 888
Stapleton, Julia (R), 1377
Starrs, Paul F., "Let the Cowboy Ride: Cattle Ranching in the American West," 1313
"State and Society in Transition," by Little, 172
"State Corporatism and Proto-Industry," by Ogilvie, 1401
"State of Rebellion," by Zuczek, 1674
"State, Society and Mobilization in Europe during the First World War," edited by Horne, 542
"The State, the Financial System and Economic Modernization," edited by Sylla, Tilly, and Tortella (E), 1431
Stauber, Reinhard, and Marco Bellabarba, editors, "Identità territoriali e cultura politica nella prima età moderna/Territoriale Identität und politische Kultur in der Frühen Neuzeit" (E), 1817
Stearns, Peter N., "Fat History: Bodies and Beauty in the Modern West," 1325
Stearns, Peter N., and Jan Lewis, editors, "An Emotional History of the United States," 1266
Steele, Richard W. (R), 999
Stein, Roger B., and William H. Truettner, editors, "Picturing Old New England: Image and Memory" (E), 1432
Steinberg, Allen (R), 178
Steiner, Christopher B., and Ruth B. Phillips, editors, "Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds" (E), 1054
Step by Step: Building a Feminist Movement, 1941–1977, produced by Follet, Orner, and Rockefeller, reviewed by Fischer, 1810
"Stepping Left," by Graff, 211
"Steriliseringar i folkhemmet," by Runcis, 1783
Stern, Steve J., editor, "Shining and Other Paths: War and Society in Peru, 1980–1995" (E), 303
Sternhell, Zeev, "The Founding Myths of Israel: Nationalism, Socialism, and the Making of the Jewish State," 290
Stevens, Michael E., and John Y. Simon, editors, "New Perspectives on the Civil War: Myths and Realities of the National Conflict" (E), 301
Stewart, Roberta (R), 1359
Stiefel, Tina (R), 1269
Stock-Morton, Phyllis (R), 1399
Stoianovich, Traian (R), 274
Stoll, Mark, "Protestantism, Capitalism, and Nature in America," 180
Stoll, Mark (R), 1312
Stolleis, Michael, "The Law under the Swastika: Studies on Legal History in Nazi Germany," 1405
Stone, Jon R., "On the Boundaries of American Evangelicalism: The Postwar Evangelical Coalition," 1336
Stone, Jon R. (R), 1721
Stone, Judith F. (R), 1010
Stone, Marla Susan, "The Patron State: Culture and Politics in Fascist Italy," 1034
Storey, William Kelleher, "Science and Power in Colonial Mauritius," 1045
"Storia della chiesa di Bologna," edited by Prodi and Paolini, 1025
"Storming the Heavens," by Peris, 1038
Stowell, Daniel W., "Rebuilding Zion: The Religious Reconstruction of the South, 1863–1877," 1676
Stoyle, Mark (R), 1745
Strachan, Hew, editor, "World War I: A History" (E), 1052
Strange, Carolyn (R), 174
"Strangers Settled Here among Us," by Yungblut, 241
Strasser, Susan, Charles McGovern, and Matthias Judt, editors, "Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century," 1639
"Strategy, Security, and Spies," by Paz, 619
Strauss, Gerald (R), 666
"Strikes and Solidarity," by Church and Outram, 1757
Strikwerda, Carl, "A House Divided: Catholics, Socialists, and Flemish Nationalists in Nineteenth-Century Belgium," 259
Strikwerda, Carl, and Ellen Furlough, editors, "Consumers against Capitalism? Consumer Cooperation in Europe, North America, and Japan, 1840–1990" (E), 1053
Strohm, Paul, "England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399–1422," 1733
Strozier, Charles B. (R), 1267
"The Structure of Central Authority in Qajar Iran, 1871–1896," by Sheikholeslami, 1800
"The Struggle for Student Rights," by Johnson, 603
Strum, Philippa (R), 593
Struve, Lynn (R), 876
Stuchtey, Benedikt, "W. E. H. Lecky (1838–1903): Historisches Denken und politisches Urteilen eines anglo-irischen Gelehrten," 994
"Studies in Comparative Genocide," edited by Chorbajian and Shirinian (E), 1431
"Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire," edited by Ahrweiler and Laiou (E), 300
"Studying Native America," edited by Thornton (E), 1056
"Subalterns and Sovereigns," by Sundar, 1652
Subramanian, Lakshmi, and Rudrangshu Mukherjee, editors, "Politics and Trade in the Indian Ocean World: Essays in Honour of Ashin Das Gupta" (E), 1814
"A Suburb of Europe," by Jedlicki, 1790
"Suffrage and Power," by Law, 1378
Sugden, John, "Tecumseh: A Life," 904
Suggs, George G., Jr. (R), 1314
Sullivan-González, Douglass, "Piety, Power, and Politics: Religion and Nation Formation in Guatemala, 1821–1871," 1352
"Summer for the Gods," by Larson, 206
Summer of Sam, directed by Lee, reviewed by Slocum, 1429
Sumner, Gregory (R), 1332
"Sun Yat-sen," by Bergére, 878
Sundar, Nandini, "Subalterns and Sovereigns: An Anthropological History of Bastar, 1854–1996," 1652
"Supplying the Nuclear Arsenal," by Carlisle and Zenzen, 603
"Supreme Court Decision-Making," edited by Clayton and Gillman (E), 700
"'Surveiller et s'instruire,'" by Poulot, 1259
"Surviving on the Gold Mountain," by Ling, 940
Sutcliffe, Anthony (R), 1394
Suter, Andreas, "Der schweizerische Bauernkrieg von

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1653: Politische Sozialgeschichte—Sozialgeschichte eines politischen Ereignisses," 1409
Sutherland, Neil, "Growing Up: Childhood in English Canada from the Great War to the Age of Television," 556
"Sverige och tysk motståandsrörelse under andra världskriget," by Carlsson, 1783
Svonkin, Stuart, "Jews against Prejudice: American Jews and the Fight for Civil Liberties," 925
Sweet, Rosemary (R), 297
"Swingin' the Dream," by Erenberg, 1707
Sylla, Richard, Richard Tilly, and Gabriel Tortella, editors, "The State, the Financial System and Economic Modernization" (E), 1431
"Symbol and Ritual in the New Spain," by Edles, 1775
"Symbols, Impossible Numbers, and Geometric Entanglements," by Pycior, 1752
Symonds, Deborah A., "Weep Not for Me: Women, Ballads, and Infanticide in Early Modern Scotland," 991
"Sympathetic Attractions," by Fara, 243

Tabili, Laura (R), 999
"Tactics and the Experience of Battle in the Age of Napoleon," by Muir, 1368
"Taiwan," edited by Rubinstein, 1650
"Take the Young Stranger by the Hand," by Gustav-Wrathall, 1706
"Tales of Wayward Girls and Immoral Women," by Tice, 1320
Talhami, Ghada H., William W. Haddad, and Janice J. Terry, editors, "The June 1967 War after Three Decades" (E), 1436
Tallett, Frank, and Nicholas Atkin, editors, "The Right in France, 1789–1997," 658
Tanenbaum, Jan Karl (R), 1741
"TANU Women," by Geiger, 688
Tap, Bruce, "Over Lincoln's Shoulder: The Committee on the Conduct of the War," 570
Tapper, Richard, "Frontier Nomads of Iran: A Political and Social History of the Shahsevan," 1422
"Tariffs, Trade and European Integration, 1947–1957," by Brusse, 241
Tavuzzi, Michael, "Prierias: The Life and Works of Silvestro Mazzolini da Prierio, 1456–1527," 672
Taylor, Alan M., and John H. Coatsworth, editors, "Latin America and the World Economy since 1800" (E), 1057
Taylor, Clarence (R), 599
Taylor, Clarence, "Knocking at Our Own Door: Milton A. Galamison and the Struggle to Integrate New York City Schools," 600
Taylor, Frank F. (R), 1348
Taylor, Larissa Juliet (R), 652
Taylor, Quintard (R), 1687
Taylor, Robert R., "The Castles of the Rhine: Recreating the Middle Ages in Modern Germany," 1777
Taylor, Stephen, Richard Conners, and Clyve Jones, editors, "Hanoverian Britain and Empire: Essays in Memory of Philip Lawson" (E), 1058
te Brake, Wayne, "Shaping History: Ordinary People in European Politics, 1500–1700," 978
Tea with Mussolini, directed by Zeffirelli, reviewed by Pugliese, 1809
Teaford, Jon C., "Post-Suburbia: Government and Politics in the Edge Cities," 225
"Tecumseh," by Sugden, 904
Teja, Jesús F. de la (R), 566
"Tejano Legacy," by Alonzo, 566
Temin, Peter, Naomi R. Lamoreaux, and Daniel M. G. Raff, editors, "Learning by Doing in Markets, Firms, and Countries" (E), 1056
"The Temptation," by Ardery, 1342
Ter Minassian, Taline, "Colporteurs du Komintern: L'Union soviétique et les minorités au Moyen-Orient," 281
Terborg-Penn, Rosalyn, "African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850–1920," 1327
"Teresa of Avila and the Politics of Sanctity," by Ahlgren, 257
"Terms of Labor," edited by Engerman (E), 1813
Terpstra, Nicholas, "Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna," 270
"Terrific Majesty," by Hamilton, 1804
"Territorial Ambitions and the Gardens of Versailles," by Mukerji, 143
Terry, Janice J., William W. Haddad, and Ghada H. Talhami, editors, "The June 1967 War after Three Decades" (E), 1436
Teute, Fredrika J., and Andrew R. L. Cayton, editors, "Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830" (E), 301
"The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England," by Marsden, 234
Thaxton, Ralph A., Jr., "Salt of the Earth: The Political Origins of Peasant Protest and Communist Revolution in China," 879
"The Theater of Nature," by Blair, 239
"The Theatre of Death," by Woodward, 629
Theibault, John (R), 264
Thelen, David, "Becoming Citizens in the Age of Television: How Americans Challenged the Media and Seized Political Initiative during the Iran-Contra Debate," 606
Then, Volker, "Eisenbahnen und Eisenbahnunternehmer in der Industriellen Revolution: Ein preußisch/deutsch-englischer Vergleich," 539
"They Shall Grown Not Old," by Dungan, 1001
The Thin Red Line, directed by Malick, reviewed by Cull, 1050
"Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings," by Gordon-Reed, 900
"Thomas Jefferson and the Education of a Citizen," edited by Gilreath (E), 1814
"Thomas Varker Keam, Indian Trader," by Graves, 568
Thompson, Gerald (R), 203
Thompson, John M. (R), 681
Thompson, Neville (R), 639
Thomson, Guy P. C. (R), 962
Thomson, Mathew, "The Problem of Mental Deficiency: Eugenics, Democracy, and Social Policy in Britain c. 1870–1959," 1265
Thornton, Russell, editor, "Studying Native America: Problems and Prospects" (E), 1056
Thornton, Tamara Plakins, "Handwriting in America: A Cultural History," 905

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Thrower, Norman J. W. (R), 152
Thurston, Gary, "The Popular Theatre Movement in Russia, 1862–1919," 1418
Tice, Karen W., "Tales of Wayward Girls and Immoral Women: Case Records and the Professionalization of Social Work," 1320
Tiedemann, Joseph S., "Reluctant Revolutionaries: New York City and the Road to Independence, 1763–1776," 187
Tierney, Brian, "The Idea of Natural Rights: Studies on Natural Rights, Natural Law and Church Law 1150–1625," 973
"Tigers, Rice, Silk, and Silt," by Marks, 1646
Tignor, Robert L. (R), 1768
Tilley, John A. (R), 561
Tilly, Charles (R), 263
Tilly, Charles, *A Grand Tour of Exotic Landes*, 1253–57
Tilly, Charles, and Michael Hanagan, editors, "Extending Citizenship, Reconfiguring States" (E), 1813
Tilly, Louise A. (R), 1031
Tilly, Richard, Richard Sylla, and Gabriel Tortella, editors, "The State, the Financial System and Economic Modernization" (E), 1431
Tilton, Tim (R), 1783
Timberlake, Richard H., Jr., and Kevin Dowd, editors, "Money and the Nation State: The Financial Revolution, Government and the World Monetary System" (E), 1053
"A Time of Silence," by Richards, 1774
Time, Culture, and Christian Eschatology, by Cohen, 1615–28
Tirado, Isabel A. (R), 685
Tittler, Robert, "The Reformation and the Towns in England: Politics and Political Culture, c. 1540–1640," 1744
"To Constitute a Nation," by Irving, 551
"To Die in This Way," by Gould, 1353
"To See with a Better Eye," by Duffin, 1005
"To Win the Peace," by Brewer, 999
"Tobago in Wartime, 1793–1815," by Laurence, 228
Todd, Margo (R), 631
Tolz, Vera, "Russian Academicians and the Revolution: Combining Professionalism and Politics," 277
Tomlinson, Gary (R), 1367
"Tommaso Campanella and the Transformation of the World," by Headley, 1028
Tong, Benson (R), 940
"Tormented Voices," by Bisson, 1728
Tortella, Gabriel, Richard Sylla, and Richard Tilly, editors, "The State, the Financial System and Economic Modernization" (E), 1431
"Toward Another Shore," by Kelly, 1037
"Town Origins and Development in Early England, c. 400–950 A.D.," by Russo, 1727
"Towns and Villages of the Lower Ohio," by Bigham, 188
Tracy, James D. (R), 666
"Trade, Traders and the Ancient City," edited by Parkins and Smith (E), 303
"Trade, Trust and Networks," by Dahl, 977
"Traders' Tales," by Vibert, 904
"Transatlantic Images and Perceptions," edited by Barclay and Glaser-Schmidt, 158
"Transformations of Patriarchy in the West, 1500–1900," by Miller, 1633
"The Transforming Power of the Nuns," by Magray, 1761
"Transforming the Appalachian Countryside," by Lewis, 917
"Transforming the Cotton Frontier," by Dupre, 565
Trask, Kerry A. (R), 1671
Trautmann, Thomas R., "Aryans and British India," 639
"The Travails of Conscience," by Sedgwick, 1386
Traxel, David, "1898: The Birth of the American Century," 1323
Treadwell, Victor, "Buckingham and Ireland, 1616–1628: A Study in Anglo-Irish Politics," 1747
"The Treaty of Versailles," edited by Boemeke, Feldman, and Glaser (E), 305
Trennert, Robert A., "White Man's Medicine: Government Doctors and the Navajo, 1863–1955," 1322
Trexler, Richard C. (R), 671
"The Trials of Anthony Burns," by Von Frank, 569
Tripp, Steven Elliott, "Yankee Town, Southern City: Race and Class Relations in Civil War Lynchburg," 1672
Trolander, Judith Ann (R), 1320
Trompetter, C., "Agriculture, Proto-Industry and Mennonite Entrepreneurship: A History of the Textile Industries in Twente, 1600–1815," 260
Trotter, Joe William, Jr., "River Jordan: African American Urban Life in the Ohio Valley," 564
"Trouble in Mind," by Litwack, 1688
"Trouble Showed the Way," by Robertson, 1424
Truant, Cynthia M. (R), 979
Trubowitz, Peter, Emily O. Goldman, and Edward Rhodes, editors, "The Politics of Strategic Adjustment: Ideas, Institutions, and Interests" (E), 1056
The Truce [*La Tregua*], directed by Rosi, reviewed by Merrens, 1048
Truettner, William H., and Roger B. Stein, editors, "Picturing Old New England: Image and Memory" (E), 1432
Trust, Pawnship, and Atlantic History, by Lovejoy and Richardson, 333–55
Tsai, Shih-shan Henry (R), 204
Tsutsui, William M. (R), 883
Tsutsui, William M., "Manufacturing Ideology: Scientific Management in Twentieth-Century Japan," 1278
Tucker, David M., "Mugwumps: Public Moralists of the Gilded Age," 1317
Turbin, Carole (R), 207
Turcheneske, John Anthony, Jr., "The Chiricahua Apache Prisoners of War: Fort Sill, 1894–1914," 203
Turner, H. A., Jr. (R), 1406
Turner, M. E., J. V. Beckett, and B. Afton, "Agricultural Rent in England, 1690–1914," 636
Turner, R. Steven (R), 266
Tushnet, Mark V., "Making Constitutional Law: Thurgood Marshall and the Supreme Court, 1961–1991," 932
Tutino, John (R), 1346
Tweed, Thomas A., "Our Lady of the Exile: Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami," 223
Twiss, Sumner B., and Walter H. Conser, Jr., editors, "Religious Diversity and American Religious History: Studies in Traditions and Cultures," 890
"Two-Party Politics in the One-Party South," by Webb, 580

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Uchmany, Eva Alexandra, editor, "México-India: Similitudes y encuentros a través de la historia" (E), 697
"Ukraine in the World," edited by Hajda (E), 1059
Uldricks, Teddy J. (R), 279
"UnAfrican Americans," by Adeleke, 569
"Unconquerable Rebel," by Andrade, 585
Underdown, David, "A Freeborn People: Politics and the Nation in Seventeenth-Century England," 632
Underground [*Podzemlje*], directed by Kusturica, reviewed by Miller, 1047
Underwood, Thomas A. (R), 221
"Undue Process," by Krammer, 218
"Das unendliche Meer der Lüfte," by Brüggemeier, 1403
"Unionist Politics and the Politics of Unionism since the Anglo-Irish Agreement," by Cochrane, 244
"United States Relations with Belgium and the Congo, 1940–1960," by Helmreich, 1641
"Unity and Diversity," edited by Liu and Faure (E), 697
"Unpacking Culture," edited by Phillips and Steiner (E), 1054
"Unsentimental Reformer," by Waugh, 574
"Untouchable Pasts," by Dube, 165
"The Unveiling of the National Icons," by Boime, 1341
"Uplifting the Race," by Gaines, 599
Upton, A. F., "Charles XI and Swedish Absolutism," 665
"Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations," by Çelik, 1042
"Urban Government and the Rise of the French City," by Cohen, 1009
"Urban Protest in Seventeenth-Century France," by Beik, 246
Urdank, Albion M. (R), 997
"Using Europe, Abusing the Europeans," by Kaiser, 1379

"Vägen till Blåkulla," edited by Oja (E), 306
"Vaikea vapaus," by Pikkusaari, 1784
van der Will, Wilfried, and Eva Kolinsky, editors, "The Cambridge Companion to Modern German Culture" (E), 1435
Van Der Woude, Ad, and Jan De Vries, "The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815," 1398
Van Helden, Albert (R), 1725
van Minnen, Cornelis A., and David K. Adams, editors, "Religious and Secular Reform in America: Ideas, Beliefs, and Social Change" (E), 1815
Vanderwood, Paul, "The Power of God against the Guns of Government: Religious Upheaval in Mexico at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century," 617
"The Vanishing Irish," by Guinnane, 650
Vann, Richard T. (R), 988
Varon, Elizabeth R., "We Mean to Be Counted: White Women and Politics in Antebellum Virginia," 908
Varon, Elizabeth R. (R), 1694
Vassberg, David E., "The Village and the Outside World in Golden Age Castile: Mobility and Migration in Everyday Rural Life," 256
Vassberg, David E. (R), 663
Vella, Christina, "Intimate Enemies: The Two Worlds of the Baroness de Pontalba," 561
"Venus Envy," by Haiken, 1325
"Vestal Fire," by Pyne, 536
Vibert, Elizabeth, "Traders' Tales: Narratives of Cultural Encounters in the Columbia Plateau, 1807–1846," 904
Vibert, Elizabeth, and Jennifer S. H. Brown, editors, "Reading beyond Words: Contexts for Native History," 892
Vicinus, Martha (R), 641
Vickery, Amanda, "The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England," 1754
Vickery, Kenneth P. (R), 295
"The Victorian Music Hall," by Kift, 641
"Viejos y nuevos imperios," edited by Burdiel and Church (E), 1434
Vietor, Richard (R), 605
Vigne, Randolph, "Liberals against Apartheid: A History of the Liberal Party of South Africa, 1953–68," 690
"The Village and the Outside World in Golden Age Castile," by Vassberg, 256
"Village Bells," by Corbin, 1008
"La ville des destins croisés," by Faron, 1031
Vincent, Mary, "Catholicism in the Second Spanish Republic: Religion and Politics in Salamanca, 1930–1936," 258
Vinyard, JoEllen McNergney, "For Faith and Fortune: The Education of Catholic Immigrants in Detroit, 1805–1925," 1692
Violante, Cinzio, "La fine della 'grande illusione': Uno storico europeo tra guerra e dopoguerra, Henri Pirenne (1914–1923): per una rilettura della 'Histoire de l'Europe,'" 1392
Virtanen, Keijo (R), 1784
A Virtual Nation, by Gould, 476–89
"A Vision for London, 1889–1914," by Pennybacker, 1375
"Viva Baseball! Latin Major Leaguers and Their Special Hunger," by Regalado, 611
Vlach, John Michael (R), 1662
Vlastos, Stephen, editor, "Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan," 882
Vogel, Morris J. (R), 1300
Vollrath, Hanna, and Alfred Haverkamp, editors, "England and Germany in the High Middle Ages" (E), 1816
Von Eschen, Penny M., "Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937–1957," 931
Von Frank, Albert J., "The Trials of Anthony Burns: Freedom and Slavery in Emerson's Boston," 569
von Friedeburg, Robert, and Hartmut Berghoff, editors, "Change and Inertia: Britain under the Impact of the Great War" (E), 1058
von Geldern, James (R), 150
von Hülsen-Esch, Andrea, and Otto Gerhard Oexle, editors, "Die Repräsentation der Gruppen: Text-Bilder-Objekte" (E), 1057
Voss, Jürgen, Chantal Grell, and Werner Paravicini, editors, "Les princes et l'histoire du XIV^{e} au XVIII^{e} siècle" (E), 1817
"Votes without Leverage," by Harvey, 939
"Voting Rights and Redistricting in the United States," edited by Rush (E), 1055

"W. E. H. Lecky (1838–1903)," by Stuchtey, 994

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wachtel, Andrew Baruch, "Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia," 678
Wagner, Rudolf G. (R), 1644
Wahl, Jenny Bourne, "The Bondsman's Burden: An Economic Analysis of the Common Law of Southern Slavery," 1303
Wakeman, Rosemary, "Modernizing the Provincial City: Toulouse, 1945–1975," 1394
Walden, Keith, "Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture," 174
Walden, Keith (R), 556
Waldrep, Christopher (R), 579
Waldron, Peter, "Between Two Revolutions: Stolypin and the Politics of Renewal in Russia," 276
Walker, Charles F. (R), 1722
Walker, Cheryl (C), 714
Walker, David W. (R), 618
Walker, James W. St. G., "'Race,' Rights and the Law in the Supreme Court of Canada: Historical Case Studies," 1654
Walker, Nancy A. (R), 1656
Walker, Samuel (R), 603
Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew (R), 233
Wallis, Faith (R), 1730
Walter, Richard J. (R), 966
Walters, Kerry S., "Benjamin Franklin and His Gods," 1296
Walters, Ronald G. (R), 1670
"War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century," edited by Winter and Sivan (E), 1052
"War and the World," by Black, 538
Ward, Alan J. (R), 1384
Ward, Brian, "Just My Soul Responding: Rhythm and Blues, Black Consciousness, and Race Relations," 1709
Ward, Joseph P., "Metropolitan Communities: Trade Guilds, Identity, and Change in Early Modern London," 1371
Warmington, A. R., "Civil War, Interregnum and Restoration in Gloucestershire, 1640–1672," 633
Warner, John Harley, "Against the Spirit of System: The French Impulse in Nineteenth-Century Medicine," 1300
Warren, Louis S., "The Hunter's Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America," 1682
Warth, Robert D., "Nicholas II: The Life and Reign of Russia's Last Monarch," 1419
Wasserman, Mark (R), 617
"Water and Society in Early Medieval Italy, AD 400–1000," by Squatriti, 970
"Waterfront Workers," edited by Winslow (E), 302
Watt, Diane, "Secretaries of God: Women Prophets in Late Medieval and Early Modern England," 980
Watt, Jeffrey R. (R), 623
Waugh, Joan, "Unsentimental Reformer: The Life of Josephine Shaw Lowell," 574
"We Are What We Eat," by Gabaccia, 1655
"We Mean to Be Counted," by Varon, 908
Weaver, John C. (R), 1284
"Weaving a New Tapestry," edited by Head and Clausen (E), 1432
Webb, George E. (R), 1316
Webb, Samuel L., "Two-Party Politics in the One-Party South: Alabama's Hill Country, 1874–1920," 580
Weber, Eugen (R), 1008
Weber, Paul, "On the Road to Rebellion: The United Irishmen and Hamburg, 1796–1803," 1380
Weber, William (R), 1696
Webster, Tom, "Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement, c. 1620–1643," 631
Weems, Robert E., Jr., "Desegregating the Dollar: African American Consumerism in the Twentieth Century," 1704
"Weep Not for Me," by Symonds, 991
Wei, C. X. George, "Sino-American Economic Relations, 1944–1949," 219
Weiler, Kathleen, "Country Schoolwomen: Teaching in Rural California, 1850–1950," 1698
Weiler, Peter (R), 1757
Weiner, Amir, *Nature, Nurture, and Memory in a Socialist Utopia: Delineating the Soviet Socio-Ethnic Body in the Age of Socialism*, 1114–55
Weiner, Douglas R. (R), 277
Weiner, Lynn Y. (R), 936
Weinstein, Barbara (R), 958
Weinstein, Laurie, and Francine D'Amico, editors, "Gender Camouflage: Women and the U.S. Military" (E), 1433
"Weird and Wonderful," by Dennett, 201
Weisenfeld, Judith, "African American Women and Christian Activism: New York's Black YWCA, 1905–1945," 586
Weisenfeld, Judith (R), 1705
Weiss, Nancy J. (R), 932
Weitzman, Lenore J., and Dalia Ofer, editors, "Women in the Holocaust," 1779
Welch, David (R), 268
Welcome to Sarajevo, directed by Winterbottom, reviewed by Portuges, 693
"The Welland Canals and Their Communities," by Jackson, 1284
Wenger, Andreas, "Living with Peril: Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Nuclear Weapons," 952
Wenger, Beth S. (R), 924
"West Africans in Britain, 1900–1960," by Adi, 1803
"West Indies Accounts," edited by McDonald, 613
West, Elliott, "The Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to Colorado," 567
Westheider, James E., "Fighting on Two Fronts: African Americans and the Vietnam War," 602
"Wetlands of the American Midwest," by Prince, 1312
Wetzler, Peter, "Hirohito and War: Imperial Tradition and Military Decision Making in Prewar Japan," 884
Wexler, Paul, "The Non-Jewish Origins of the Sephardic Jews," 284
Wexler, Victor G. (R), 145
"What Do We Need a Union For? The TWUA in the South, 1945–1955," by Minchin, 199
"What Went Wrong? The Creation and Collapse of the Black-Jewish Alliance," by Friedman, 954
Whayne, Jeannie M., "A New Plantation South: Land, Labor, and Federal Favor in Twentieth-Century Arkansas," 1700
Whealey, Robert H. (R), 1043
Wheatley, Paul (R), 142
"Where Is Our Responsibility? Unions and Economic Change in the New England Textile Industry, 1870–1960," by Hartford, 198
Whimster, Sam, editor, "Max Weber and the Culture of Anarchy" (E), 1819

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

White, Landeg (R), 643
White, Mark J., editor, "Kennedy: The New Frontier Revisited" (E), 1816
"White Flour, White Power," by Rowse, 1283
"White Man's Medicine," by Trennert, 1322
"White Mutiny," by Stanley, 888
"The White Scourge," by Foley, 149
"White Women, Black Men," by Hodes, 192
Whitehead, John (R), 1315
Whites, LeeAnn (R), 575
"Who Killed John Clayton? Political Violence and the Emergence of the New South, 1861–1893," by Barnes, 579
"Who Speaks for the President? The White House Press Secretary from Cleveland to Clinton," by Nelson, 598
Wickberg, Daniel, "The Senses of Humor: Self and Laughter in Modern America," 1656
Wicken, William, Jo-Anne Fiske, and Susan Sleeper-Smith, editors, "New Faces of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the Seventh North American Fur Trade Conference, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1995" (E), 698
Wiener, Joel H. (R), 995
Wigen, Kären (R), 162
Wigen, Kären, *Culture, Power, and Place: The New Landscapes of East Asian Regionalism*, 1183–1201
"The Wild and the Sown," by Ambrosoli, 238
Wilkins, Mira, and Harm Schröter, editors, "The Free-Standing Company in the World Economy 1830–1996" (E), 1052
"William Faulkner," by Singal, 221
Williams, A. Susan, "Women and Childbirth in the Twentieth Century: A History of the National Birthday Trust Fund 1928–93," 644
Williams, Elizabeth A. (R), 144
Williams, Glyndwr, "The Great South Sea: English Voyages and Encounters, 1570–1750," 991
Williams, Peter W. (R), 890
Williams, Richard, "The Contentious Crown: Public Discussion of the British Monarchy in the Reign of Queen Victoria," 995
Williamson, Arthur (R), 982
"Willing Migrants," by Manchuelle, 1044
Willis, Frank Roy (R), 1772
Wilson, Andrew J. (R), 244
Wilson, Charles Reagan (R), 563
Wilson, Douglas L., "Honor's Voice: The Transformation of Abraham Lincoln," 910
Wilson, George M. (R), 882
Wilson, Mary C. (R), 1797
Wilson, Peter H. (R), 1260
Wilson, William H., "Hamilton Park: A Planned Black Community in Dallas," 1710
"Wind Energy in America," by Righter, 195
Windler, Christian, "Élites locales, señores, reformistas: Redes clientelares y Monarquía hacia finales del Antiguo Régimen," 1016
Winn, Peter (R), 1358
Winock, Michel, "Nationalism, Anti-Semitism, and Fascism in France," 1394
Winslow, Barbara (C), 1830
Winslow, Calvin, editor, "Waterfront Workers: New Perspectives on Race and Class" (E), 302
Winter, Jay, and Emmanuel Sivan, editors, "War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century" (E), 1052
Winter, Jay, and Jean-Louis Robert, "Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin, 1914–1919," 542
Winterbottom, Michael, 693
Winters, Francis X., "The Year of the Hare: America in Vietnam, January 25, 1963–February 15, 1964," 226
Wintz, Cary D. (R), 1709
Wirtschafter, Elise Kimmerling, "Social Identity in Imperial Russia," 679
"The Wisconsin Frontier," by Wyman, 1679
"Witchcraft and Its Transformations, c. 1650–c. 1750," by Bostridge, 527
"With Ballot and Bayonet," by Frank, 911
Witherell, Larry L., "Rebel on the Right: Henry Page Croft and the Crisis of British Conservatism, 1903–1914," 1376
Wittkau-Horgby, Annette, "Materialismus: Entstehung und Wirkung in den Wissenschaften des 19. Jahrhunderts," 1369
Wohl, Robert (R), 542
Wolfe, Michael (R), 245
Wolfe, Michael, editor, "Changing Identities in Early Modern France," 651
Wolff, Larry (R), 1790
Wolfram, Herwig, "The Roman Empire and Its Germanic Peoples," 970
Woloch, Nancy (R), 1326
Wolters, Raymond (R), 1691
"Women against the Good War," by Goossen, 596
"Women and Childbirth in the Twentieth Century," by Williams, 644
"Women and Freedom in Early America," edited by Eldridge, 146
"Women and the Creation of Urban Life," by Enstam, 1693
"Women, Gays, and the Constitution," by Richards, 1340
"Women in Old Norse Society," by Jochens, 971
"Women in the Holocaust," edited by Ofer and Weitzman, 1779
"Women in the Medieval Islamic World," edited by Hambly (E), 300
"The Women of Paris and Their French Revolution," by Godineau, 1007
"Women of the American South," edited by Farnham, 1290
"Women's Words," by Ozouf, 659
Wong, J. Y., "Deadly Dreams: Opium, Imperialism, and the *Arrow* War (1856–1860) in China," 1276
Wong, R. Bin, "China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience," 868
Wong, R. Bin, Theodore Huters, and Pauline Yu, editors, "Culture and State in Chinese History: Conventions, Accommodations, and Critiques," 868
Wood, Elizabeth A., "The Baba and the Comrade: Gender and Politics in Revolutionary Russia," 682
Wood, I. N. (R), 970
Wood, Ian, editor, "Franks and Alamanni in the Merovingian Period: An Ethnographic Perspective" (E), 1816
Wood, Stephanie, Susan Schroeder, and Robert Haskett, editors, "Indian Women of Early Mexico," 229
Woodside, Alexander (R), 868
Woodward, David, and G. Malcolm Lewis, editors, "The History of Cartography": Volume 2, Book Three: "Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies" (E), 696
Woodward, Jennifer, "The Theatre of Death: The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570–1625," 629
Woodworth, Steven E., editor, "The Art of Command in the Civil War" (E), 699
Woodworth, Steven E., editor, "Civil War Generals in Defeat" (E), 1433
Woolf, D. R. (R), 635
Woollacott, Angela, Mrinalini Sinha, and Donna Guy, editors, "Feminisms and Internationalism" (E), 1813
Woolner, David B., editor, "The Second Quebec Conference Revisited: Waging War, Formulating Peace; Canada, Great Britain, and the United States in 1944–1945" (E), 1053
Wooster, Ralph A. (R), 193
Worcester, Thomas, "Seventeenth-Century Cultural Discourse: France and the Preaching of Bishop Camus," 245
"A Word for Nature," by Dorman, 1312
"Workers' Control in Latin America, 1930–1979," edited by Brown, 958
"Working-Class Hollywood," by Ross, 1324
"World War I," edited by Strachan (E), 1052
"The World within War," by Linderman, 948
"A World without War," by Early, 596
"Worlds of Women," by Rupp, 872
Wosh, Peter J. (R), 909
The Wounds [*Rane*], directed by Dragojević, reviewed by Portuges, 693
Wrenn, Lynette Boney, "Crisis and Commission Government in Memphis: Elite Rule in a Gilded Age City," 919
Wright, Johnson Kent, "A Classical Republican in Eighteenth-Century France: The Political Thought of Mably," 657
Wrigley, E. A., *et al.*, "English Population History from Family Reconstitution, 1580–1837," 990
Wunder, Heide, "He Is the Sun, She Is the Moon: Women in Early Modern Germany," 1400
Wunder, John R., and Pekka Hämäläinen, *Of Lethal Places and Lethal Essays*, 1229–34
Wyatt, Don J., "The Recluse of Loyang: Shao Yung and the Moral Evolution of Early Sung Thought," 547
Wyatt-Brown, Bertram (R), 1304
Wyke, Maria, editor, "Gender and the Body in the Ancient Mediterranean" (E), 303
Wyman, Mark, "The Wisconsin Frontier," 1679
Wynot, Edward D., Jr. (R), 1792

Xiao, Zhiwei (R), 1811
Xiuxiu: The Sent-Down Girl [*Tian yu*], directed by Chen and Chan, reviewed by Xiao, 1811

Yalom, Marilyn (R), 655
Yang, Daqing, *Convergence or Divergence? Recent Historical Writings on the Rape of Nanjing*, 842
"The Yankee International," by Messer-Kruse, 1308
"Yankee Town, Southern City," by Tripp, 1672
Yarbrough, Jean M., "American Virtues: Thomas Jefferson on the Character of a Free People," 1662
"The Year of the Hare," by Winters, 226
Young, Glennys, "Power and the Sacred in Revolutionary Russia: Religious Activists in the Village," 278
Young, Glennys (R), 1795
"Young Sidney Hook," by Phelps, 212
Youngs, J. William T. (R), 185
"Your Fyre Shall Burn No More," by Brandão, 171
Yu, Pauline, Theodore Huters, and R. Bin Wong, editors, "Culture and State in Chinese History: Conventions, Accommodations, and Critiques," 868
"Yucatán's Maya Peasantry and the Origins of the Caste War," by Rugeley, 616
Yungblut, Laura Hunt, "Strangers Settled Here among Us: Policies, Perceptions and the Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England," 241

Zachary, G. Pascal, "Endless Frontier: Vannevar Bush, Engineer of the American Century," 216
Zagorin, Perez, "Francis Bacon," 986
Žalys, Vytautas, and Alfonsas Eidintas, "Lithuania in European Politics: The Years of the First Republic, 1918–1940," 273
Zanger, Abby E., "Scenes from the Marriage of Louis XIV: Nuptial Fictions and the Making of Absolutist Power," 1002
Zangrando, Robert L. (R), 930
Zarrow, Peter G., and Joshua A. Fogel, editors, "Imagining the People: Chinese Intellectuals and the Concept of Citizenship, 1890–1920," 877
Zastoupil, Lynn, Martin I. Moir, and Douglas M. Peers, editors, "J. S. Mill's Encounter with India" (E), 1818
Zdatny, Steven (R), 661
Zeffirelli, Franco, 1809
Zelizer, Julian E. (R), 1330
Zelman, Patricia G. (R), 939
Zenderland, Leila, "Measuring Minds: Henry Herbert Goddard and the Origins of American Intelligence Testing," 1698
Zenzen, Joan M., and Rodney P. Carlisle, "Supplying the Nuclear Arsenal: American Production Reactors, 1942–1992," 603
Zhu, Liping, "A Chinaman's Chance: The Chinese on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier," 204
Ziegler, Joseph (R), 1728
Ziemann, Benjamin, "Front und Heimat: Ländliche Kriegserfahrungen im südlichen Bayern 1914–1923," 1023
Zoli, Sergio, "Dall'Europa libertina all'Europa illuminista: Stato laico e 'Oriente' libertino nella politica e nella cultura dell'età dell'assolutismo e della ragione di stato da Richelieu al secolo dei Lumi; alle origini del laicismo e dell'illuminismo," 1367
Zubkova, Elena, "Russia after the War: Hopes, Illusions, and Disappointments, 1945–1957," 1796
Zuckert, Michael P., "The Natural Rights Republic: Studies in the Foundation of the American Political Tradition," 902
Zuczek, Richard, "State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina," 1674

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Topical Index to Volume 104

Administration
143, 214, 252, 254, 269, 526, 551, 598, 605, 625, 660, 665, 880, 888, 926, 947, 1009, 1275, 1331, 1332, 1335, 1343, 1364, 1366, 1390, 1393, 1394, 1395, 1403, 1703, 1768, 1773, 1776, 1785, 1792, 1800

Agriculture
149, 189, 238, 293, 565, 636, 650, 663, 917, 921, 964, 1016, 1033, 1312, 1313, 1354, 1382, 1646, 1681, 1700, 1778

Anthropology
153, 256, 535, 621, 687, 688, 886, 1422, 1652

Archeology
285, 1731

Architecture
143, 152, 642, 981, 1042, 1662, 1686

Art
147, 152, 211, 233, 626, 627, 668, 672, 873, 906, 913, 979, 981, 1029, 1034, 1261, 1341, 1342, 1684, 1708

Biography
161, 184, 185, 186, 207, 209, 213, 215, 216, 217, 221, 222, 242, 257, 276, 283, 294, 295, 547, 561, 568, 574, 575, 585, 592, 615, 629, 635, 655, 657, 659, 672, 674, 680, 686, 878, 884, 887, 904, 910, 915, 916, 929, 932, 943, 947, 949, 986, 988, 992, 993, 994, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1008, 1012, 1018, 1021, 1022, 1024, 1030, 1034, 1042, 1269, 1277, 1295, 1296, 1312, 1316, 1334, 1364, 1373, 1376, 1386, 1392, 1396, 1410, 1419, 1632, 1662, 1668, 1675, 1691, 1694, 1714, 1715, 1716, 1717, 1736, 1739, 1743, 1747, 1759, 1770, 1787

Business/Finance
189, 196, 197, 207, 215, 227, 247, 270, 288, 539, 555, 561, 605, 898, 941, 950, 956, 977, 988, 1003, 1271, 1273, 1307, 1324, 1330, 1344, 1345, 1354, 1371, 1372, 1373, 1393, 1406, 1630, 1639, 1679, 1683, 1701, 1704, 1718, 1729

Careers/Professions
554, 588, 592, 935, 1300, 1320

Childhood/Youth
175, 176, 177, 222, 556, 591, 664, 671, 923, 996, 1318, 1319, 1671, 1731, 1764, 1776

Civil Wars
147, 194, 570, 571, 572, 632, 633, 645, 911, 912, 1305, 1671, 1762, 1774

Class
149, 168, 225, 232, 236, 259, 265, 266, 267, 531, 578, 585, 591, 595, 607, 610, 622, 627, 632, 641, 661, 668, 679, 918, 927, 945, 958, 965, 966, 969, 979, 996, 997, 1010, 1015, 1017, 1269, 1282, 1311, 1314, 1318, 1320, 1324, 1327, 1346, 1347, 1348, 1357, 1358, 1362, 1633, 1657, 1669, 1672, 1723, 1735

Colonial/Postcolonial
156, 157, 164, 171, 181, 228, 229, 287, 288, 289, 294, 533, 540, 549, 550, 559, 612, 643, 667, 676, 687, 688, 867, 870, 885, 887, 888, 893, 895, 896, 898, 899, 904, 926, 931, 957, 960, 961, 962, 998, 1042, 1044, 1045, 1262, 1281, 1286, 1292, 1294, 1349, 1423, 1629, 1634, 1637, 1641, 1652, 1653, 1658, 1718, 1768, 1798, 1803, 1804

Comparative
155, 230, 234, 274, 526, 536, 538, 539, 542, 543, 549, 613, 868, 870, 871, 978, 1264, 1269, 1271, 1273, 1331, 1355, 1639, 1642, 1718

Constitutional
230, 272, 560, 665, 889, 903, 934, 1298, 1340

Crime and Violence
168, 176, 178, 179, 208, 269, 558, 579, 620, 626, 871, 883, 907, 920, 976, 991, 1000, 1270, 1289, 1304, 1319, 1329, 1420, 1678, 1721, 1728, 1754, 1773, 1779

Cultural
143, 144, 147, 150, 153, 157, 158, 160, 162, 164, 167, 174, 177, 178, 180, 181, 183, 194, 195, 201, 202, 206, 211, 222, 232, 233, 238, 240, 243, 245, 247, 248, 250, 255, 267, 268, 275, 286, 526, 527, 531, 532, 534, 538, 550, 551, 560, 561, 565, 572, 573, 583, 599, 614, 621, 625, 626, 627, 629, 630, 638, 641, 651, 652, 653, 655, 668, 670, 671, 672, 673, 675, 678, 871, 873, 876, 882, 886, 888, 890, 891, 892, 895, 904, 905, 906, 907, 913, 915, 917, 928, 933, 937, 941, 946, 951, 962, 969, 970, 971, 972, 977, 979, 981, 984, 985, 991, 993, 995, 1002, 1013, 1019, 1026, 1029, 1034, 1039, 1042, 1258, 1259, 1260, 1261, 1262, 1265, 1266, 1267, 1269, 1278, 1279, 1281, 1282, 1283, 1287, 1289, 1290, 1293, 1294, 1296, 1297, 1302, 1304, 1312, 1316, 1323, 1324, 1325, 1328, 1336, 1337, 1341, 1342, 1345, 1347, 1349, 1361, 1362, 1365, 1370, 1374, 1386, 1388, 1402, 1411, 1413, 1414, 1416, 1418, 1421, 1630, 1632, 1634, 1640, 1641, 1642, 1643, 1644, 1645, 1651, 1653, 1655, 1656, 1658, 1659, 1660, 1661, 1666, 1669, 1671, 1676, 1683, 1684, 1696, 1697, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1711, 1712, 1724, 1725, 1731, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1736, 1737, 1739, 1754, 1760, 1761, 1763, 1765, 1770, 1771, 1774, 1775, 1777, 1780, 1784, 1786, 1787, 1793, 1795

Demography
155, 260, 559, 650, 867, 989, 990, 1031, 1263, 1415

Diasporas
223, 284, 1355, 1407, 1660, 1782

Economic
155, 156, 157, 160, 164, 189, 193, 196, 198, 215, 219, 227, 228, 237, 241, 260, 274, 286, 287, 288, 291, 292, 293, 532, 539, 543, 551, 555, 605, 613, 623, 636, 640, 646, 650, 663, 667, 682, 686, 866,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

870, 876, 879, 897, 898, 950, 960, 961, 962, 964, 975, 1003, 1016, 1031, 1044, 1045, 1271, 1273, 1274, 1276, 1278, 1280, 1288, 1303, 1306, 1307, 1348, 1350, 1354, 1371, 1372, 1379, 1382, 1393, 1397, 1398, 1401, 1415, 1424, 1638, 1639, 1641, 1646, 1647, 1648, 1650, 1657, 1663, 1679, 1681, 1693, 1701, 1702, 1703, 1704, 1718, 1722, 1732, 1742, 1757, 1759, 1766, 1772, 1790, 1795, 1799, 1803

Education/Students
172, 202, 266, 554, 587, 600, 603, 607, 632, 660, 666, 880, 940, 968, 996, 1027, 1300, 1316, 1321, 1391, 1399, 1402, 1418, 1649, 1677, 1691, 1692, 1698, 1730, 1769, 1785, 1788, 1803

Empire
156, 282, 286, 288, 538, 540, 612, 632, 639, 647, 648, 867, 888, 898, 957, 970, 991, 998, 1014, 1037, 1040, 1041, 1262, 1270, 1414, 1416, 1634, 1647, 1741, 1753, 1768

Environment
180, 195, 267, 293, 567, 581, 583, 584, 604, 613, 888, 917, 1268, 1312, 1313, 1403, 1646, 1682, 1802

Ethnicity
146, 149, 158, 191, 199, 202, 204, 229, 241, 284, 290, 532, 595, 677, 678, 922, 925, 961, 963, 982, 1006, 1023, 1283, 1292, 1647, 1654, 1655, 1692, 1731, 1732, 1770, 1792

Exploration/Travel
153, 154, 189, 991, 1014, 1348, 1367, 1423, 1637

Family
151, 175, 176, 177, 236, 252, 253, 540, 575, 623, 644, 650, 670, 671, 689, 875, 900, 965, 976, 1032, 1040, 1358, 1362, 1385, 1386, 1400, 1633, 1670, 1671, 1729, 1731, 1754, 1761, 1764, 1783

Film
220, 928, 951, 1324, 1641, 1697

Folklore
1347

Foreign Relations/Diplomatic
158, 160, 205, 217, 218, 219, 222, 226, 241, 257, 271, 273, 279, 280, 281, 285, 293, 538, 551, 585, 603, 615, 619, 620, 640, 647, 657, 667, 684, 874, 926, 931, 948, 949, 950, 952, 999, 1042, 1043, 1280, 1305, 1334, 1335, 1343, 1350, 1372, 1379, 1383, 1384, 1396, 1397, 1411, 1412, 1641, 1711, 1741, 1742, 1758, 1759, 1770, 1772, 1783, 1789, 1792

Frontiers/Borderlands
281, 285, 289, 566, 567, 568, 582, 660, 897, 904, 1037, 1279, 1280, 1292, 1297, 1313, 1416, 1420, 1422, 1647, 1664, 1679, 1681, 1682

Gay/Lesbian
1340, 1684, 1706

Gender
168, 169, 183, 192, 208, 294, 540, 552, 575, 577, 595, 596, 597, 610, 631, 651, 659, 682, 687, 688, 689, 871, 896, 905, 972, 1002, 1265, 1281, 1321, 1358, 1385, 1424, 1629, 1630, 1633, 1659, 1669, 1670, 1672, 1706, 1720, 1779, 1797

Genocide
281, 867, 1023, 1779, 1780

Health/Disease
559, 589, 626, 644, 914, 942, 956, 989, 1026, 1264, 1275, 1322, 1325, 1341, 1382, 1637, 1715, 1730

Historiography
142, 145, 159, 162, 281, 526, 528, 529, 554, 557, 651, 659, 867, 868, 890, 902, 970, 994, 1258, 1316, 1332, 1391, 1392, 1629, 1632, 1749, 1796, 1798

Ideology
159, 161, 173, 213, 249, 253, 535, 545, 548, 580, 590, 658, 660, 669, 678, 873, 877, 881, 902, 911, 925, 967, 982, 987, 1002, 1012, 1017, 1024, 1030, 1034, 1037, 1038, 1277, 1278, 1285, 1330, 1336, 1369, 1390, 1394, 1402, 1662, 1686, 1699, 1713, 1719, 1784, 1785, 1797, 1798

Immigration/Migration
158, 168, 199, 204, 218, 241, 256, 532, 611, 612, 620, 921, 922, 924, 927, 939, 940, 999, 1044, 1292, 1417, 1679, 1692, 1792, 1802, 1803

Imperialism
1276

Indigenous Peoples
171, 181, 182, 203, 229, 530, 533, 567, 568, 616, 620, 867, 889, 892, 893, 894, 904, 1261, 1283, 1322, 1349, 1351, 1353, 1416, 1652, 1658, 1659

Industry
260

Institutions
151, 164, 206, 214, 222, 234, 254, 266, 270, 277, 586, 587, 602, 622, 624, 625, 872, 884, 914, 937, 967, 974, 995, 1019, 1025, 1029, 1038, 1318, 1321, 1344, 1359, 1362, 1386, 1391, 1393, 1402, 1405, 1407, 1649, 1734, 1735, 1754, 1773, 1782, 1789

Intellectual
145, 161, 167, 180, 184, 185, 202, 210, 212, 221, 234, 237, 239, 240, 242, 243, 255, 261, 527, 528, 530, 535, 547, 557, 590, 593, 594, 599, 626, 631, 635, 639, 652, 653, 655, 657, 666, 672, 673, 674, 680, 887, 899, 902, 909, 954, 970, 984, 986, 987, 992, 993, 994, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1008, 1019, 1021, 1028, 1037, 1039, 1267, 1268, 1269, 1277, 1288, 1295, 1296, 1300, 1316, 1331, 1332, 1337, 1338, 1367, 1369, 1374, 1386, 1391, 1392, 1405, 1631, 1640, 1641, 1644, 1651, 1656, 1662, 1665, 1684, 1689, 1698, 1702, 1708, 1712, 1725, 1733, 1740, 1746, 1752, 1763, 1765, 1769, 1771, 1775, 1787, 1790, 1793, 1794

Journalism
556, 598, 606, 995, 1333, 1690, 1711

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Labor
169, 198, 199, 232, 259, 531, 581, 584, 585, 610, 616, 618, 661, 883, 888, 921, 936, 945, 958, 1017, 1044, 1282, 1285, 1288, 1307, 1308, 1309, 1310, 1314, 1327, 1346, 1357, 1358, 1371, 1375, 1417, 1635, 1657, 1669, 1678, 1703, 1722, 1757

Language/Linguistics
284, 1643, 1644, 1645, 1653, 1802

Legal/Legislative
175, 176, 178, 179, 185, 196, 197, 208, 218, 222, 248, 252, 253, 269, 552, 558, 569, 592, 593, 603, 606, 623, 634, 638, 648, 903, 932, 933, 934, 935, 937, 939, 956, 973, 976, 991, 1000, 1010, 1295, 1298, 1303, 1304, 1319, 1326, 1340, 1341, 1344, 1359, 1374, 1377, 1378, 1385, 1403, 1405, 1654, 1669, 1675, 1687, 1695, 1701, 1716, 1728, 1764

Literature
145, 150, 191, 221, 234, 239, 245, 255, 257, 261, 282, 528, 530, 569, 971, 985, 995, 996, 1002, 1261, 1289, 1640, 1641, 1642, 1651, 1658, 1669, 1739, 1746, 1751, 1797

Local/Regional
165, 172, 174, 181, 182, 188, 193, 198, 199, 202, 204, 211, 238, 244, 246, 253, 258, 259, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 267, 270, 281, 557, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 604, 617, 618, 622, 624, 633, 650, 660, 662, 672, 676, 880, 888, 897, 918, 919, 920, 922, 930, 944, 961, 962, 963, 964, 966, 975, 984, 989, 997, 1003, 1009, 1014, 1017, 1023, 1025, 1031, 1260, 1275, 1278, 1279, 1283, 1284, 1290, 1292, 1302, 1306, 1310, 1312, 1313, 1314, 1315, 1342, 1351, 1362, 1363, 1365, 1366, 1384, 1394, 1401, 1408, 1420, 1635, 1646, 1648, 1664, 1665, 1666, 1667, 1672, 1674, 1676, 1678, 1679, 1681, 1682, 1686, 1689, 1690, 1699, 1700, 1710, 1714, 1722, 1728, 1731, 1745, 1748, 1756, 1762, 1766, 1786, 1789, 1801, 1802

Material Culture
143, 147, 164, 177, 207, 534, 536, 655, 891, 970, 1008, 1013, 1014, 1293, 1398, 1632, 1662, 1725, 1766, 1777

Media/Communications
606

Medicine
206, 262, 559, 587, 588, 589, 648, 655, 674, 906, 942, 946, 989, 1005, 1026, 1263, 1265, 1275, 1299, 1300, 1322, 1325, 1341, 1363, 1637, 1730, 1783

Memory
142, 170, 205, 223, 250, 534, 556, 572, 573, 617, 652, 673, 676, 690, 882, 913, 979, 1039, 1259, 1283, 1297, 1302, 1341, 1777, 1780

Methods
148, 526, 653, 669, 886, 892, 1258, 1264, 1266, 1293, 1297, 1315, 1631, 1634, 1724, 1767

Military
147, 170, 186, 194, 205, 218, 226, 254, 525, 538, 561, 570, 571, 597, 602, 639, 648, 558, 884, 888, 911, 912, 948, 952, 1001, 1023, 1037, 1040, 1276, 1299, 1323, 1339, 1368, 1374, 1381, 1651, 1663, 1681, 1741, 1768, 1789, 1792

Music
268, 614, 641, 1029, 1367, 1411, 1696, 1707, 1709, 1737

National Histories
145, 158, 167, 230, 232, 272, 273, 526, 528, 529, 530, 534, 551, 614, 625, 677, 681, 685, 686, 690, 868, 877, 878, 881, 962, 976, 1015, 1017, 1036, 1043, 1259, 1323, 1337, 1348, 1387, 1390, 1398, 1409, 1411, 1413, 1414, 1636, 1650, 1655, 1658, 1662, 1686, 1687, 1707, 1719, 1736, 1749, 1762, 1770, 1789, 1790, 1792, 1795, 1796, 1804

Nationalism
218, 244, 267, 280, 290, 549, 551, 557, 569, 639, 677, 678, 680, 688, 877, 878, 882, 967, 982, 998, 1013, 1030, 1041, 1260, 1341, 1347, 1352, 1353, 1394, 1410, 1411, 1651, 1653, 1749, 1759, 1777, 1798, 1801

Natural History
882

Oral History
153, 244, 556, 669, 676, 892, 936, 1796, 1801

Peace
596

Peasants
164, 232, 256, 263, 264, 616, 682, 879, 975, 1365, 1409, 1417, 1418, 1722

Philanthrophy
151, 168, 535, 664, 1363, 1668, 1696, 1705, 1776

Philosophy
212, 239, 255, 547, 594, 899, 987, 1027, 1028, 1269, 1367, 1369, 1631, 1645, 1740, 1769

Political
144, 157, 159, 161, 162, 172, 173, 179, 185, 186, 187, 195, 199, 203, 206, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 218, 219, 220, 222, 224, 225, 226, 227, 230, 232, 234, 238, 241, 244, 248, 249, 250, 253, 257, 258, 261, 263, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 286, 287, 290, 291, 295, 525, 526, 527, 531, 545, 547, 548, 551, 552, 556, 560, 565, 570, 575, 577, 579, 580, 584, 585, 593, 598, 599, 600, 601, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 611, 615, 618, 619, 629, 632, 633, 634, 635, 638, 642, 643, 645, 646, 647, 652, 653, 657, 658, 660, 665, 667, 675, 677, 680, 681, 682, 684, 685, 686, 689, 690, 867, 868, 873, 875, 877, 878, 880, 881, 884, 885, 886, 887, 889, 893, 895, 897, 899, 902, 903, 908, 910, 911, 919, 920, 923, 925, 926, 928, 929, 930, 932, 933, 934, 937, 939, 943, 947, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 957, 963, 966, 967, 968, 974, 976, 978, 980, 981, 984, 988, 994, 995, 998, 999, 1000, 1006, 1007, 1010, 1012, 1016, 1017, 1018, 1022, 1030, 1032, 1033, 1034, 1036, 1037, 1038, 1040, 1042, 1043, 1045, 1260, 1278, 1280, 1283, 1285, 1287, 1288, 1298, 1302, 1306, 1308, 1309, 1317, 1322, 1326, 1327, 1329, 1330,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1332, 1333, 1334, 1335, 1336, 1337, 1343, 1346, 1350, 1351, 1352, 1353, 1357, 1358, 1359, 1362, 1364, 1366, 1374, 1375, 1376, 1377, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1382, 1383, 1384, 1387, 1388, 1390, 1394, 1396, 1404, 1408, 1411, 1419, 1422, 1632, 1636, 1641, 1648, 1650, 1652, 1662, 1664, 1665, 1674, 1675, 1679, 1688, 1690, 1693, 1694, 1695, 1699, 1702, 1705, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1714, 1715, 1716, 1719, 1723, 1724, 1733, 1736, 1741, 1743, 1744, 1745, 1746, 1747, 1748, 1753, 1754, 1756, 1758, 1759, 1760, 1762, 1763, 1765, 1767, 1771, 1772, 1774, 1775, 1778, 1780, 1783, 1784, 1785, 1789, 1790, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1799, 1800, 1801, 1804

Psychology/Psychiatry
147, 179, 589, 590, 946, 1265, 1267, 1338, 1698, 1794

Public History
572, 891, 1339, 1686

Race/Racism
146, 149, 156, 191, 192, 197, 199, 204, 205, 210, 211, 223, 224, 294, 295, 556, 564, 566, 569, 575, 578, 585, 586, 599, 600, 601, 602, 607, 608, 611, 613, 614, 639, 669, 690, 889, 896, 900, 908, 912, 916, 918, 920, 925, 927, 930, 931, 932, 954, 999, 1024, 1262, 1283, 1286, 1290, 1297, 1302, 1303, 1304, 1306, 1310, 1327, 1328, 1329, 1338, 1339, 1353, 1355, 1370, 1394, 1629, 1635, 1654, 1660, 1667, 1672, 1674, 1675, 1676, 1677, 1687, 1688, 1690, 1691, 1704, 1705, 1709, 1710, 1711, 1717, 1732, 1803, 1804

Radicalism
179, 209, 211, 213, 658, 660, 1308, 1337, 1379, 1387, 1410, 1678, 1689, 1699

Religion
165, 167, 179, 180, 183, 184, 185, 206, 220, 223, 234, 236, 242, 243, 244, 245, 257, 258, 270, 278, 282, 283, 284, 285, 289, 291, 527, 550, 563, 569, 573, 586, 601, 617, 621, 622, 624, 629, 630, 631, 632, 635, 637, 638, 662, 666, 672, 885, 890, 899, 909, 915, 916, 917, 923, 924, 927, 969, 973, 974, 979, 980, 982, 984, 986, 988, 992, 993, 997, 1018, 1024, 1025, 1038, 1039, 1283, 1293, 1294, 1295, 1296, 1297, 1316, 1336, 1337, 1352, 1361, 1362, 1367, 1370, 1373, 1379, 1381, 1386, 1400, 1407, 1411, 1421, 1423, 1636, 1645, 1661, 1665, 1666, 1667, 1668, 1676, 1677, 1705, 1706, 1721, 1723, 1724, 1729, 1731, 1732, 1744, 1745, 1749, 1750, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1765, 1773, 1776, 1782, 1784, 1786, 1787

Revolution/Social Movements
144, 159, 187, 191, 246, 248, 249, 250, 253, 258, 264, 545, 548, 560, 601, 608, 615, 616, 617, 618, 634, 657, 658, 660, 661, 668, 675, 681, 682, 879, 883, 954, 957, 958, 968, 978, 1007, 1012, 1015, 1017, 1018, 1041, 1277, 1302, 1326, 1327, 1337, 1348, 1351, 1378, 1380, 1387, 1388, 1409, 1410, 1632, 1649, 1695, 1717, 1767, 1783, 1793

Rural
189, 195, 278, 636, 650, 917, 1008, 1013, 1681, 1698, 1700, 1756, 1778, 1788

Science
179, 206, 216, 237, 238, 239, 240, 243, 251, 262, 277, 562, 588, 589, 603, 626, 632, 639, 655, 674, 905, 906, 942, 946, 953, 986, 987, 992, 1004, 1005, 1021, 1026, 1028, 1045, 1268, 1299, 1316, 1367, 1369, 1395, 1644, 1698, 1725, 1740, 1751, 1752, 1753, 1755, 1769, 1794

Sexuality
168, 192, 687, 688, 895, 907, 937, 972, 1265, 1328, 1358, 1706, 1783

Slavery
191, 192, 228, 292, 569, 613, 689, 894, 896, 900, 913, 964, 1286, 1297, 1303, 1355, 1373, 1635, 1660, 1662, 1670, 1672, 1687, 1803

Social History
146, 155, 158, 162, 164, 165, 168, 169, 170, 172, 175, 182, 187, 193, 195, 202, 210, 220, 232, 233, 236, 238, 246, 256, 259, 260, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 270, 277, 278, 282, 283, 285, 542, 556, 564, 571, 578, 585, 591, 593, 595, 605, 608, 610, 621, 622, 624, 626, 627, 643, 651, 661, 662, 663, 664, 670, 671, 679, 875, 879, 883, 900, 914, 922, 923, 924, 936, 937, 940, 945, 948, 969, 970, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 984, 999, 1001, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1023, 1031, 1032, 1266, 1269, 1278, 1282, 1287, 1289, 1292, 1310, 1311, 1314, 1319, 1325, 1346, 1348, 1349, 1352, 1357, 1358, 1362, 1385, 1386, 1399, 1400, 1408, 1409, 1413, 1414, 1415, 1417, 1421, 1422, 1633, 1639, 1648, 1650, 1651, 1655, 1656, 1658, 1667, 1669, 1672, 1679, 1681, 1686, 1688, 1693, 1694, 1700, 1707, 1710, 1712, 1723, 1728, 1731, 1734, 1735, 1737, 1738, 1739, 1745, 1750, 1755, 1760, 1762, 1764, 1766, 1767, 1770, 1776, 1786, 1788, 1792, 1799

Social Policy
151, 224, 225, 252, 253, 574, 605, 648, 665, 943, 944, 1265, 1318, 1320, 1330, 1331, 1338, 1339, 1363, 1375, 1394, 1399, 1403, 1693, 1698, 1701, 1703, 1742, 1745, 1772, 1774, 1783, 1788

Sports
611, 1651, 1686

Technology/Industry
173, 189, 195, 198, 216, 238, 247, 274, 536, 538, 539, 543, 581, 584, 603, 605, 646, 917, 945, 952, 953, 956, 970, 1273, 1278, 1284, 1307, 1312, 1395, 1401, 1406, 1630, 1638, 1643, 1751, 1755, 1757

Theory
142, 148, 150, 525, 526, 533, 573, 594, 972, 1258, 1266, 1328, 1388, 1631, 1733, 1775

Tourism
1348, 1683

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Trade
154, 160, 241, 292, 555, 568, 613, 640, 650, 870, 876, 904, 960, 977, 1014, 1274, 1276, 1372, 1397, 1398, 1424, 1632, 1638, 1742, 1799, 1803

Transportation
173, 195, 247, 270, 1284

Urban
147, 152, 188, 201, 224, 225, 265, 542, 564, 600, 608, 642, 664, 672, 918, 919, 943, 944, 965, 966, 979, 997, 1009, 1014, 1042, 1284, 1311, 1371, 1375, 1394, 1415, 1674, 1686, 1692, 1693, 1710, 1727, 1734, 1737, 1744, 1754, 1756

Wars
170, 171, 186, 203, 218, 226, 228, 257, 285, 525, 538, 542, 543, 558, 561, 596, 597, 602, 619, 639, 645, 648, 657, 874, 914, 928, 931, 944, 947, 948, 951, 999, 1001, 1023, 1041, 1294, 1333, 1368, 1379, 1406, 1636, 1649, 1663, 1711, 1724, 1758, 1762, 1770, 1783, 1789

Women
146, 169, 183, 197, 207, 208, 229, 234, 251, 253, 257, 283, 552, 554, 561, 574, 575, 578, 585, 586, 590, 591, 596, 597, 622, 623, 637, 644, 655, 659, 670, 682, 688, 872, 907, 908, 915, 916, 934, 935, 936, 937, 939, 940, 941, 971, 980, 991, 1007, 1008, 1017, 1281, 1285, 1290, 1320, 1321, 1326, 1327, 1340, 1358, 1378, 1396, 1399, 1400, 1424, 1659, 1668, 1672, 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697, 1698, 1720, 1721, 1754, 1761, 1779, 1797

World
536, 546, 872, 1264, 1274, 1423, 1638

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION

(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1. **Title of Publication:** *American Historical Review*
2. **Publication No.:** ISSN 0002-8762
3. **Date of Filing:** October 1, 1999
4. **Frequency of Issue:** Five times per year—February, April, June, October, December
5. **Number of Issues Published Annually:** Five
6. **Annual Subscription Price:** Class I U.S. $90.00
   Class II U.S. $110.00
7. **Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication:** American Historical Association, 400 A Street SE, Washington, DC 20003-3889
   (202) 544-2422
   Contact Person: Randy B. Norell
8. **Complete Mailing Address of the Headquarters of General Business Offices of the Publisher:** American Historical Association, 400 A Street SE, Washington, DC 20003-3889
9. **Full Names and Complete Mailing Address of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor:**
   Publisher: American Historical Association, 400 A Street SE, Washington, DC 20003-3889
   Editor: Michael Grossberg, American Historical Review, 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405
   Managing Editor: N/A
10. **Owner:** *(If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereafter the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of the total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address as well as that of each individual must be given. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, its name and address must be stated.)*
    The American Historical Association, 400 A Street SE, Washington, DC 20003, has no ownership. It is a nonprofit membership corporation created by an Act of Congress on January 4, 1889, for the promotion of historical studies, etc.
11. **Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages, or Other Securities:** None.
12. **Tax Status (For Completion by Nonprofit Organizations Authorized to Mail at Nonprofit Rates):** The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for federal income tax purposes has not changed during the preceding 12 months.
13. **Publication Name:** *American Historical Review*
14. **Issue Date for Circulation Data Below:** 06/99
15. **Extent and Nature of Circulation:**

	Average No. Copies Each Issue Published during Preceding 12 Months	No. Copies of Single Issue Published nearest to Filing Date
A. TOTAL NO. OF COPIES *(Net Press Run)*	17,924	18,019
B. PAID AND/OR REQUESTED CIRCULATION		
1. Paid or Requested Outside County Mail Subscriptions	16,253	16,411
2. Paid In-County Subscriptions	0	0
3. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors, and counter sales	0	0
C. TOTAL PAID AND/OR REQUESTED CIRCULATION	16,253	16,411
D. FREE DISTRIBUTION BY MAIL *(samples, complimentary, and other free)*	368	180
E. FREE DISTRIBUTION OUTSIDE THE MAIL	0	0
F. TOTAL FREE DISTRIBUTION	368	180
G. TOTAL DISTRIBUTION	16,639	16,591
H. COPIES NOT DISTRIBUTED	1,285	1,428
I. TOTAL	17,924	18,019
Percent Paid and/or Requested Circulation	97.68%	98.92%

16. Publication of Statement of Ownership. Will be printed in the December issue of this publication.
17. I certify that all information furnished on this form is true and complete.

Randy B. Norell

RANDY B. NORELL, CONTROLLER
09/20/99

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American Historical Association

Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889.
Office: 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003

President: Robert Darnton, *Princeton University*
President-elect: Eric Foner, *Columbia University*
Executive Director: Arnita A. Jones
Controller: Randy Norell

MEMBERSHIP: Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. The present membership and subscription total is approximately 18,000. Members elect the officers by ballot.

MEETINGS: The Association's next annual meeting takes place January 6–9. The meeting in 2000 will be held in Chicago. Many professional historical groups meet within or jointly with the Association at this time. The Pacific Coast Branch holds separate meetings on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review*.

PUBLICATIONS AND SERVICES: The *American Historical Review* is published five times a year and sent to all members. It is available by subscription to institutions. The Association also publishes *Perspectives* (newsletter with classified listings) and a variety of pamphlets on historical subjects. To promote history and assist historians, the Association offers other services, including an Institutional Services Program. It also maintains close relations with international, specialized, state, and local historical societies through conferences and correspondence.

PRIZES: The *Herbert B. Adams Prize* awarded annually for a first book in the field of European history. The *George Louis Beer Prize* awarded annually for a book on any phase of European international history since 1895. The *Albert J. Beveridge Award* given annually for the best book on the history of the United States, Canada, or Latin America. The *Albert B. Corey Prize*, sponsored jointly by the AHA and the Canadian Historical Association, awarded biennially for the best book on the history of Canadian-American relations or the history of both countries (next award, 2000). The *Paul Birdsall Prize* for a major work by a U.S. or Canadian historian in European military and strategic history offered biennially (next award, 2000). The *James H. Breasted Prize* offered annually for the best book in English in any field of history prior to 1000 AD. The *John H. Dunning Prize* awarded biennially for a book on any subject relating to American history (next award, 2001). The *John K. Fairbank Prize in East Asian History since 1800* awarded annually. The *Herbert Feis Award* awarded annually to recognize the recent work of independent scholars and public historians. The *Leo Gershoy Award* awarded annually for outstanding work in seventeenth or eighteenth-century Western European history. The *Clarence H. Haring Prize* awarded every five years to a Latin American for an outstanding book in Latin American history (next award, 2001). The *Joan Kelly Memorial Prize* awarded annually for the best book in women's history and/or feminist theory. The *Littleton-Griswold Prize* awarded annually for the best work on history of American law and society. The *Howard R. Marraro Prize* in Italian history awarded annually and carrying a cash award. The *G. L. Mosse Prize* awarded annually for a major work in European intellectual and cultural history since the Renaissance. The *James Harvey Robinson Prize* for the teaching aid that has made the most outstanding contribution to the teaching of history (next biennial award, 2000). The *J. Franklin Jameson Prize* awarded every five years for outstanding editorial achievement (next award, 2000). The *Waldo G. Leland Prize* awarded every five years for the most outstanding reference tool (next award, 2001). The *Premio del Rey Prize* awarded biennially for Spanish medieval history and culture (500–1516 AD) (next award, 2000). The *Morris D. Forkosch Prize* awarded annually to recognize the best book in the field of British, British Imperial, or British Commonwealth history. The *Wesley-Logan Prize in African Diaspora History* offered annually by the AHA and the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History. The *AHA Prize in Atlantic History* offered annually to recognize an outstanding book that explores aspects of integration of Atlantic worlds before the twentieth century.

DUES: For Contributing Members, $155; for incomes over $70,000, $126; over $55,000, $105; over $45,000, $94; over $35,000, $79; over $20,000, $68; under $20,000, $37; for students $32; for teachers of K-12 (AHA/OHT/SHE/NHEN), $68; for K-12 with the *Review*, $94; for joint members or spouse/partners, $37; for associate members (nonhistorians), $47; a life membership is $2,600. Non-U.S. members add $12.00 for postage. Members receive the *American Historical Review*, *Perspectives*, and the program of the annual meeting.

CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Director at 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. General e-mail address is: aha@theaha.org. Our home page is http://www.theaha.org.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American Historical Review

Founded in 1895

The *AHR* is sent to all members of the American Historical Association; information concerning membership will be found on the preceding page. The *AHR* is also available to institutions by subscription. There are two categories of subscription:

CLASS I: *American Historical Review* only, United States $120.00, foreign $132.00.

CLASS II: *American Historical Review, Perspectives,* and the program of the annual meeting of the Association, United States $140.00, foreign $155.00.

Single copies of the current issue and back issues in and subsequent to volume 99 (1994) can be ordered from the Membership Manager of the Association at $20.00 per copy. Issues prior to volume 98 (1993) should be ordered from the Periodical Service Company, 11 Main Street, Germantown, N.Y., 12526, tel. (518) 537-4700.

Notice of nonreceipt of an issue must be sent to the Membership Manager of the Association within three months of the date of publication of the issue. Changes of address should be sent to the Membership Manager by the first of the month preceding the month of publication. The Association is not responsible for copies lost because of failure to report a change of address in time for mailing. The Association cannot accommodate changes of address that are effective only for the summer months.

Correspondence regarding contributions and books for review should be sent to the Editor, *American Historical Review,* 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405. For further information on the submission of manuscripts, see page ii at the front of this issue.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Informants

ARISTOCRATIC LIFE IN MEDIEVAL FRANCE

The Romances of Jean Renart and Gerbert de Montreuil, 1190-1230

John W. Baldwin

A study of the major preoccupations of the aristocracy—living extravagantly, fighting, making love, entertaining, eating and dressing ostentatiously, and, generally, earning the disapproval of the clergy—using the vernacular romances written exclusively for the amusement of aristocratic audiences.

$49.95 hardcover

THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF SKEPTICISM

Experience and Doubt in Early Modern Culture

Brendan Dooley

"A brief comment cannot do justice to the subtlety of his ambitious argument, the readability of his prose, the unimpeachability of his secondary sources and his enviable familiarity with a wide range of primary sources, especially in archival form."
—Zachary S. Shiffman, Northeastern Illinois University

The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science

$39.95 hardcover

CONSTANTINE AND THE BISHOPS

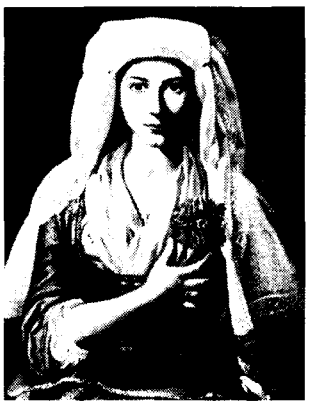
The Politics of Intolerance

H. A. Drake

"A wonderful book. It will strike a very important blow for reason and sanity vis-à-vis the 'authenticity' of Constantine's commitment.'"—Rodney Stark, University of Washington

Ancient Society and History

$68.00 hardcover



VILLAGE JUSTICE

Community, Family, and Popular Culture in Early Modern Italy

Tommaso Astarita

"*Village Justice* will be most welcome for its clear exposition of rather complicated legal practices and its most engaging story."—John A. Marino, University of California, San Diego

The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science

$45.00 hardcover

ROMANTICISM AND COLONIAL DISEASE

Alan Bewell

"It should inspire a critical reconsideration as much of the relationship between literary imagination and historical experience as between disease and empire."—David Arnold, University of London

Medicine and Culture:
Sander Gilman, Series Editor

$45.00 hardcover

BODIES OF EVIDENCE

Medicine and the Politics of the English Inquest, 1830-1926

Ian A. Burney

"An exciting book at the forefront of new interdisciplinary work in the social history of medicine."—Roy Porter

$39.95 hardcover

HUTTERITE BEGINNINGS

Communitarian Experiments during the Reformation

Werner O. Packull

"This remarkable history of early Swiss and Upper German Anabaptism sets a new norm for scholarship, combining as it does for the first time in such depth the methodologies of social history and the history of ideas."—Leonard Gross, *Mennonite Quarterly Review*

$24.95 paperback

THE PAST AS TEXT

The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography

Gabrielle M. Spiegel

"A skillful analysis of the sources, their inter-connections, and the motives of their authors, which makes this a very useful and worthwhile book."
—*Virginia Quarterly Review*

Parallax: Re-visions of Culture and Society
Stephen G. Nichols, Gerald Prince, and Wendy Steiner, Series Editors

$17.95 paperback

JOHNS HOPKINS

The Johns Hopkins University Press • 1-800-537-5487 • www.press.jhu.edu

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

4(a)

History from Yale—

Peace Now!

American Society & the Ending of the Vietnam War

Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones

"A thoughtful study of the role of ethnic minorities, students, women, and labor activists in ending an unpopular war. . . . **A solid contribution to Vietnam-era history.**"
—*Kirkus Reviews*

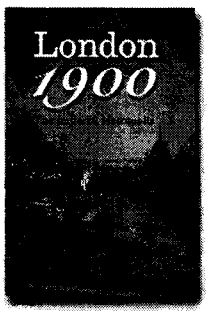
11 illus. $25.00

London 1900

The Imperial Metropolis

Jonathan Schneer

"A very rich and wide-ranging book. The evocation of a great city is vivid and memorable."
—David Cannadine 40 illus. $29.95



Views from the Other Shore

Essays on Herzen, Chekhov, & Bakhtin

Aileen M. Kelly

In this **brilliant volume,** Aileen M. Kelly finds in the works Herzen, Chekhov, and Bakhtin a pioneering emphasis on the role of chance and contingency in history and important links to the development of European thought.

Russian Literature and Thought Series $30.00

Kapitalizm

Russia's Struggle to Free its Economy

Rose Brady

"Brady **admirably chronicles, step by step,** how Yeltsin's young reformers fought to dismantle the insanely complex Soviet economy and construct a free-market society in its place. . . . One of the most coherent accounts **to date of the disassembly** of the economy of the Evil Empire."—Fen Montaigne, *New York Times Book Review*

30 illus. $30.00

Vulcan's Fury

Man Against the Volcano

Alwyn Scarth

"Eerie stories of 15 volcanic eruptions (of the geological variety), with **much of the source material drawn from eyewitnesses and contemporary accounts** and appearing in English for the first time."—*Kirkus Reviews*

70 b/w + 30 color illus. $29.95

The World of the Country House in Seventeenth-Century England

J. T. Cliffe

This engaging book takes us back to the domestic world of the landed gentry in seventeenth-century England. Dr. J. T. Cliffe explores the interior and exterior of country houses and discusses their social and economic role.

$45.00

The Age of the Favourite

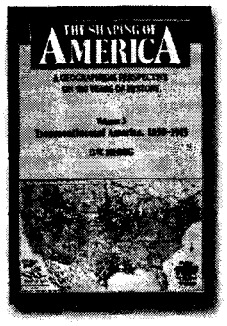
Edited by J. H. Elliott & Laurence Brockliss

This enlightening book **provides many new insights into the role of favorites,** or minister-favorites, who gained influence in the royal courts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

75 illus. $45.00

Yale University Press

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



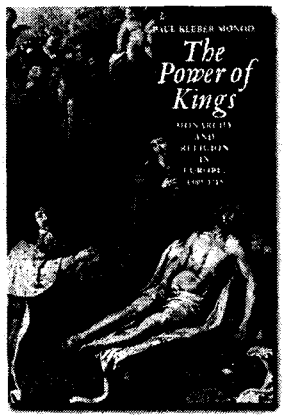
The Shaping of America

A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History
Volume 3: Transcontinental America, 1850-1915
D. W. Meinig

"Third of four volumes of a sweeping work by the nation's leading historical geographer. . . . In characteristically powerful prose, **Meinig offers a major retelling of the nation's emergence to world power.**"
—*Kirkus Reviews* (starred review) 84 illus. $50.00

Also available: Volume 1: Atlantic America, 1492-1800 $25.00 paperback
Volume 2: Continental America, 1800-1867 $55.00 cloth; $25.00 paperback

History from Yale—



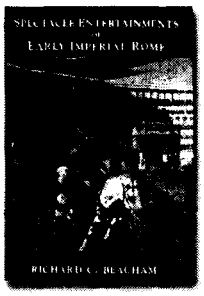
The Power of Kings

Monarchy & Religion in Europe, 1589-1715
Paul Kléber Monod

This sweeping book, which explores the profound shift in the way European kings and queens were regarded by their subjects between the Reformation and the Enlightenment, is **"original, interesting, and well-written.** Monod has produced a lively and coherent book."—Peter Burke
35 illus. $35.00

Spectacle Entertainments of Early Imperial Rome

Richard C. Beacham



"This **immensely entertaining and well-documented** text will be required reading for anyone interested in the origins and development of stagecraft and pageantry."
—Marion True
A main selection of the History Book Club
28 illus. $35.00

See No Evil

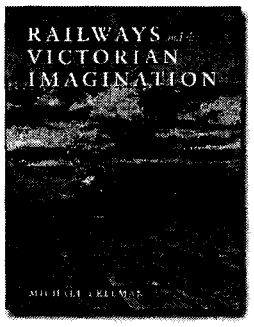
Literary Cover-Ups & Discoveries of the Soviet Camp Experience
Dariusz Tolczyk

"Discussions of concentration camp literature have focused on works assuming the evil of the camps. But **in this brilliant book,** Tolczyk brings to light a whole tradition directly opposite to these works."—Gary Saul Morson
Russian Literature and Thought series $37.50

Railways & the Victorian Imagination

Michael Freeman

This richly illustrated account of the railway age in Britain shows how newly constructed railways transformed not only the landscape and economics but also the very culture of the nation.
135 b/w + 150 color illus. $39.95



Yale University Press

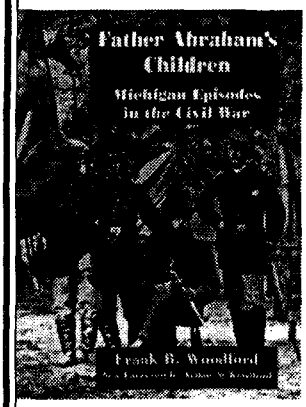
P.O. Box 209040, New Haven, CT 06520
www.yale.edu/yup/ 1-800-YUP-READ

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

6(a)

Wayne State University Press

Available at your local bookstore or by calling **(800) WSU-READ**
4809 Woodward Avenue, Detroit MI 48201-1309
Fax: (313) 577-6131 • http://wsupress.wayne.edu
Wayne State University is an equal opportunity/ affirmative action employer.



Father Abraham's Children

Michigan Episodes in the Civil War
Frank B. Woodford
Preface by Arthur M. Woodford

Father Abraham's Children was first published in 1961, the eve of the 100th anniversary of the Civil War. This volume is a collection of anecdotes and legends, a retelling of stories and reminiscences culled from a wide variety of written sources and from personal interviews with Civil War veterans.

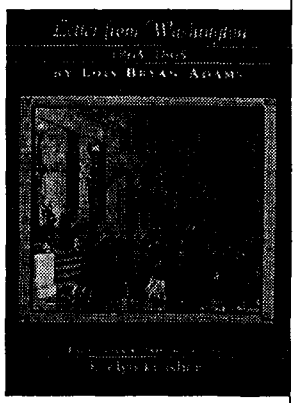
328 pages, 23 illustrations
hardcover: $28.95

Letter from Washington, 1863–1865 by Lois Bryan Adams

Edited and with an Introduction by Evelyn Leasher

"A fascinating look at Civil War life in the nation's capital—complete with clear sketches of motley street scenes, secessionist traitors, vapid ladies of fashion, former slaves rejoicing in their freedom, and injured soldiers dying in makeshift hospitals."
—Maurine H. Beasley, University of Maryland

376 pages, 19 illustrations
hardcover: $39.95



Ambiguous Relations

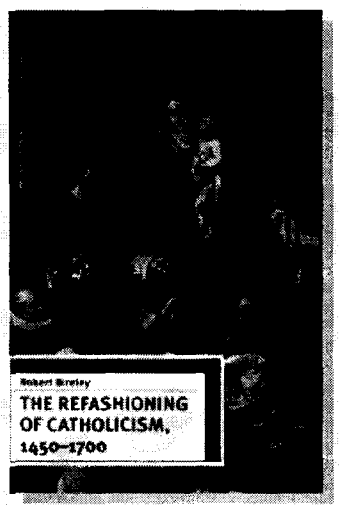
The American Jewish Community and Germany Since 1945
Shlomo Shafir

"This meticulously researched book (with 108 pages of notes and bibliography) is a valuable addition to the literature defining postwar relations between American Jews and Germany."
—*Booklist*

512 pages, 33 illustrations
hardcover: $44.95

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW BOOKS FROM CUA PRESS



THE REFASHIONING OF CATHOLICISM, 1450-1700

A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation

ROBERT BIRELEY, S.J.

Bireley argues that early modern Catholicism was both shaped by and an active response to the profound changes of the sixteenth century, only one of which was the Reformation. He explains how this experience exemplifies Christianity's continual, and necessary, refashioning by and accommodation to contemporary society and culture.

1999 / 231 pp. / $19.95 paper

THY HONORED NAME

A History of the College of the Holy Cross, 1843-1994

ANTHONY J. KUZNIEWSKI, S.J.

1999 / 516 pp. / Illus. / $34.95 cloth

BUILDING THE CHURCH IN AMERICA

Studies in Honor of Monsignor Robert F. Trisco

JOSEPH C. LINCK & RAYMOND KUPKE, EDS.

1999 / 290 pp. / $39.95 cloth

CONTROVERSIAL CONCORDATS

The Vatican's Relations with Napoleon, Mussolini, and Hitler

FRANK J. COPPA, ED.

1999 / 245 pp. / $24.95 paper

FORTHCOMING

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SPAIN, 1875-1998

WILLIAM J. CALLAHAN

May 2000 / price not yet available

AN ANSWER UNTO SIR THOMAS MORE'S DIALOGUE

WILLIAM TYNDALE

Edited by Anne M. O'Donnell, S.N.D., and Jared Wicks, S.J.

May 2000 / $79.95 cloth

MISSION TO AMERICA

A History of Saint Vincent Archabbey, the First Benedictine Monastery in the United States

JEROME OETGEN

May 2000 / $39.95 cloth

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA PRESS

P.O. Box 4852, Hampden Station, Baltimore, MD 21211

www.cua.edu/pubs/cupr (410) 516-6953

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE BEST IN HISTORY

Now in paperback...

Making Sense of Illness

Science, Society, and Disease

Robert A. Aronowitz

"Making Sense of Illness *succeeds as both a medical monograph and a book for the lay reader because it speaks to such deep matters of health and health care delivery, and accomplishes its task in relatively jargon-free language. This is a book for the thinking reader."*

— The Washington Post

Cambridge Studies in the History of Medicine

0-521-55825-5 Paperback $17.95

A History of Corporate Finance

Jonathan Baskin and
Paul J. Miranti, Jr.

"A History of Corporate Finance *is a solid contribution to scholarship that should gain the interest of historians, lawyers, economists, and business persons. Its unusual combination of scope, clarity, and brevity, combined with its reasonable price, may induce professors to make it required reading for advanced undergraduate and graduate courses in economic and business history, or in management education courses.... an outstanding study that will deservedly gain a wide audience..."*

— H-Net Book Reviews

0-521-65536-6 Paperback $19.95

Big Business and the Wealth of Nations

Alfred D. Chandler, Jr.,
Franco Amatori, and
Takashi Hikino, Editors

Written in nontechnical terms, this book explains how the dynamics of big business have influenced national and international economies. It is the first systematic treatment of big business in advanced, emerging, and centrally-planned economies from the late nineteenth century, when big businesses first appeared, to the present.

Contributors: *Alfred D. Chandler, Franco Amatori, Takashi Hikino, Geoffrey Jones, Ulrich Wengenroth, Harm G. Schröter, Patrick Fridenson, Albert Carreras, Xavier Tafunell, Hidemasa Morikawa, Alica H. Amsden, María Inés Barbero, Andrei Yu Yudanov, Alice Tejchova, Giovanni Dosi, William Lazonick, Mary O'Sullivan, Thomas K. McCraw, Jeffrey R. Fear*

0-521-66347-4 Paperback $24.95

Games Against Nature

An Eco-Cultural History of the Nunu of Equatorial Africa

Robert Harms

In this book, Robert Harms makes an important advance toward recovering the history of the people of the rain forest by telling the story of the Nunu, who live in and around swampy floodplains of the middle Zaire River.

Studies in Environment and History

0-521-65535-8 Paperback $19.95

The Modernisation of Russia, 1676–1825

Simon Dixon

This is an analytical account of a colorful period in Russian history. Central to a discussion that emphasizes Russia's place in Europe are the much misunderstood personalities of some remarkable rulers, such as Peter the Great, Catherine the Great and Alexander I. Their reigns are set in the context of wider developments in social, economic, cultural and intellectual history that help to account for Russia's emergence as a great power.

New Approaches to European History 15

0-521-37100-7 Hardback $54.95
0-521-37961-X Paperback $19.95

Modernising Lenin's Russia

Economic Reconstruction, Foreign Trade and the Railways

Anthony Heywood

In this book Anthony Heywood reassesses Bolshevik attitudes toward economic modernization and foreign economic relations during the early Soviet period. Based on hitherto unused Russian and Western archives, the book examines an extraordinary decision made in March 1920 to import vast quantities of railway equipment in order to achieve rapid economic modernization.

Cambridge Russian, Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies 105

0-521-62178-X Hardback $69.95

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FROM CAMBRIDGE

Merchants, Companies and Trade

Europe and Asia in the Early Modern Era

Sushil Chaudhury *and* ***Michel Morineau,*** *Editors*

The main objective of this book is to dispel some of the conventionally-held views surrounding trade between Europe and Asia in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. The book as a whole attempts to view trade between Europe and Asia in its totality and emphasizes similarities rather than differences in the two regions.

Contributors: *Sushil Chaudhury, Michel Morineau, Ravi Arvind Palat, Immanuel Wallerstein, Genevieve Bouchon, Niels Steensgaard, Michel Aghassian, Keram Kevonian, Gilles Veinstein, Om Prakash, F. S. Gaastra, Philippe Haudrere, C. Koninckx, Helma Houtman de Smedt, Dietmar Rothermund, Paul Butel*

Studies in Modern Capitalism

Copublished with the Maisons des Sciences de l'Homme

0-521-56367-4 Hardback $69.95

British Society 1680–1880

Dynamism, Containment and Change

Richard Price

Richard Price offers a radical new interpretation of modern British history. He argues that the period 1680–1880 was a distinct era in British history, a dynamic period of much change but which was ultimately contained within clearly defined boundaries. Professor Price thus identifies the nineteenth century as the end of this period rather than the moment of modernity.

0-521-65172-7 Hardback $59.95
0-521-65701-6 Paperback $22.95

Roman Law in European History

Peter Stein

Roman law has had a huge impact on European legal and political thought. Peter Stein, one of the world's leading legal historians, explains in this masterly short study how this came to be. He assesses the impact of Roman law in the ancient world, and its continued unifying influence throughout medieval and modern Europe. *Roman Law in European History* is unparalleled in depth, lucidity and authority.

0-521-64372-4 Hardback $49.95
0-521-64379-1 Paperback $18.95

Imperial Visions

Nationalism and Geographical Imagination in the Russian Far East, 1840–1865

Mark Bassin

Foreword by ***Nicholas V. Riasanovsky***

In this book, Mark Bassin examines Russia's perceptions of the new territories, placing the Amur enigma in the context of Russian *Zeitgeist* mid-century, and offers a new perspective on the relationship among Russian nationalism, geographical identity and imperial expansion.

Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography 29

0-521-39174-1 Hardback $69.95

Debating Slavery

Economy and Society in the Antebellum American South

Mark M. Smith

In this book, Smith outlines the main contours of this debate, summarizes the contending viewpoints, and weighs the relative importance, strengths and weaknesses of the various interpretations.

New Studies in Economic and Social History 36

0-521-57158-8 Hardback $39.95
0-521-57696-2 Paperback $11.95

Ancient Oaxaca

Richard Blanton, G. Feinman, S. Kowalewski, *and* ***L. Nicholas***

Just after 500 B.C., one of the earliest states in the New World developed in the Valley of Oaxaca, in present-day Mexico. This book investigates the rich archaeological record of the valley in an attempt to throw light on the causes and consequences of these changes.

0-521-57114-6 Hardback $49.95
0-521-57787-X Paperback $17.95

The Logic of the History of Ideas

Mark Bevir

This book provides a philosophical analysis of the reasoning appropriate to the history of ideas. In this book, Mark Bevir seeks to clarify the nature of the history of ideas so as to guide historians in their practice, and to illuminate the process by which human thought develops.

0-521-64034-2 Hardback $59.95

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Best in History

The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas

Volume III: South America, Part 1

Frank Salomon *and*
Stuart Schwartz, *Editors*

This is the first major survey of research on the indigenous peoples of South America from the earliest peopling of the continent to the present since Julian Steward's *Handbook of South American Indians* was published half a century ago. Although this volume concentrates on continental South America, peoples in the Caribbean and lower Central America who were linguistically or culturally connected are also discussed. The volume's emphasis is on self-perceptions of the indigenous peoples of South America at various times and under differing situations.

Contributors: *Frank Salomon, Stuart Schwartz, Robin Wright, Luis Lumbreras, Luis Miguel Glave, Neil Whitehead, Juan Carlos Garavaglia, Jonathan Hill, Thierry Saignes, Brooke Larson, Sabine MacCormack, Thomas Lynch, Anna C. Roosevelt, Izumi Shimada, Juan Villamarin, Judith Villamarin, Louis Allaire, Mario Rivera, Craig Morris, Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, Karen Spalding, John Monteiro, Kristine Jones, A.C. Taylor, James Saeger, Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, Xavier Albo, David Maybury-Lewis*

Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas

0-521-63075-4 Hardback $99.95

China and Historical Capitalism

Genealogies of Sinological Knowledge

Timothy Brook *and*
Gregory Blue, *Editors*

The aim of this collaborative project is to examine how the experience of capitalism as a European social formation, and as a world system, has shaped knowledge of China. In addition the volume seeks to establish new foundations on which a theory of Chinese society might be built.

Contributors: *Gregory Blue, Timothy Brook, Immanuel Wallerstein, Francesca Bray, R. Bin Wong*

Studies in Modern Capitalism

Copublished with the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme

0-521-64029-6 Hardback $64.95

The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics

The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585–1597

Paul E.J. Hammer

The Earl of Essex was the last great favorite of Elizabeth I and the leading cultural patron of the final years of her reign. Using an unparalleled range of manuscript and printed sources, this book presents a very different image of Essex and of the outbreak of factionalism in Elizabethan politics.

Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History

0-521-43485-8 Hardback $69.95

The Making of Modern Intellectual Property Law

The British Experience 1760–1911

Brad Sherman *and* ***Lionel Bently***

This book is the first detailed historical account of intellectual property law. In part, it examines why intellectual property law with its subcategories of patents, copyright, designs and trademarks took the shape that it did over the course of the nineteenth century. In addition the authors deal with ways in which the law grants property status to intangibles and describe how the law came to create techniques that enabled it to recognize protectable intangibles, and the inescapable problems that have arisen from their use.

0-521-56363-1 Hardback $69.95

Italian Culture in Northern Europe in the Eighteenth Century

Shearer West, *Editor*

This is the first multi-disciplinary study of the dissemination of Italian culture in northern Europe during the "long eighteenth century" (1689–1815). The book covers a diverse range of important artists such as Amigoni, Canaletto and Rosalba Carriera, as well as opera singers, commedia dell'arte performers and librettists who left Italy to seek work beyond the Alps.

Contributors: *Shearer West, Leslie Griffith Hennessey, Nigel Llewellyn, John Eglin, Don Neville, John Rosselli, Robert Kenny, Neil Kent*

Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture

0-521-55223-0 Hardback $59.95

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FROM CAMBRIDGE

Colonisation and Conquest in Medieval Ireland

The English in Louth, 1170–1330

Brendan Smith

This book examines the actions of the earliest English settlers in Ireland and asks a number of questions about the society they developed there. This was also a time of English expansion in Wales and Scotland, and the book suggests comparisons and contrasts with the Irish experience in this broader setting.

Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: Fourth Series 42

0-521-57320-3 Hardback $54.95

Education and Economic Decline in Britain, 1870 to the 1990s

Michael Sanderson

For many years, British scientific and technical education has been regarded as inadequate and poor in comparison to competing countries. Michael Sanderson examines education's supposed part—or not—in this decline and focuses on those issues where education has been seen to fail the needs of the economy.

New Studies in Economic and Social History 37

0-521-58170-2 Hardback $39.95
0-521-58842-1 Paperback $11.95

The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution

Second Edition

Alfred Cobban

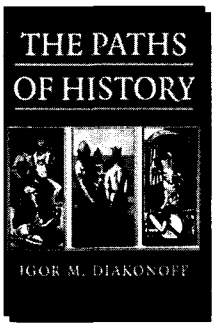
With a new introduction by

Gwynne Lewis

This book has been reissued with a new introduction by the distinguished scholar Gwynne Lewis. It provides students with both a context for Cobban's arguments, and assesses the course of Revolutionary studies in the wake of *The Social Interpretation.*

0-521-66151-X Hardback $49.95
0-521-66767-4 Paperback $18.95

The Paths of History



Igor M. Diakonoff

Foreword by

Geoffrey Hosking

This is a broad and ambitious study of the entire history of humanity that takes as its point of departure Marx's theory of social evolution. In this book, Professor Diakonoff has expanded Marx's five stages of development to eight. As the book moves through these various stages, the reader is drawn into a remarkable and thought-provoking study of the process of the history of the human race that focuses on the wide range of factors (economic, social, military-technological, and socio-psychological) that have influenced our development from palaeolithic times to the present day.

0-521-64348-1 Hardback $54.95
0-521-64398-8 Paperback $19.95

War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century

Jay Winter *and*

Emmanuel Sivan, *Editors*

Drawing on material from Europe, America and the Middle East, leading scholars of twentieth-century history address the issue of how wars, and the loss of life in wars, have been remembered collectively in the aftermath of conflicts such as the First and Second World Wars, the Spanish Civil War and the Algerian War. However, rather than focus on whole societies or ruling groups alone, this volume adopts a "social agency" approach to highlight the behavior of small groups and individuals who do the work of remembrance.

Contributors: *Emmanuel Sivan, Jay Winter, Catherine Merridale, Paloma Aguilar, Pierre Sorlin, Annette Wieviorka, Dolores Hayden, Antoine Prost, Samuel Hynes, Martin Jay*

Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare 5

0-521-64035-0 Hardback $59.95

Available in bookstores or from

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

40 West 20th Street, N.Y., NY 10011-4211
Call toll-free 800-872-7423 Web site: www.cup.org
MasterCard/VISA accepted. Prices subject to change.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

www.cornellpress.cornell.edu

At bookstores, or call (607) 277-2211

Castration and the Heavenly Kingdom

A Russian Folktale

LAURA ENGELSTEIN

Of the many sects that broke from the official Russian Orthodox church in the eighteenth century, one was universally despised. The Skoptsy were peasants skilled in the arts of animal husbandry who turned their knives on themselves to become "eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake." Laura Engelstein tells the sect's astonishing tale.

"Engelstein's tales form a lush tapestry of a traditional sect awkwardly coming to terms with modernity." —Richard C. Trexler, Binghamton University. 30 photos, 8 drawings, 1 illus. $29.95

A Culture of Fact

England, 1550-1720

BARBARA J. SHAPIRO

"Barbara Shapiro's original account of the concept of fact in early-modern English culture moves outward from law to virtually every area of professional and lay intellectual curiosity and endeavor. Thoughtful, learned, and admirably lucid, *A Culture of Fact* is an important contribution to the study of post-Medieval Western culture in general."—Thomas A. Green, University of Michigan. $42.5

Report to JFK

The Skybolt Crisis in Perspective

RICHARD E. NEUSTADT

In 1963, President Kennedy asked Richard E. Neustadt to investigate a troubling episode in U.S.–British relations. The report, classified for thirty years, is reproduced here, along with JFK's comments and new information from recently declassified British files.

"An excellent account of a critical issue in U.S.-U.K. relations since World War II."—Denis Healey

"A brilliant analysis."
—Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.
CORNELL STUDIES IN SECURITY AFFAIRS
$25.00

Wonder and Science

Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe

MARY BAINE CAMPBELL

"Mary Baine Campbell offers us a remarkable tour of writing culture and the cultures of knowledge in the early modern period. By juxtaposing works that we have traditionally identified with distinctive forms of knowledge—literature, science, and anthropology—Campbell persuasively argues that we need to read and understand these texts in their predisciplinary formulation. . . . [F]ascinating and enjoyable."—Paula Findlen, Stanford University. 31 photos $35.00

Indians and Colonists at the Crossroads of Empire

The Albany Congress of 1754

TIMOTHY J. SHANNON

"Timothy J. Shannon rescues the Albany Congress from its traditional place in the footnotes of the American Revolution and restores it to its proper position as a singularly important, and illuminating, moment in American colonial history."
—James H. Merrell, Vassar College. COPUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
12 photos, 2 tables, 3 maps
$39.95

Democracy, Revolution, and History

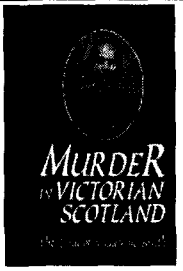
EDITED BY THEDA SKOCPOL

New in paper! A distinguished roster of scholars here discusses the influence of Barrington Moore, Jr.'s, best-known work, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. They delineate Moore's contributions to the transformation of comparative and historical social science over the past several decades.

"[I]ntriguing. . . . [This book] demonstrates the usefulness of comparative historical inquiry in understanding the paths a nation can take toward modern liberal democracy."—*Foreign Affairs*. 1 photo, 4 charts/graphs
$19.95

CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



GREENWOOD PRESS PRAEGER

Murder in Victorian Scotland
The Trial of Madeleine Smith
By Douglas MacGowan

"Provides a clear look at the results of Scotland's criminal law limitations in the Victorian era, a time when well-bred young ladies were not usually tried for murder. Extensively researched, documented with Madeleine Smith's effusive letters to her lover, Douglas MacGowan has produced a must-read account, including the mystery of Madeleine that still lingers today." **Barbara Owens**
Mystery Writers of America Edgar Award winner
The Cloud Beneath the Eaves

Praeger Publishers • 1999 • 192 pages
0-275-96431-0 • $35.00

The Maori and the Crown
An Indigenous People's Struggle for Self-Determination
By Dora Alves
Contributions to the Study of World History, No. 68
Foreword by Paul Cleveland

"Dora Alves has done an outstanding job in her study on New Zealand's experience in redressing the grievances of its native people, *The Maori and the Crown*. Anyone interested or engaged in resolving the questions of indigenous peoples' grievances will find excellent guidance in this fine summary of one pace-setting nation's experience."
Ambassador (ret.) Paul Cleveland
President, United States-New Zealand Council

Greenwood Press • 1999 • 192 pages
0-313-31058-0 • $55.00

U.S. Immigration Policy in an Age of Rights
By Debra L. DeLaet

Explains the liberalization of U.S. immigration policy in recent decades.

Praeger Paperback • 2000 • • 0-275-96764-6 • $23.00Est.
A hardcover edition is available: 0-275-96733-6 • $55.00Est.

PLACE YOUR ORDER TOLL-FREE
24 HOURS-A-DAY: 1-800-225-5800

Grand Master Workman
Terence Powderly and the Knights of Labor
By Craig Phelan
Contributions in Labor Studies, No. 55

Challenges historical opinion of Terence Powderly and his movement to contribute to our greater understanding of labor relations during the Gilded Age.

Greenwood Press • 2000 • 0-313-30948-5 • $59.00Est.

City Against Suburb
The Culture Wars in an American Metropolis
By Joseph A. Rodriguez

Links the "culture wars" to rapid changes occurring within cities and suburbs and places the conflicts within a historic context.

Praeger Publishers • 1999 • 0-275-96406-X • $50.00Est.

Diary of a Dirty Little War
The Spanish-American War of 1898
By Harvey Rosenfeld

A colorful, day-by-day diary of the Spanish-American War, this account describes major events in detail and provides valuable social and cultural context to a war that changed American life yet, is so often overlooked.

Praeger Publishers • 2000 • 0-275-96673-9 • $55.00Est.

Events That Changed the World in the Seventeenth Century
Edited by Frank W. Thackeray and John E. Findling
(The Greenwood Press "Events That Changed the World" Series)

Greenwood Press • 1999 • 232 pages
0-313-29078-4 • $39.95

The Matriarchs of England's Cooperative Movement
A Study in Gender Politics and Female Leadership, 1883-1921
By Barbara J. Blaszak
Contributions in Labor Studies, No. 56

Examines the gender politics of the English Cooperative Movement between 1883 and 1921 and how it limited the accomplishments of the women leaders.

Greenwood Press • 2000 • 0-313-30995-7 • $55.00Est.

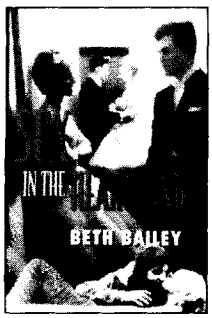
GPG GREENWOOD PUBLISHING GROUP Inc.
88 Post Road West • P.O. Box 5007 • Westport, CT 06881-5007
Telephone (203) 226-3571 • Office FAX (203) 222-1502

AD99 Visit us on the web at http://www.greenwood.com

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW FROM HARVARD

Sex in the Heartland
BETH BAILEY



"A refreshingly unorthodox examination of the sexual revolution that began in the US in the early 1960s...Bailey reminds us of what was at stake in the sexual revolution for many of those caught up in it; she details the story of one young male student threatened with expulsion due to a report of homosexual activity, and a young woman branded a whore in newspapers across the country for living with her boyfriend. An extremely grounded look at an often controversial topic."
—KIRKUS REVIEWS
22 halftones • $27.00 cloth

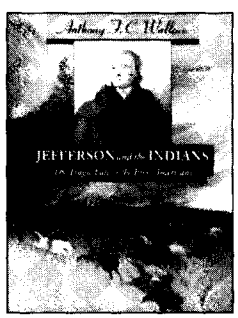
The Real American Dream
A Meditation on Hope
ANDREW DELBANCO

"Self, Delbanco points out, will surely prove an empty, unsatisfying, and ultimately self-defeating object of worship. Unless we recover some sense of a common good, he suspects, we may be headed for moral collapse—or worse yet, the rise of some nefarious ideology or movement. Delbanco does not believe that the apocalyptic 'rough beast' of despotism is right around the corner—or inevitable. But he offers his jeremiad as a timely warning and a reminder of things that matter."
—Merle Rubin,
CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
The William E. Massey Sr. Lectures
in the History of American Civilization • $19.95 cloth

The Transformation of Palestinian Politics
From Revolution to State-Building
BARRY RUBIN

A comprehensive overview and analysis of the Palestinians' move from revolutionary movement to state, *The Transformation of Palestinian Politics* outlines the difficulties in the transition now under way arising from Palestinian history, society, and diplomatic agreements. Drawing from documents in Arabic, Hebrew, and English, as well as interviews and direct observations, Barry charts the triumphs and difficulties of this state-in-the-making, helping predict and explain future dramatic developments in the Middle East.
$29.95 cloth

Jefferson and the Indians
The Tragic Fate of the First Americans
ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE



"Bancroft Prize-winning historian Wallace gives us a book that immediately becomes the best among very few other studies of its subject... [The book] makes clear the complexities of native-European interaction in the post-Revolutionary era...[and is] a searching scholarly study of one of the great American dilemmas."
—KIRKUS REVIEWS
Belknap Press • 60 halftones, 3 maps • $29.95 cloth

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
WWW.HUP.HARVARD.EDU • 800 448 2242

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW FROM HARVARD

The Black Book of Communism

Crimes, Terror, Repression

STÉPHANE COURTOIS, NICOLAS WERTH, JEAN-LOUIS PANNÉ, ANDRZEJ PACZKOWSKI, KAREL BARTOSEK, AND JEAN-LOUIS MARGOLIN

FOREWORD BY MARTIN MALIA

"A unique attempt by French historians to chronicle the crimes of communism wherever it has attained power in the world. Not the least remarkable thing about this book is that this is the first time such a study has been made...A devastating and important book, already hailed in Europe, and the more harrowing for its sobriety."
—KIRKUS REVIEWS

78 halftones, 6 maps • 1120 pages • $37.50 cloth

Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World

ALISON GAMES

England's seventeenth-century colonial empire in North America and the Caribbean was created by migration, as captured in the London port register of 1635, the largest extant port register for any single year in the colonial period. Alison Games analyzes the 7,500 people who traveled from London in that year, recreating individual careers, exploring colonial societies at a time of emerging viability, and delineating a world sustained and defined by migration. Together, the migrants' stories offer a new social history of the seventeenth century.

11 line illustrations, 39 tables • $45.00 cloth

Linnaeus

Nature and Nation

LISBET KOERNER

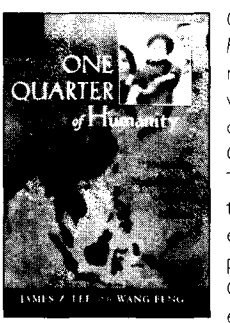
"A rich biographical study that documents the strange, often unfortunate relation between the well-known scientific thinking and the forgotten economic theories of famed Swedish naturalist Carl Linneaus...Astute and engaging; not only a useful treatment of the economic relatives of Linneaus' well-known taxonomy, but also a taxonomy of its own, that of genus Linneaus, species intellectual imagination."
—KIRKUS REVIEWS

4 halftones • $39.95 cloth

One Quarter of Humanity

Malthusian Mythology and Chinese Realities

JAMES Z. LEE AND WANG FENG



One Quarter of Humanity overturns much of the received wisdom about the differences between China and the West. The authors argue that there has been effective regulation of population growth in China through a variety of practices that depressed marital fertility and through the widespread practices of infanticide and abortion. These practices and other distinctive features of the Chinese demographic and social system, they argue, led to a different demographic transition in China from the one that took place in the West.

29 line illustrations, 1 map, 16 tables • $47.50 cloth

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
WWW.HUP.HARVARD.EDU • 800 448 2242

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW FROM HARVARD

Women and Faith

Catholic Religious Life in Italy from Late Antiquity to the Present

EDITED BY
LUCETTA SCARAFFIA
AND GABRIELLA ZARRI

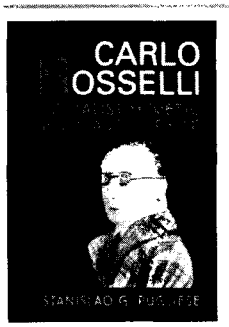
Feminist thought has wrestled with the question of whether religion has been principally responsible for the oppression of women or instead has provided access to culture, public life, and—sometimes—power. This study of Italian women and Catholicism from the fourth through the twentieth century reflects this conflict and the tension between the masculine character of divinity in the Catholic Church and the potential for equality in the gospels and early writings.

60 halftones • $59.95 cloth

Carlo Rosselli

Socialist Heretic and Antifascist Exile

STANISLAO G. PUGLIESE



"A scholarly biography of the prominent Italian antifascist intellectual, writer, and activist who was stabbed to death by political assassins in 1937...Pugliese brings to this admiring portrait a formidable variety of tools, including a through knowledge of Italian history, language, literature, and landscape...[His] research is impeccable."
—KIRKUS REVIEWS

14 halftones, 1 line illustration • $35.00 cloth

The Sun in the Church

Cathedrals as Solar Observatories

J. L. HEILBRON

"J. L. Heilbron depicts the unusual intersection of architecture, science, ecclesiastical and civil history, mathematics and philosophy that led the church to construct the buildings only a few years after it martyred Galileo. Erudite, accessible and wryly humorous, Heilbron's engaging book is a first-rate work of science history."
—PUBLISHERS WEEKLY

8 color illus., 42 halftones, 91 line illus., 15 tables
$35.00 cloth

The Story of Greenwich

CLIVE ASLET

"In a lavishly illustrated treatment, Aslet magnificently brings to life the rich history of Greenwich, England. Americans know the city as the site of the Royal Observatory which sets time for the world. Aslet reveals it as much more...Though Aslet's story is largely of buildings, he weaves into the narrative the story of the people who have lived in them through the centuries: from Chaucer to Samuel Pepys, as well as celebrated mathematician Sir Jonas Moore and Astronomer Royal John Flamsteed...A congenial, absorbing tour through time of an immensely interesting old town."
—KIRKUS REVIEWS

100 color illustrations, 60 halftones • $35.00 cloth

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
WWW.HUP.HARVARD.EDU • 800 448 2242

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW FROM HARVARD

Cardano's Cosmos
The Worlds and Works of a Renaissance Astrologer
ANTHONY GRAFTON

Girolamo Cardano was an Italian doctor, natural philosopher, and mathematician who became a best-selling author in Renaissance Europe. He was also a leading astrologer of his day, whose predictions won him access to some of the most powerful people in sixteenth-century Europe. In *Cardano's Cosmos*, Anthony Grafton invites readers to follow this astrologer's extraordinary career and explore the art and discipline of astrology in the hands of a brilliant practitioner.

23 line illustrations • $35.00 cloth

The Gospel of Germs
Men, Women, and the Microbe in American Life
NANCY TOMES

"[A] masterly study of how germs infiltrated the American imagination....The strength of Tomes's book...lies in the subtle and convincing way in which it traces the transformations in everyday beliefs, experiences, and habits produced by medicine's migration from the laboratory to the lavatory. Skillfully researched and skillfully written."
—Roy Porter, NEW REPUBLIC

18 halftones • $16.95 paper

A History of Young People in the West
EDITED BY GIOVANNI LEVI AND JEAN-CLAUDE SCHMITT

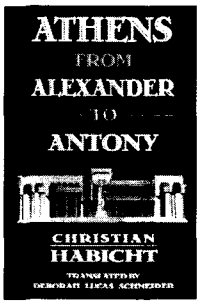
Volume I: Ancient and Medieval Rites of Passage
TRANSLATED BY CAMILLE NAISH
Volume II: Stormy Evolution to Modern Times
TRANSLATED BY CAROL VOLK

"[*A History of Young People* has] the great merit of making the work of some notable Italian and French scholars accessible to an Anglophone public. They are well translated, preserving the ornateness of the originals...Collectively, the lasting impression these volumes leave is of the exploitation of innocence, and the control exerted by those in authority—church, state, or parents—over the lives of children growing up."
—Rosamond McKitterick,
NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW

Belknap Press
Volume I: 1 line illustration • $19.95 paper
Volume II: 1 map, 1 chart • $19.95 paper

NEW IN PAPERBACK

Athens from Alexander to Antony
CHRISTIAN HABICHT



TRANSLATED BY DEBORAH LUCAS SCHNEIDER

"Habicht has for years been established as...the leading authority on the history of Athens in the centuries between the fall of the Athenian Empire, in 404 BCE, and the establishment of the Roman Empire...[This book] will surely be the standard work on the subject for the next thirty years."
—Jasper Griffin,
NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS

$18.95 paper

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
WWW.HUP.HARVARD.EDU • 800 448 2242

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW FROM HARVARD

Whiteness of a Different Color

European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race

MATTHEW FRYE JACOBSON

"Jacobson has written a provocative, nuanced account of American race formation and especially of the way in which many American immigrants from Europe were cast initially as 'non-whites' in the late nineteenth century...Using a variety of sources, Jacobson concludes that whiteness is clearly a socially constructed category infinitely malleable as a political tool. This historical survey is highly recommended."

—Anthony O. Edmonds, LIBRARY JOURNAL

14 halftones, 2 tables • $16.95 paper

Acheson

The Secretary of State Who Created the American World

JAMES CHACE

A New York Times Book Review *Notable Book*

"An engrossing biography of a public servant whose vision, self-confidence, and personal integrity are still enshrined in international institutions and American attitudes."

—NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW

33 halftones, 1 map • $17.95 paper

The Good Citizen

A History of American Civic Life

MICHAEL SCHUDSON

"*The Good Citizen* is an admirable, consistently interesting attempt to lay out with some factual and conceptual precision the history of an issue usually discussed in platitudes...an extremely valuable book."

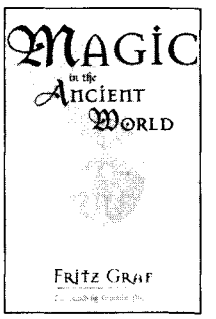
—Nicholas Lemann, WASHINGTON MONTHLY

$17.95 paper

Magic in the Ancient World

FRITZ GRAF

TRANSLATED BY FRANKLIN PHILIP



"[Graf's] combination of scholarly knowledge, caution, and a willingness to test the boundaries of his arguments (this third is rarely combined with the first two) makes this the most successful general introduction to the problems and scope of Greco-Roman magical practices...He provides much intelligent solidity where the subject has often prompted an oversympathetic obsessiveness and wildness."

—Simon Goldhill, LONDON REVIEW OF BOOKS

$16.95 paper

Kids' Stuff

Toys and the Changing World of American Childhood

GARY CROSS

"[A] fascinating new study of American toys... Cross not only gives the reader a succinct history of toys in America, but also examines the reasons for the sea change that has taken place in the toy industry in recent years. He looks at changing notions of childhood and disparate theories of play, and he assesses the declining popularity of the educational toy as a means of developing a child's creativity and skills...He has not written a polemic or diatribe, but an intelligently informed analysis that reveals a lot about how our attitudes toward children, and children's attitudes toward the world, have evolved over the last century."

—NEW YORK TIMES

37 halftones • $16.95 paper

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
WWW.HUP.HARVARD.EDU • 800 448 2242

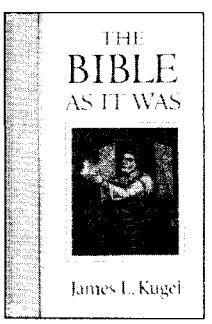
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW FROM HARVARD

Stealing the State
Control and Collapse in Soviet Institutions
STEVEN L. SOLNICK

"A rigorous account of how the Soviet system fell apart...Structures collapsed not because ideology failed, politicians quarreled, or interested groups rose to challenge sterile authority. Instead, the system imploded because bureaucrats at all levels made off with state assets at the first opportunity, hollowing out the state or 'stealing' it...[The book's] underlying argument will fascinate most."
—FOREIGN AFFAIRS
5 line illustrations, 21 tables • $18.95 paper

The Bible As It Was
JAMES L. KUGEL



"[A] wonderfully rich and learned volume...[Kugel's] purpose in *The Bible As It Was* is to describe the way the Bible was understood by various ancient peoples, from the Israelites who returned to Palestine after the Babylonian Captivity to the early Christian redactors of the New Testament... Kugel's enormous undertaking is likely to be seen as a milestone in the long critical history of Bible studies, that is, of the approach to the Bible as both a human document and a living one."
—Richard Bernstein, NEW YORK TIMES
Belknap Press • 24 halftones • 700 pages • $19.95 paper

Kidnapped
Child Abduction in America
PAULA S. FASS

"A heartfelt and disturbing book...*Kidnapped* is not only a convincing analysis of child abduction; it is a compelling example of how studies of the past can illuminate the present and suggest alternative futures."
—JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY
29 halftones, 2 line illus. • $15.95 paper

Germans into Nazis
PETER FRITZSCHE

"Peter Fritzsche, in his *Germans into Nazis*, makes a...crucial point about public opinion in the 1930s and 1940s. He recalls—and this is something that foreigners living in Germany have always understood more readily than academics—that the popular appeal of Hitler's movement lay much more in the hope and optimism it generated than in its various invitations to hate and to fear."
—Neal Ascherson,
LOS ANGELES TIMES BOOK REVIEW
5 halftones • $14.95 paper

Reaching beyond Race
PAUL M. SNIDERMAN AND EDWARD G. CARMINES

"[Paul Sniderman and Edward Carmines] have devised a novel polling experiment to test just how tolerant whites who express positive views of blacks really are. And they do it without tipping off respondents to what they're doing. They've described their test—and other equally innovative experiments—in an important and controversial new book."
—Richard Morin, WASHINGTON POST
26 line illustrations • $14.95 paper

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
WWW.HUP.HARVARD.EDU • 800 448 2242

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW FROM INDIANA

The American West

The Reader

Edited by Walter Nugent and Martin Ridge

Designed for survey courses—yet in-depth enough to support intensive discussion—these seventeen classic essays traverse the history of the American West, from women's property rights in Spanish-Mexican California to the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864, from homesteading and mining to the Great Depression and World War II.

440 pages cloth $39.95 paper $19.95

The Face of Our Past

Images of Black Women from Colonial America to the Present

Edited by Kathleen Thompson and Hilary Mac Austin
With an Introduction by Darlene Clark Hine

"These historic photographs make it possible for us to see face-to-face the vivid images of black women, known and unknown, from the Civil War to today. They not only illumine the past, they explain the present, and inspire the future." —Henry Louis Gates, Jr.

"... an eloquent rebuttal to the stereotypes and distorted media images that have plagued Black women throughout history."—Emerge

224 pages 302 b&w photos cloth $35.00

A Whole Empire Walking

Refugees in Russia during World War I

Peter Gatrell

"... exactly the kind of innovative, wide-ranging, theoretically informed social history that the Russian field badly needs." —Steven Smith, University of Essex

Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies

368 pages 18 b&w photos cloth $35.00

Now in Paperback!

Tragic Mountains

The Hmong, the Americans, and the Secret Wars for Laos, 1942-1992

Jane Hamilton-Merritt

"... absolutely gripping, haunting, compelling..." *—Journal of American History*

608 pages 50 b&w photos cloth $29.95 paper $17.95

Africa since Independence

Colin Legum

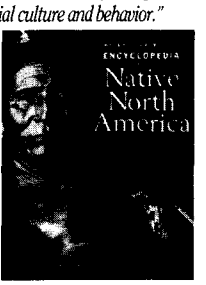
Distilled wisdom on what has happened on the African continent in the last fifty years by a well-known journalist and scholar.

112 pages cloth $25.00 paper $9.95

The British Museum Encyclopedia of Native North America

Rayna Green
With contributions by Melanie Fernandez

"[Green's and Fernandez's work] is a very interesting departure from what one expects in encyclopedias devoted to Native Americans, favoring a greater variety of topics with broader cultural relevance over an all-encompassing view of material culture and behavior." *—Library Journal*



224 pages color and b&w illus. cloth $39.95 paper $27.95

African Material Culture

Edited by Mary Jo Arnoldi, Christraud M. Geary, and Kris L. Hardin

"... a vivid introduction to the topic.... A glimpse into the unique and changing identities in an ever-changing world." —Come-All-Ye

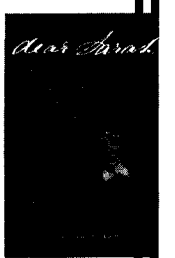
African Systems of Thought

384 pages 50 b&w photos 20 illus. cloth $49.95 paper $24.50

Dear Sarah

Letters Home from a Soldier of the Iron Brigade

Edited by Coralou Peel Lassen



Over 80 letters from Corporal John Pardington to his wife paint a vivid portrait of the life and everyday concerns of a Union soldier.

240 pages 9 b&w photos 18 b&w illus. 9 maps cloth $24.95

A Hundred Days to Richmond

Ohio's "Hundred Days" Men in the Civil War

Edited and with an Introduction by Jim Leeke

Drawn from Civil War diaries, letters, and eyewitness accounts, *A Hundred Days to Richmond* tells for the first time the complete story of Ohio's "100-day men," state militia troops offered for Union service for 100 days.

272 pages 17 b&w photos cloth $29.95

at bookstores

INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS

Orders: 1-800-842-6796
Web: iupress.indiana.edu

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KANSAS

The Presidency of George Bush

John Robert Greene

"A concise and readable account of the Bush presidency. Greene offers a balanced and quite convincing picture of Bush's policies at home and abroad. His portrait of Bush as a person and treatment of Bush's foreign policy are particularly well done." —Robert Divine, author of *Eisenhower and Sputnik.*

American Presidency Series

248 pages, illustrated. $35.00

Lady Bird Johnson

Our Environmental First Lady

Lewis L. Gould

"This engaging book is a pleasure to read. It illuminates the forces that enabled Lady Bird to wield influence in the White House and beyond. An excellent model and splendid kick-off for the Modern First Ladies series." —Susan M. Hartmann, author of *Other Feminists: Activists in the Liberal Establishment.*

Modern First Ladies

176 pages, illustrated. $25.00

The Philippine War, 1899–1902

Brian McAllister Linn

"Meticulously researched and impressively documented, this fine book is without equal among the many works on the war." —John M. Gates, author of *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898–1902.*

Modern War Studies

A Selection of the History Book Club

424 pages, illustrated. $39.95

American Airpower Strategy in Korea, 1950–1953

Conrad C. Crane

"A first-class piece of work and significant contribution to the Korean War literature." —David R. Mets, author of *Master of Air Power.*

Modern War Studies

248 pages, illustrated. $35.00

American Indians in the Marketplace

Persistence and Innovation Among the Menominees and Metlakatlans, 1870–1920

Brian C. Hosmer

"The ability of Native Americans to participate in the mainstream economy and then to use the proceeds from such participation to protect, defend, or develop their native culture is not a new concept, but Hosmer's perceptive analysis provides valuable new insights for historians."—R. David Edmunds, editor of *American Indian Leaders.*

Development of Western Resources

312 pages, illustrated. $35.00

Smelter Smoke in North America

The Politics of Transborder Pollution

John D. Wirth

"A first-rate historian and an experienced policy consultant, Wirth provides deep insights and guidance into the politics and technology of global environmental pollution. This major contribution deserves a wide audience." —Thomas P. Hughes, author of *Networks of Power*

Development of Western Resources

264 pages, illustrated. $35.00

Available at bookstores or from the press.

VISA and MasterCard accepted.

University Press of Kansas

2501 West 15th Street • Lawrence KS 66049

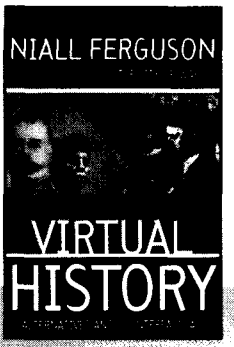
Phone (785) 864-4155 • Fax (785) 864-4586

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

22(a)

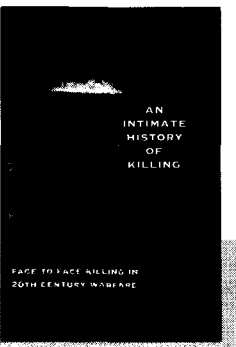
THE BEST IN HISTORY

Virtual History
ALTERNATIVES AND COUNTERFACTUALS
EDITED BY NIALL FERGUSON



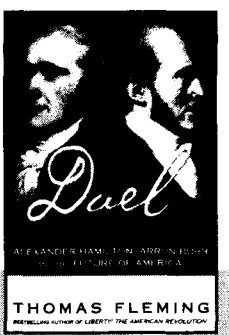
"The implications of *Virtual History* deserve to be meditated by every historian... a talented and imaginative team of historians who tackle with counterfactual verve a series of mostly twentieth century turning points."
—Christopher Andrew, *Daily Telegraph*

An Intimate History of Killing
FACE TO FACE KILLING IN 20TH CENTURY WARFARE
JOANNA BOURKE



"An extraordinary *tour de force*... It overturns the entire Western mythology of modern combat...A compelling text."
—Richard Overy, author of *Russia's War*

Duel
ALEXANDER HAMILTON, AARON BURR AND THE FUTURE OF AMERICA
THOMAS FLEMING



"Riveting, revealing and relevant...it reminds today's reader that men of power and position have always possessed human flaws no matter the time or place."—Kenneth T. Jackson, Barzun Professor of History and Social Sciences, Columbia University

The Sword and the Shield
THE MITROKHIN ARCHIVE AND THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE KGB
CHRISTOPHER ANDREW AND VASILI MITROKHIN

"Thanks to Comrade Mitrokhin, the KGB and most who spied for it have been stripped naked."
—*The New York Times Book Review*

NATIONAL BESTSELLER

Basic Books A Member of the Perseus Books Group www.basicbooks.com

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

All-American

CULTIVATING CALIFORNIA

Growers, Specialty Crops, and Labor, 1875-1920

David Vaught

"Vaught offers a nuanced and complex picture, drawing important distinctions between different groups and different crops."—Hal S. Barron, Harvey Mudd College and the Claremont Graduate University

Revisiting Rural America: Pete Daniel and Mary Neth, Series Editors

$38.00 hardcover

PIOUS PERSUASIONS

Laity and Clergy in Eighteenth-Century New England

Erik R. Seeman

"*Pious Persuasions* deftly examines the faith of New England's 'second century.'"—Charles L. Cohen, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Early America: History, Context, Culture / Jack P. Greene and J.R. Pole, Series Editors

$36.00 hardcover

YOU MUST REMEMBER THIS

An Oral History of Manhattan from the 1890s to World War II

Jeff Kisseloff

"What a wonderful warehouse of memory this volume is!"—Richard F. Shepard, *New York Times*

$19.95 paperback

DUTY, HONOR, COUNTRY

A History of West Point

Stephen E. Ambrose

foreword by Dwight D. Eisenhower afterword by Andrew J. Goodpaster

"There have been many other histories of West Point, but this is the best."—*Historical Times*

$16.95 paperback

PHOTOGRAPHY AND POLITICS IN AMERICA

From the New Deal into the Cold War

Lili Corbus Bezner

"This is one of the most sound expansions of photographic history that I have seen."—James L. Enyeart, Director, Marion Center at the College of Santa Fe

$39.95 hardcover

Studies in Industry and Society

Philip B. Scranton, Series Editor

IMAGINING CONSUMERS

Design and Innovation from Wedgwood to Corning

Regina Lee Blaszczyk

"A fascinating account of negotiations between producers and consumers in the glass and ceramics industries."—Jeffrey L. Meikle, University of Texas at Austin

$39.95 hardcover

COCAINE

From Medical Marvel to Modern Menace in the United States, 1884-1920

Joseph F. Spillane

"A major and original contribution to the field of drug history, based on a great deal of hitherto unused archival materials, especially records from the pharmaceutical industry."—Jill Jonnes, author of *Hep Cats, Narcs, and Pipe Dreams*

$39.95 hardcover

Creating the North American Landscape

Gregory Conniff, Bonnie Loyd, Edward K. Muller, and David Schuyler, Consulting Editors

George F. Thompson, Series Founder and Director

AMERICA'S ORIGINAL GI TOWN

Park Forest, Illinois

Gregory C. Randall

Read Chapter One at www.press.jhu.edu

"A holistic appreciation of a distinctive community."—Michael H. Ebner, author of *Creating Chicago's North Shore, a Suburban History*

$42.50 hardcover

THE SANITARY CITY

Urban Infrastructure in America from Colonial Times to the Present

Martin V. Melosi

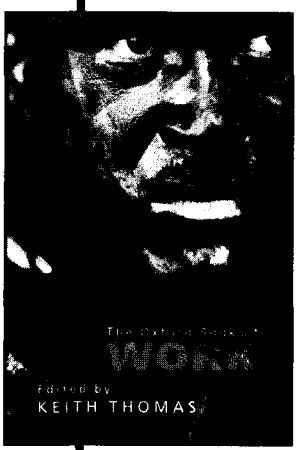
"Melosi integrates the history of the urban infrastructure of sanitation and places this story of technology and engineering in larger contexts of environment and public health."—Harold Platt, Loyola University of Chicago

$59.95 hardcover

JOHNS HOPKINS

The Johns Hopkins University Press • 1-800-537-5487 • www.press.jhu.edu

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"Thomas makes labor come to life

by charting a stark, great historical conflict in the value given to working, a conflict between those who believe work is degrading and those who believe we fulfill ourselves through our jobs."

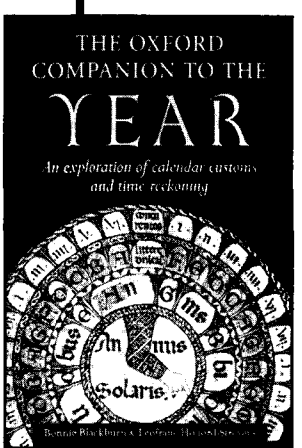
—Richard Sennett, *The Los Angeles Times Book Review*

"An instant classic....

There's genuine wisdom and thoughtfulness on all of these pages about nothing less than our roles and responsibilities as human beings living in societies."

—*Forbes*

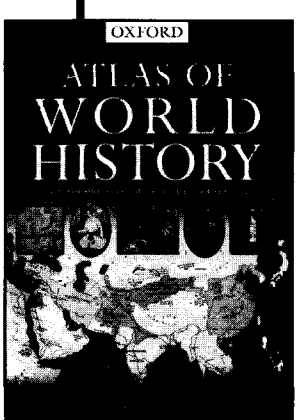
618 pp. $35.00



What are the halcyon days? What is Hansel Monday? How do Chinese, Muslim, Mesoamerican, Jewish, and Babylonian calendars differ from Christian calendars? The answers to these and hundreds of other intriguing questions about the way humans have marked and measured time over the millennia can be found in *The Oxford Companion to the Year.*

***The Oxford Companion to the Year* is an indispensable aid for all historians and antiquarians, and a rich mine of information.**

672 pp. $49.95



This major new work charts the course of world history around the globe,

from prehistory to the present, in hundreds of full-color maps. This attractive, large-format volume features 135 two-page spreads, blending colorful maps and illustrations with authoritative text.

Including a 22-page time chart, a 20-page gazetteer of historical events, people, and places, a 20-page index, and a helpful bibliography, here is a wealth of information.

10" x 13", 386 pp. $85.00

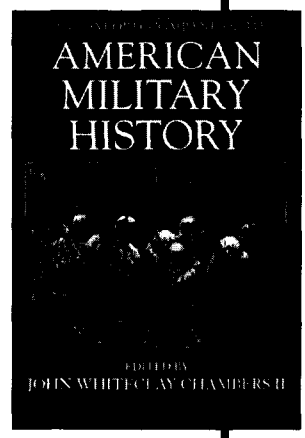
Available at better bookstores.
To order direct, visit our website or call 1-800-451-7556
www.oup-usa.org

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Main Selection of the History Book Club

"Belongs on the bookshelf of all serious military historians. Thorough, fair, and readable, it is a treasure house of information." —John S. D. Eisenhower



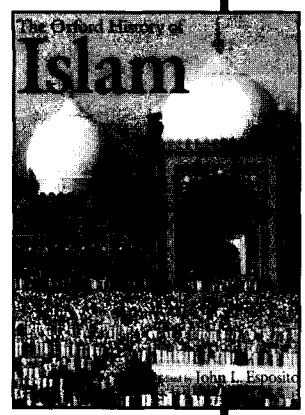
Here is a gold mine of information on American military history,

over 1,100 entries written by some 500 distinguished contributors edited by John Chambers. With maps of several major wars, extensive cross-referencing, lists of further readings, and an index, this volume is the first place to turn for information on our nation's military history.

864 pp. $60.00

"A stunning achievement.

John Esposito—America's preeminent scholar of Islam—has brought together an array of international experts who present a masterful survey of Islamic history in a single volume." —Tamara Sonn

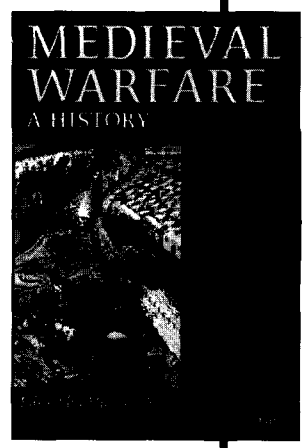


"This work will stand not simply as an erudite synthesis of Muslim thought and practice over the centuries, but as an elegant *vade mecum* for all those curious about the fastest growing religion in the world today." —James Piscatori

690 pp. $49.95

In the richly illustrated *Medieval Warfare,* twelve scholars, all experts in their field, examine over seven hundred years of European conflict, from the time of

Charlemagne to the end of the middle ages.



The first section explores the subject chronologically, with essays on the wars of the period, such as the Crusades and on the Hundred Years War. The second section traces developments in the art of warfare: fortification and siege craft, the birth of gunpowder artillery, and the new skills in shipbuilding.

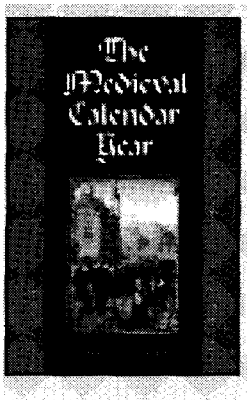
260 pp. $40.00

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Available at better bookstores.
To order direct, visit our website or call 1-800-451-7556
www.oup-usa.org

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PENN STATE PRESS



The Medieval Calendar Year

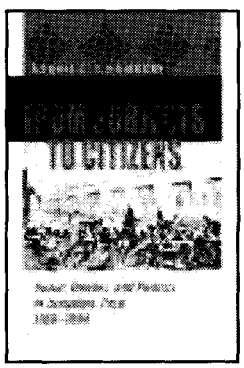
BRIDGET ANN HENISCH

An illustrated survey of one of the most enduring artistic traditions of the Middle Ages.

"*The Medieval Calendar Year* opens a richly detailed window onto farming, social, and family practices of the late Middle Ages. Henisch has clearly been collecting and pondering these images for a long time. The book will appeal to the student of the Middle Ages, including those interested in art history, literature, and social history, and the general reader, who will be attracted to the many illustrations and the easy-to-read text."

—Roger S. Wieck, Curator, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, The Pierpont Morgan Library

224 pages 10 color / 92 b&w illus. $19.95 paper



From Subjects to Citizens

Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780–1854

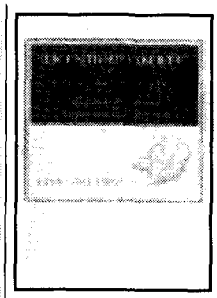
SARAH C. CHAMBERS

A history of the transition from colonial to republican Peru showing that changing meanings of honor played a central role in politics, resulting in openings for working men but repression for poor women.

"This is a very fine piece of historical research and writing. It will be appreciated not only for its clear narrative of political-cultural change but also for its marvelous ethnographic description of urban life among tradesmen, tavern-keepers, marketwomen, and other ordinary people. The author makes innovative use of judicial records to open a new window on plebeian ways of life and morality. In so doing, she sets a new standard for Latin American social and cultural history."

—Brooke Larson, SUNY–Stony Brook

320 pages 4 illustrations $19.95 paper



"Licentious Liberty" in a Brazilian Gold Mining Region

Slavery, Gender, and Social Control in Eighteenth-Century Sabará, Minas Gerais

KATHLEEN J. HIGGINS

"This book is a careful examination of how slavery worked in one of the societies of the New World most influenced by that institution. Higgins not only is sensitive to the ironies of the institution, but above all she pays attention to the way in which slaves responded to their situation and struggled to shape their own lives. We now have a book on slavery in the mining areas to match the studies done on plantation zones. It is sure to become a base point for future discussions of slavery in Minas Gerais."

—Stuart Schwartz, Yale University

248 pages 17 illustrations $22.50 paper

Liberalism in the Bedroom

Quarreling Spouses in Nineteenth-Century Lima

CHRISTINE HUNEFELDT

A history of marital conflict that reveals how liberalism in Peru, while providing new economic opportunities for women, reinforced a moral discourse preventing them from accessing political and civil rights.

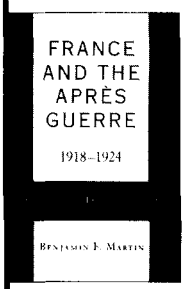
"A work of impeccable archival research and theoretical grounding, *Liberalism in the Bedroom* is a pathbreaking social history of gender and family in Latin America, showing how women in nineteenth-century Lima successfully challenged the prevailing liberal precepts in a strongly patriarchal society."

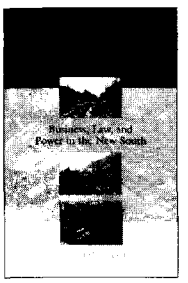
—Peter F. Klarén, George Washington University

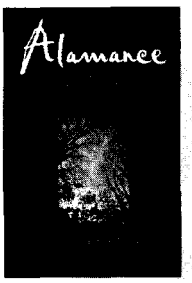
440 pages 30 figures $25.00 paper

PENN STATE PRESS
USB 1, Suite C
University Park, PA 16802
1-800-326-9180
Fax: **877-PSU-BOOK**
www.psu.edu/psupress

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED







France and the Après Guerre, 1918–1924

Illusions and Disillusionment

Benjamin F. Martin

"A solid political and economic history of the post–WWI period in France, gracefully written by an accomplished scholar."—*Kirkus Reviews*

"Balancing rich detail on the economics and politics of reparations with masterful portraits of Clemenceau, Poincaré, Briand, and others, Martin composes a requiem for the 'sacred union' of 1914."—Michael Burns, author of *Dreyfus*

Illustrated • $49.95 cloth, $22.50 paper

Lawyering for the Railroad

Business, Law, and Power in the New South

William G. Thomas

"This work is at once southern history, business history, and legal history. It is, in particular, an extraordinarily important contribution to the social history of American law . . . [discovering] the previously unknown but central significance of the railroad pass in the making of professional and business power."—Hendrik Hartog, Princeton University

Illustrated • $47.50 cloth, $24.95 paper

Alamance

The Holt Family and Industrialization in a North Carolina County, 1837–1900

Bess Beatty

"Beatty retrieves the past of this remarkable textile family . . . and provides significant new information and fresh insights about an industry that dominated the economy of North Carolina and much of the South until the last quarter of the twentieth century."—Melton McLaurin, author of *Paternalism and Protest*

Illustrated • $45.00 cloth, $19.95 paper

Databases for the Study of Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1699–1860

Information from Original Manuscript Sources on CD-ROM

Edited by Gwendolyn Midlo Hall

This unique research tool contains Hall's *Louisiana Slave Database, 1719–1820* of more than 97,00 records entered from original manuscripts in French, Spanish, and English, as well as *Louisiana Slave Manumissions, 1720–1820* and census data gathered in Louisiana, Pensacola, and Mobile in the previous two centuries.

$45.00
DOS or Windows 3.1 (486, 16 MB)

France's Forgotten Legion

Service Records of French Military and Administrative Personnel Stationed in the Mississippi Valley and Gulf Coast Region, 1699–1769

A CD-ROM Publication

Carl A. Brasseaux

From governors to cadets and midwives to mariners, this reference holds biographical data of 7,104 men and women who served the French monarchy in colonial Louisiana. Drawn from military, civil, judicial, and ecclesiastical sources, the data illustrates France's attempt to transplant governance and culture from the mother country.

$45.00
Windows or Mac

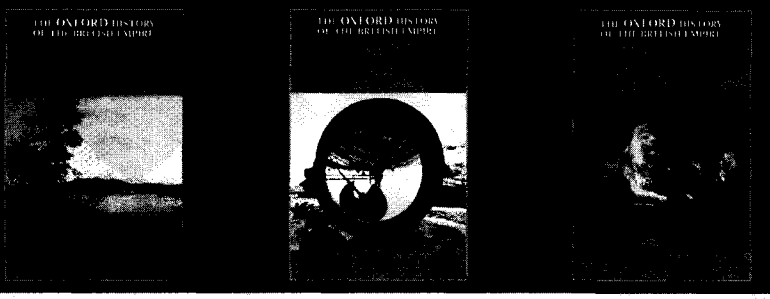
available from booksellers or

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Baton Rouge 70803 • (800) 861-3477
call for orders, our complete catalog, or our U.S. history course adoption catalog

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FINAL THREE VOLUMES ARE NOW AVAILABLE!



The Oxford History of the British Empire is a major new assessment of the British Empire in light of recent scholarship and the progressive opening of historical records. Including work from leading historians around the world, the series examines the interaction of British and non-western societies from the Elizabethan era to the late twentieth century and provides a balanced treatment of the ruled as well as the rulers. It explores economic and social as well as political trends and will remain the essential resource on the British Empire for years to come.

THE OXFORD HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Editor-in-Chief: WM. ROGER LOUIS

Volume III: The Nineteenth Century
Edited by ANDREW PORTER

This volume covers the long watershed of the nineteenth century, from the American independence to the eve of world war in 1914. It begins with several thematic chapters exploring the key dynamics of British expansion. The focus then shifts to the principal areas of British activity overseas, including both the formal empire and China and Latin America.
1999 800 pp.; 4 figs., 21 maps $45.00

Volume IV: The Twentieth Century
Edited by JUDITH BROWN and WM. ROGER LOUIS

Here, readers confront the many facets of the imperial experience in the final century of the British Empire, above all the rapid processes of decolonization that began at mid-century. Volume IV attempts to understand the people who managed the empire, the mechanisms of control which held the empire together, and the diverse experiences of Britain's imperial subjects. It concludes with decolonization and the reshaping of the political map of the world.
1999 800 pp.; 22 maps, 7 figs. $45.00

Volume V: Historiography
Edited by ROBIN WINKS

Where should we situate the British Empire in the larger picture of world history? This thought-provoking volume examines how and why opinions have changed from one generation to the next on the nature and role of imperialism generally and the British Empire specifically. Topics include the pressure of current events, changing access to primary sources, the creation of relevant university chairs, the rise of nationalism in former colonies, decolonization, and the Cold War.
1999 760 pp. $49.95

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Prices are subject to change and apply only in the US. To order, or for more information, please call 1-800-451-7556. In Canada, call 1-800-387-8020. Visit our website at www.oup.com

CAPITALISTS IN SPITE OF THEMSELVES

Elite Conflict and European Transitions in Early Modern Europe
RICHARD LACHMANN

"A strikingly original and analytically powerful study of the transition from feudalism to capitalism in Western Europe...[Lachmann] proposes a novel synthesis of ideas derived from Marxist class analysis and theories of elite conflict. He then deploys this reasoning in a diverse and compelling series of case studies of medieval and early modern Europe written in an engaging and accessible manner. This book should be read, studied, and debated by anyone interested in large-scale historical processes of social change."
—Erik Olin Wright, University of Wisconsin, Madison.
1999 336 pp.; 2 maps $49.95

COMPOSERS OF THE NAZI ERA

Eight Portraits
MICHAEL H. KATER

"Michael Kater's new book, the third and best of his studies of German music during the Third Reich, examines the fortunes, in the Nazi and first postwar years, of eight composers: Werner Egk, Paul Hindemith, Kurt Weill, Carl Amadeus Hartmann, Carl Orff, Hans Pfitzner, Arnold Schoenberg, and Richard Strauss. Based upon a staggering amount of original research, it is endlessly informative."
—Gordon A. Craig, Stanford University.
January 2000 400 pp. $35.00

New in paperback!

WOMEN IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND 1550-1720

SARA MENDELSON and PATRICIA CRAWFORD

"Each chapter provides an exceedingly well written, intelligent, and nuanced analysis of the Englishwoman's world....the sheer breadth and sensitivity of the subject matter make this book an invaluable source....it is surely essential reading for all graduates and faculty studying either English history or early modern women's history." —*History.*
1998 (paper December 1999) 510 pp.; 49 illus
paper $19.95 cloth $35.00

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PASSION'S FORTUNE

The History of Mills & Boon
JOE MCALEER

This is the first history of Mills & Boon, the British publishing phenomenon which has become a household name, synonymous with romantic fiction. The book draws on a long-lost archive of over 50,000 letters which reveal the intricate relationship between editorial policy, social attitudes, and sales.
1999 336 pp.; 16 pp b/w plates, 12 line figs. $39.95

FROM REFORMATION TO IMPROVEMENT

Public Welfare in Early Modern England
PAUL SLACK

"Paul Slack has produced a disturbing, as well as an exciting and important, book."
—*Times Literary Supplement.*

Paul Slack's incisive analysis shows how between 1500 and 1740 the English came to believe in piecemeal improvement in place of social reformation. He examines social policy and such institutions as workhouses and hospitals to illustrate how contemporaries tried to shape their social and moral environment, and how they defined the notion of 'welfare'.
1999 192 pp. $47.50

SUICIDE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Volume I: The Violent against Themselves
ALEXANDER MURRAY

Suicide in the Middle Ages—was there any? Who committed it? How was it viewed by society? In addressing these questions, the book makes an odyssey through medieval law, social life, literature and religion. In Volume I of his trilogy, Alexander Murray rediscovers the suicides which took place; in Volumes II and III, he will explore attitudes to suicide amongst the living.
1999 514 pp.; frontispiece, 1 map & 5 b/w plates $49.95

ORIGINS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Third Edition
WILLIAM DOYLE

First published in 1980, this book rapidly established itself as the indispensable guide to what brought about the French Revolution, and to the debates of historians about the issue. The new edition brings the subject up to date with an extensisively rewritten survey of the historiography.
1999 248 pp. paper $19.95 cloth $65.00

THE PEOPLE'S PEACE

British History Since 1945
New Edition
KENNETH O. MORGAN

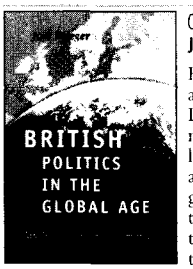
This comprehensive and widely acclaimed study of British history since 1945 has now been fully updated and expanded for this new edition and features a chapter on the rise of New Labour.
1999 632 pp.; 16 halftones paper $14.95

WHEN NATIONALISM BEGAN TO HATE

Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth-Century Poland
BRIAN PORTER

Porter offers a new explanation for the emergence of xenophobic, authoritarian nationalism in Europe. Focusing on 19th-century Poland, he traces the transformation of revolutionary patriotism into a violent anti-Semitic ideology and argues that the language of hatred and discipline was central to the way "modernity" itself was perceived—or perhaps imagined—by fin-de-siècle intellectuals.
January 2000 368 pp. $60.00

BRITISH POLITICS IN THE GLOBAL AGE



Can Social Democracy Survive?
JOEL KRIEGER

Here, Joel Krieger provides an in-depth study of New Labour's model of government and the political challenges it faces. Krieger analyzes the interaction of global processes with domestic politics and introduces the concept "modular politics" to explain the context dependent process of identity formation that shapes—and potentially destabilizes—contemporary politics.
1999 224 pp. paper $19.95 cloth $49.95

REPAINTING THE LITTLE RED SCHOOLHOUSE

A History of Eastern German Education, 1945-1995
JOHN G. RODDEN

No institution offers a more penetrating glimpse of GDR life, and of the fundamentals of communist agitation and propaganda, than its educational system. This is the first English-language study of GDR education ever published and the first book—in any language—to trace the complete history of Eastern German education.
January 2000 480 pp. $75.00

SOCIABILITY AND POWER IN LATE STUART ENGLAND

The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys 1660-1720
SUSAN E. WHYMAN

Based on thousands of personal letters from 1660 to the 1720's, this highly original study reconstructs the changing country and London worlds of an English gentry family, revealing new insight on the influence of London, the roles of younger sons, and the subtle power of women over the social code.
January 2000 304 pp.; 22 plates, & 1 jacket $65.00

OXFORD

Prices are subject to change and apply only in the US. To order, or for more information, please call 1-800-451-7556. In Canada, call 1-800-387-8020. Visit our website at www.oup.com

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES, 1830–1945
S. JAY KLEINBERG

Much more than an overview of the "great women" who helped shape this country, this book is the first history of American women to deal comprehensively with issues of race, class, ethnicity, and religion.
Paper, $22.00, 0-8135-2729-5
Cloth, $52.00, 0-8135-2728-7

BAYARD RUSTIN AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT
DANIEL LEVINE

"In this lively, spirited account, Daniel Levine offers a fresh impression of a man who appeared at almost every important encounter of the civil rights crusade in the era of Martin Luther King."—**William E. Leuchtenburg**, professor of history, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Cloth, $35.00, 0-8135-2718-X

THE LONG RETREAT
The Calamitous Defense of New Jersey, 1776
ARTHUR S. LEFKOWITZ

"Dispels myth and conjecture while offering an exciting and compelling history of the events of late 1776."—**Richard Paterson**, executive director, the Old Barracks Museum
Cloth, $25.00, 0-8135-2759-7

THE VICTORIAN WORLD PICTURE
DAVID NEWSOME
New in Paperback!

"No other work has ever contained such a thorough and complete synthesis of the social and political thinking of the Victorians, and Newsome can expect his work to become a classic."—*Publishers Weekly*
Paper, $19.00, 0-8135-2758-9

NO PLACE FOR A WOMAN
A Life of Senator Margaret Chase Smith
JANN SHERMAN
Cloth, $35.00, 0-8135-2722-8

TWIN TOWERS
The Life of New York City's World Trade Center
ANGUS KRESS GILLESPIE
Cloth, $50.00, 0-8135-2742-2

RHEUMATIC FEVER IN AMERICA AND BRITAIN
A Biological, Epidemiological, and Medical History
PETER C. ENGLISH, M.D.
Cloth, $50.00, 0-8135-2710-4

OFF THE RECORD
The Technology and Culture of Sound Recording in America
DAVID L. MORTON
Paper, $22.00, 0-8135-2747-3
Cloth, $50.00, 0-8135-2746-5

SOUPER TOMATOES
The Story of America's Favorite Food
ANDREW F. SMITH
Cloth, $25.00, 0-8135-2752-X

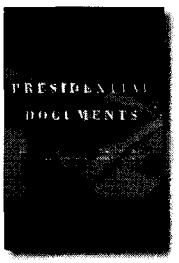
ENDURING ROOTS
Encounters with Trees, History, and the American Landscape
GAYLE BRANDOW SAMUELS
Cloth, $25.00, 0-8135-2721-X

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY PRESS

available in bookstores or call 800-446-9323

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Turn to Routledge for History

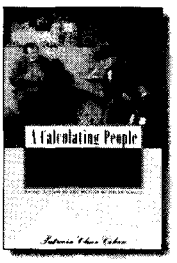


PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

The Speeches, Proclamations and Policies that Have Shaped the Nation from Washington to Clinton

Edited by Fred L. Israel and J.F. Watts

This lively, authoritative and up-to-date collection presents over 125 famous and lesser known key speeches, proclamations, letters and other decisive papers and provides a brief political and historical commentary on each selection.
$75.00/cloth



A CALCULATING PEOPLE

The Spread of Numeracy in Early America

Patricia Cline Cohen

An entertaining and informative history of the birth of the American passion for numbers, tracing the history of "numeracy" from its origins in the Enlightenment to its flowering in mid-nineteenth century America.
$17.99/pb

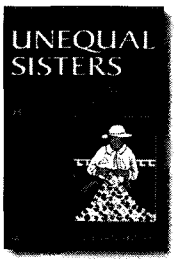
THE LIBERAL TRADITION IN AMERICAN POLITICS

Reassessing the Legacy of American Imperialism

Edited by David F. Ericson and Louisa Bertch Green

Explores the full range and depth of the liberal tradition in America and how historians and political theorists have perceived it. The contributors weigh the various paradigm shifts in the understanding of American political development according to consensus, polarity and multiple traditions.
$24.99/pb

UNEQUAL SISTERS



A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History

Third Edition

Edited by Vicki L. Ruiz and Ellen Carol DuBois

Now, featuring more than 20 new essays and works by a number of exciting young scholars, the book presents the best scholarship available on the issues of race, ethnicity, religion, sexuality and class as it attempts to provide a more accurate and more inclusive history of women in the United States.
$29.95/pb

UPON THESE SHORES

Themes in the African-American Experience from Seventeenth Century to the Present

Edited by William G. Shade and William R. Scott
Preface by William H. Gray III

A comprehensive overview of African-American history in a single volume, bringing together original essays by some of the foremost authorities in the field. Arranged both chronologically and thematically, the book discusses a wide range of topics – from the Middle Passage to the Civil Rights Movement; from abolition to the Great Migration; from issues in religion, class and family to literature, education and politics.
$22.99/pb

REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA, 1763-1815

Francis D. Cogliano

Placing the political revolution at the core of the story, the book considers the deterioration of relations between Britain and the colonists, the Wars of Independence, the creation of the republican government, the ratification of the U.S. Constitution and the challenges of the republic's early years.
$22.99/pb

ROUTLEDGE

At BOOKSTORES, or call 1-800-634-7064. To learn more about these and other Routledge titles, visit our Web site at www.routledge-ny.com

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

32(a)

Rowman & Littlefield

Justices, Presidents, and Senators
A History of U.S. Supreme Court Appointments from Washington to Clinton
By **Henry J. Abraham**
ISBN 0-8476-9605-7 • $29.95 paper
ISBN 0-8476-9604-9 • $75.00 cloth

Debating Southern History
Ideas and Action in the Twentieth Century
By **Bruce Clayton** and **John Salmond**
ISBN 0-8476-9414-3 • $14.95 paper
ISBN 0-8476-9413-5 • $50.00 cloth

The Scarlet Thread of Scandal
Morality and the American Presidency
By **Charles W. Dunn**
ISBN 0-8476-9606-5 • $24.95 cloth

A Requiem for the American Village
By **Paul K. Conkin**
ISBN 0-8476-9736-3 • $30.00 cloth

Let Nobody Turn Us Around
Voices of Resistance, Reform, and Renewal
Edited by **Manning Marable** and **Leith Mullings**
ISBN 0-8476-9930-7 • $35.00 cloth

As Long As They Don't Move Next Door
Segregation and Racial Conflict in American Neighborhoods
By **Stephen Grant Meyer**
January 2000
ISBN 0-8476-9700-2 • $29.95 cloth

Comrades and Partners
The Shared Lives of Grace Hutchins and Anna Rochester
By **Janet Lee**
ISBN 0-8476-9620-0 • $29.95 cloth

Abraham Lincoln
A Constitutional Biography
By **George Anastaplo**
ISBN 0-8476-9431-3 • $35.00 cloth

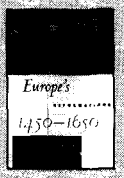
50 Years
1949-1999

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Critical Issues in History
Donald T. Crichlow, Series Editor

Editorial Advisory Board

PAUL A BAKER, University of Pittsburgh, PAUL BUSHKOVITCH, Yale University
JANE DeHART, University of California, Santa Barbara
WILLIAM ROBABAUGH, University of Washington, JAMES TRACY, University of Minnesota



The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500—1800
By **D.E. Mungello**
ISBN 0-8476-9440-2 • $12.95 paper
ISBN 0-8476-9439-9 • $22.95 cloth

The Idea of Capitalism Before the Industrial Revolution
By **Richard Grassby**
ISBN 0-8476-9633-2 • $14.95 paper
ISBN 0-8476-9632-4 • $50.00 cloth

Europe's Reformations, 1450—1650
By **James D. Tracy**
ISBN 0-8476-8835-6 • $19.95 paper
ISBN 0-8476-8834-8 • $29.95 cloth

The Unfinished Struggle
Turning Points in American Labor
By **Steven Babson**
ISBN 0-8476-8829-1 • $12.95 paper
ISBN 0-8476-8828-3 • $24.95 cloth

A Concise History of the Crusades
By **Thomas F. Madden**
ISBN 0-8476-9430-5 • $12.95 paper
ISBN 0-8476-9429-1 • $22.95 cloth

The British Imperial Century, 1815—1914
Imperialism from the Perspective of World History
By **Timothy Parsons**
ISBN 0-8476-8825-9 • $11.95 paper
ISBN 0-8476-8824-0 • $53.00 cloth

Forthcoming Titles

The Transformation of American Culture
By **James T. Fisher**

The American Presidency in the Twentieth Century
By **Godfrey Hodgson**

The Emerging Empire
The United States and Global Expansion 1812-1861
By **Kinley Brauer**

The Age of Enlightenment and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Eras
By **William Olejniczak**

Race and Space
Nazism, War, and the Holocaust
By **Doris L. Bergen**

The United States and the Great War, 1914-1920
By **Robert Zieger**

The Changing Meaning of Race in Modern America
By **Hamilton Cravens**

The City in Modern China
By **Kerrie L. MacPherson**

Peter the Great
By **Paul Bushkovitch**

Remaking Modern Italy
By **Roy Domenico**

Martin Luther King and Malcolm X
By **Clarence Walker**

ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD
An Independent Publisher for the 21st Century
4720 Boston Way • Lanham, MD 20706
1.800.462.6420 or custservrl@rowman.com
Visit our website at www.rowmanlittlefield.com

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New from Princeton

Fits, Trances, and Visions

Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James

Ann Taves

In this sweeping work of religious and psychological history, Ann Taves explores the myriad ways in which believers and detractors interpreted experiences such as fits, trances, visions, speaking in tongues, clairvoyance, out-of-body experiences in Anglo-American culture between the mid-eighteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

"Taves offers both a history of American Protestant piety and a history of American psychology . . . . This is a grand enterprise—one of impressive breadth and seasoned scholarship."
—Leigh Schmidt

Paper $22.95 ISBN 0-691-01024-2
Cloth $65.00 ISBN 0-691-02876-1
Due December

Shopping for Pleasure

Women in the Making of London's West End

Erika Diane Rappaport

In *Shopping for Pleasure,* Erika Rappaport reconstructs the history of London's Victorian and Edwardian West End as an entertainment and retail center. Through extensive histories of department stores, women's magazines, clubs, teashops, restaurants, and the theater, *Shopping for Pleasure* uncovers the essential interplay between the rise of consumer society, the birth of modern femininity, and the making of contemporary London.

"*Shopping for Pleasure* is an impressive, engaging and important book."
—Geoffrey Crossick

Cloth $35.00 ISBN 0-691-04477-5 *Due December*

Liberalism in Germany

Dieter Langewiesche

With a foreword by John Breuilly

In the nineteenth century, German liberalism grew into a powerful political movement, forceful in its demands for the freedom of the individual, for changes to allow the participation of all men in the political system, and for a fundamental reform of the German states. In this book, now available for the first time in English, Dieter Langewiesche analyses the foundation and development of German liberalism from the late-eighteenth century to the late-twentieth century, with a special focus on its crucial role between 1815 and 1914.

Paper $24.95 ISBN 0-691-01032-3
Cloth $65.00 ISBN 0-691-01031-5
Available from Princeton in the U.S. and Canada

Frontier Fictions

Shaping the Iranian Nation, 1804–1946

Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet

In this fascinating study, Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet looks at "frontier fictions," or the ways in which Iranians viewed their fluctuating borders and the conflicts surrounding them, and how these played a dominant role in defining the nation.

Her approach enriches our understanding not only of Iranian nationalism, but also of nationalism everywhere.

"*Frontier Fictions* is an outstanding work of historical interpretation. . . . A book that lays bare the making of Iranian identity and physical and cultural borders. A work of real subtlety and elegance."—Fouad Ajami

Cloth $35.00 ISBN 0-691-00497-8
Due December

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New in Paperback

Louis Le Vau

Mazarin's Collège, Colbert's Revenge

Hilary Ballon

From Vaux-le-Vicomte to Versailles, the buildings of Louis Le Vau shaped the image of French court society. None, however, has had as dramatic an effect as Mazarin's Collège (1661–70). In this first English-language book on Louis XIV's celebrated architect, Hilary Ballon deftly portrays the brilliance and controversy of Le Vau's late career through an exploration of this masterpiece.

"Hilary Ballon does a superb job in identifying story lines, giving texture to her characters, and in presenting her findings in clear and interesting language and humor."—Richard Cleary

110 halftones.

Cloth $45.00 ISBN 0-691-00186-3
Due December

New in paperback

The Garden and the Workshop

Essays on the Cultural History of Vienna and Budapest

Péter Hanák

With a preface by Carl E. Schorske

"*The Garden and the Workshop* is not only for lovers of Vienna and Budapest, it is for history buffs of all stripes. But it is likewise for anyone interested in seeing what Hanák implicitly shows time and time again, namely the many points that postmodernist fin-de-siècle relativism shares with our own fin-de-siècle postmodernist variety of same."
—*Washington Post Book World*

Paper $15.95 ISBN 0-691-00965-1

New in paperback
One of Choice*'s Outstanding Academic Books of 1998*

Francis Bacon

Perez Zagorin

"A concise but detailed analysis of [Bacon's] whole range of thought. . . . This penetrating account of Bacon's work can be recommended as the best single-volume study available."
—*The Times Literary Supplement*

"Eminently readable, expansive in scope, and scintillating. . . . [A] thoroughly researched, authoritative account."
—*Choice*

Paper $16.95 ISBN 0-691-00966-X

New in paperback

The Children of Noah

Jewish Seafaring in Ancient Times

Raphael Patai

Here the late Raphael Patai recreates the fascinating world of Jewish seafaring from Noah's voyage through the Diaspora of late antiquity. In a work of pioneering scholarship, Patai weaves together Biblical stories, Talmudic lore, and Midrash literature to bring alive the world of these ancient mariners.

"A lively and fascinating narrative that makes a full exposition of the subject available to students and advanced readers for the first time."—*Library Journal*

Paper $14.95 ISBN 0-691-00968-6
Due December

Princeton University Press
AT FINE BOOKSTORES OR CALL 800-777-4726 • HTTP: //PUP.PRINCETON.EDU

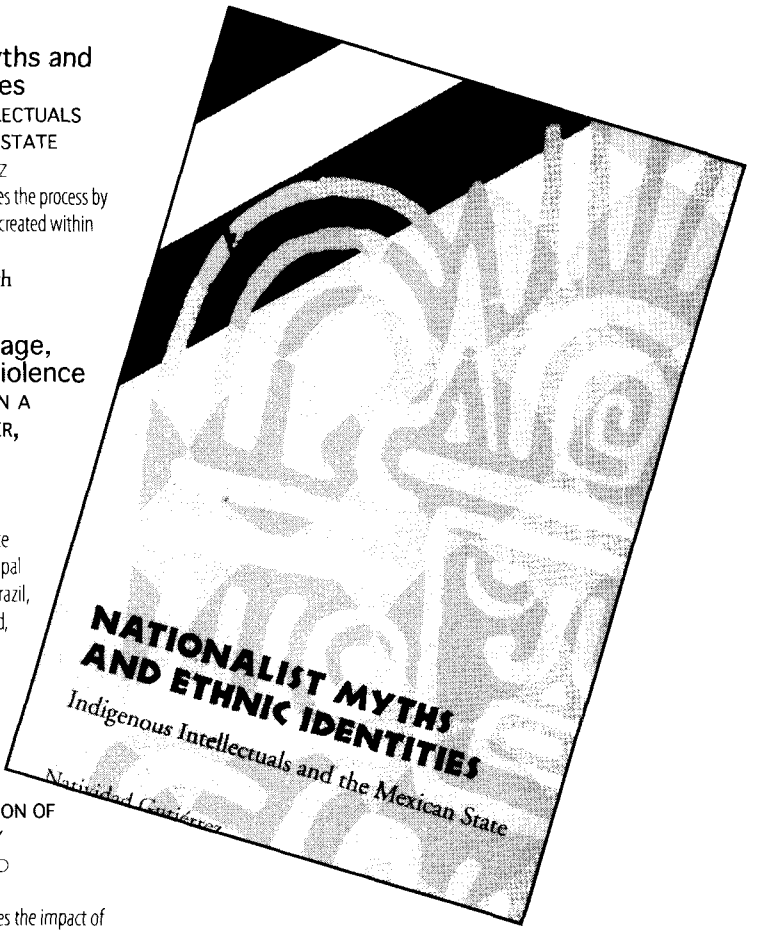
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IDENTITIES

The National Congress of American Indians
THE FOUNDING YEARS
THOMAS W. COWGER
This is the first full-length history of the NCAI. Thomas W. Cowger tells the story of the founding and critical first two decades of this important organization.
$45 cloth

Nationalist Myths and Ethnic Identities
INDIGENOUS INTELLECTUALS AND THE MEXICAN STATE
NATIVIDAD GUTIÉRREZ
This timely study examines the process by which modern states are created within multiethnic societies.
$25 paper/$50 cloth

Power, Patronage, and Political Violence
STATE BUILDING ON A BRAZILIAN FRONTIER, 1822-1889
JUDY BIEBER
Judy Bieber explores the relationship between state centralization and municipal politics in Minas Gerais, Brazil, during the Imperial Period, 1822-89.
$45 cloth



The Grand Illusion
THE PRUSSIANIZATION OF THE CHILEAN ARMY
WILLIAM F. SATER AND HOLGER H. HERWIG
The Grand Illusion analyzes the impact of European military institutions on Hispanic America in general and examines the putative "Prussianization" of the Chilean army in particular.
$50 cloth

"N" *publishers of Bison Books* www.nebraskapress.unl.edu

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA PRESS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALIFORNIA

Voices from S-21

Terror and History in Pol Pot's Secret Prison
DAVID CHANDLER
"A truly impressive book that clearly transcends the realm of Cambodian and South Asian studies. Not only has Chandler worked through a massive amount of material, he has also situated his analysis within a knowledge of Khmer history that is without equal."
—Charles Keyes, University of Washington

$48.00 cloth,
$17.95 paper,
illustrated

Art from *Voices from S-21*

The Barbarian Plain

Saint Sergius between Rome and Iran
ELIZABETH KEY FOWDEN
"Fowden brings the studies of many earlier scholars to a welcome fruition in the synthetic portrait she paints of an important cult and its local expression in one of the most volatile areas of late antiquity. Fowden has written an excellent book, and all of us will be its beneficiaries."
—Sidney H. Griffith,
The Catholic University of America
Transformation of the Classical Heritage, $55.00 cloth

Living Letters of the Law

Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity
JEREMY COHEN
"Well, clearly, and articulately written, *Living Letters of the Law* is among the most important books in medieval European history generally, as well as in its particular field."
—Edward Peters, author of *The First Crusade*
$60.00 cloth, $24.95 paper

S. D. GOITEIN

A Mediterranean Society

An Abridgment in One Volume
Prepared and edited by Jacob Lassner
"The greatest value of this outstanding contribution is in making the vast *geniza* data accessible, while providing contextualization."
—Reuven Firestone, Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of Religion
"The abridgment is excellent."
—Rudi Paul Lindner, University of Michigan
$45.00 cloth

NOW IN PAPERBACK

The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza
Volume I: Economic Foundations, $24.95 paper
Volume II: The Community, $24.95 paper
Volume III: The Family, $24.95 paper
Volume IV: Daily Life, $24.95 paper
Volume V: The Individual, $24.95 paper
S. D. Goitein and Paula Sanders
Volume VI: Cumulative Indices, $19.95 paper

At bookstores or order toll-free 1-800-822-6657.

www.ucpress.edu

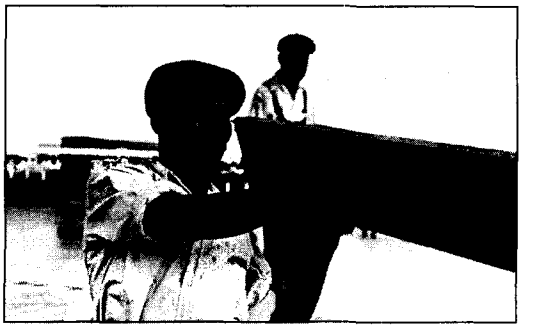
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALIFORNIA

Black Workers Remember

An Oral History of Segregation, Unionism, and the Freedom Struggle
MICHAEL KEITH HONEY
"Honey establishes himself as a master oral historian. . . . A powerful, moving tribute to the multi-generational struggle for African-American freedom." —Nelson Lichtenstein, author of *Walter Reuther*
A George Gund Foundation Book in African American Studies, $29.95 cloth



Art from *Black Workers Remember*

Battling for American Labor

Wobblies, Craft Workers, and the Making of the Union Movement
HOWARD KIMELDORF
"A very exciting accomplishment. This book will surely leave a major imprint on labor history and the sociology of labor."
—David Wellman, author of *The Union Makes Us Strong*
$45.00 cloth, $17.95 paper

Gimme Some Truth

The John Lennon FBI Files
JON WIENER
"A remarkable compilation of documents. I know of no keener annotations to any documents illustrating government surveillance."—Todd Gitlin, author of *The Sixties*
$45.00 cloth, $17.95 paper, illustrated

Mallarmé's Children

Symbolism and the Renewal of Experience
RICHARD CÁNDIDA SMITH
"A critically important contribution to the debate of the last ten years over the nature and status of experience. . . . Cándida Smith's range of knowledge is extraordinarily broad." —Leora Auslander, University of Chicago
$45.00 cloth, illustrated

The Bridge over the Racial Divide

Rising Inequality and Coalition Politics
WILLIAM JULIUS WILSON
"A superb contribution to the national debate about equality, class, race, and politics. Defying easy categories, as he always does, William Julius Wilson manages to square the circle by blending a strategy of racial uplift with one of practical and believable politics.
—Robert Kuttner, co-editor, *The American Prospect*
Wildavsky Forum, Copublished with the Russell Sage Foundation, $19.95 cloth

The Fate of "Culture"

Geertz and Beyond
Edited by SHERRY B. ORTNER
Ortner brings together seven leading scholars from four disciplines to take a fresh look at Geertz's work, and to consider the continuing implications of his work in the contemporary context.
A Representations Book
$45.00 cloth, $17.95 paper, illustrated

At bookstores or order toll-free 1-800-822-6657.

www.ucpress.edu

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALIFORNIA
PAPERBACKS

The White Scourge
Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture
NEIL FOLEY
"Reinvigorates social history, forcing it to take ideas, language, ideology, and power seriously, while it grounds cultural studies in the experiences of the people in the Texas cotton country during the first half of the 20th century."
—*Reviews in American History*
American Crossroads; Winner, Frederick Jackson Turner Award; Robert G. Athearn Book Award; AHA Pacific Coast Branch Award; Charles Sydnor Award; Robert W. Hamilton Award; T.R. Fehrenbach Book Award; Outstanding Book Award from the Gustavus Myers Center for the Study of Bigotry and Human Rights in North America; $17.95 paper, illustrated

Americas
The Changing Face of Latin America and the Caribbean
PETER WINN
Updated edition
"An accessible and engaging introduction to the complex tapestry of contemporary Latin America and the Caribbean."—*Foreign Affairs*
A Main Selection of the History Book Club, $22.00 paper

At bookstores or order toll-free 1-800-822-6657.

Man Is Wolf to Man
Surviving the Gulag
JANUSZ BARDACH and KATHLEEN GLEESON
Foreword by Adam Hochschild
"A gripping but matter-of-fact memoir. . . . A fascinating history, this compelling memoir is also a story of inner resolve and the will to keep going."
—*Publishers Weekly*
[starred review]
A selection of the History Book Club, $17.95 paper, illustrated

Spectacular Realities
Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle *Paris*
VANESSA R. SCHWARTZ
"Schwartz weaves a multilayered history of the evolution of mass entertainments in Paris during the 19th century. . . . An engrossing study."—*Choice*
$17.95 paper, illustrated

The Confusions of Pleasure
Commerce and Culture in Ming China
TIMOTHY BROOK
"The best available introduction we have in English to Ming China."—*Times Higher Education Supplement*
$18.95 paper, illustrated

Durable Inequality
CHARLES TILLY
"An important approach to social inequality."—*Choice*
Winner, Eastern Sociological Society Book Award. $17.95 paper

Soldiers in a Narrow Land
The Pinochet Regime in Chile
MARY HELEN SPOONER
Updated edition with a new preface
"[Spooner's] interviews with top military officials and ordinary Chileans go a long way toward bringing the reader to Pinochet's Chile."
—*Current History*
$17.95 paper

India
STANLEY WOLPERT
Updated edition with a new preface
"Wolpert understands India. . . . Fluent, wide-ranging and often wise, this volume is a useful addition to a shelf of books on India."
—*Washington Post Book World*
A selection of History Book Club, $15.95 paper

www.ucpress.edu

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LAST THINGS
Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages

Edited by Caroline Walker Bynum and Paul Freedman

Caroline Walker Bynum and Paul Freedman bring together distinguished contributors to examine the competing eschatologies of the Middle Ages and the ways in which they expose different sensibilities, different theories of the human person, and very different understandings of the body, of time, of the end.

336 pp. Cloth $49.95 Paper $24.95

EMPIRE AND OTHERS
British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600-1850

Edited by Martin Daunton and Rick Halpern

This volume explores the many complex ways in which identities were forged within Britain and among indigenous peoples through a process of collision and compromise.

400 pp. Paper $24.95

Now in paperback
RED SCARE IN COURT
New York versus the International Workers Order

Arthur J. Sabin
Foreword by Howard Fast

"A provocative and carefully researched account of the successful legal and political attack on the International Workers Order by the State of New York in 1951."
—*Labor History*

392 pp. Paper $18.50

IN CALMER TIMES
The Supreme Court and Red Monday

Arthur J. Sabin

"*In Calmer Times* contributes importantly to constitutional history and Cold War political history. It should command the interest of anyone interested in the law, the courts, civil liberties, the Cold War, the First Amendment, and the FBI."
—Athan Theoharis, Marquette University

272 pp. Cloth $35.00

ARISTOCRATIC WOMEN IN MEDIEVAL FRANCE

Edited by Theodore Evergates

Aristocratic Women in Medieval France demonstrates the importance of aristocratic women in a period during which they have been too long assumed to have lacked influence.

280 pp. Cloth $45.00 Paper $19.95

THE SALIAN CENTURY
Main Currents in an Age of Transition

Stefan Weinfurter
Translated by Barbara M. Bowlus
Foreword by Charles R. Bowlus

"*The Salian Century* offers the best current interpretation of the German monarchy during the critical period of its development (1024-1125)."
—John Van Engen, University of Notre Dame

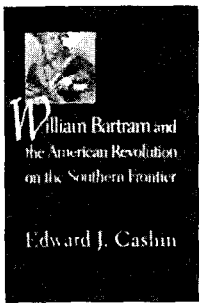
224 pp. Cloth $49.95

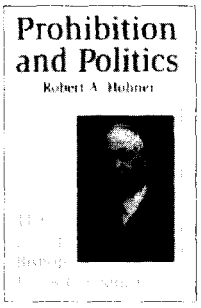
UNIVERSITY OF **PENN**SYLVANIA **PRESS**

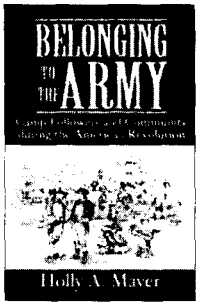
at bookstores or call 1-800-445-9880 | www.upenn.edu/pennpress

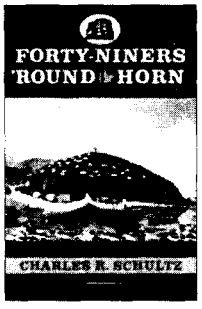
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

University of South Carolina Press









William Bartram and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier
Edward J. Cashin
An eminent historian's account of colonial America's southern boundary.
cloth, ISBN 1-57003-325-0, $39.95

Slave Missions and the Black Church in the Antebellum South
Janet Duitsman Cornelius
"Cornelius makes a persuasive case for slave missions as a source of institutionalization of the black church."—*Choice*
cloth, ISBN 1-57003-247-5, $34.95

Prohibition and Politics
The Life of Bishop James Cannon, Jr.
Robert A. Hohner
Reassesses the stormy career of the controversial southern Methodist churchman.
cloth, ISBN 1-57003-281-5, $45.00

For God and Race
The Religious and Political Leadership of AMEZ Bishop James Walker Hood
Sandy Dwayne Martin
Reveals the influence of one of the most fascinating African American religious and political leaders of the nineteenth century.
cloth, ISBN 1-57003-261-0, $39.95

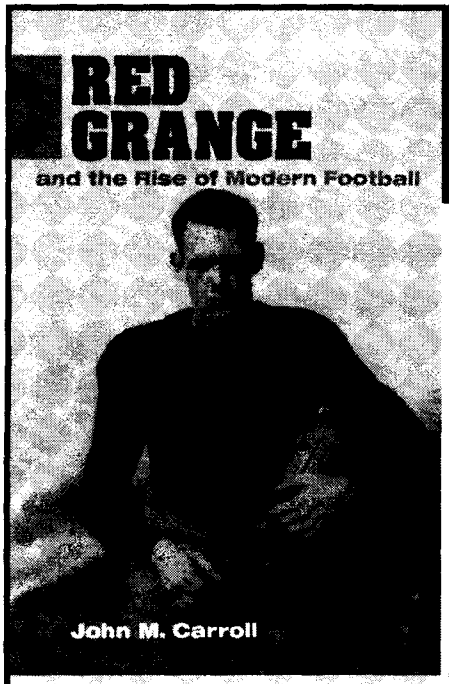
New in paperback
Belonging to the Army
Camp Followers and Community during the American Revolution
Holly A. Mayer
". . . Mayer fashions a lively portrait of a neglected area of military life and contributes substantially to our understanding of the Continental Army and the Revolution."
—*The Virginia Quarterly Review*
paper, ISBN 1-57003-339-0, $18.95

The Supreme Court under Edward Douglass White, 1910–1921
Walter F. Pratt, Jr.
The high court's struggle to redefine American legal vocabulary.
cloth, ISBN 1-57003-309-9, $39.95
Chief Justiceships of the United States Supreme Court
Herbert A. Johnson, series editor

Forty-Niners 'round the Horn
Charles R. Schultz
Recounts the thrilling and perilous maritime adventure of fortune hunters who sailed from the east coast around Cape Horn during the gold rush of 1849.
cloth, ISBN 1-57003-329-3, $45.00
Studies in Maritime History
William N. Still, Jr., series editor

Mention code AHR when ordering.
718 Devine Street, Columbia, South Carolina 29208
800-768-2500 • fax: 800-868-0740 • web: www.sc.edu/uscpress

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



FALL

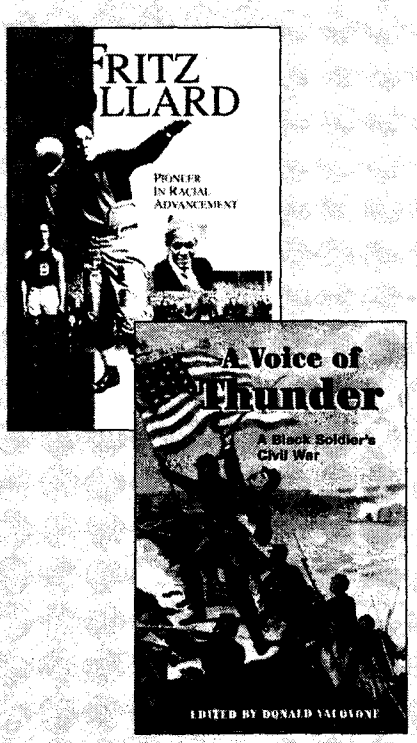
Red Grange and the Rise of Modern Football

JOHN M. CARROLL

"Arguably the most significant football player of all time. . . . A carefully researched, well-written study. . . . Millennium lists of great athletes [will] continue to showcase Grange." — *Booklist*

A volume in the series Sport and Society

Illus. Cloth, $25.95



NEW IN PAPERBACK!

Fritz Pollard

Pioneer in Racial Advancement

JOHN M. CARROLL

"This compelling biography enhances knowledge about sports history, about the African American entrepreneurial tradition, and about the persistence of white racism in the face of black achievement." — *Choice*

A volume in the series Sport and Society

Illus. Paper, $19.95

A Voice of Thunder

A Black Soldier's Civil War

EDITED BY DONALD YACOVONE

"A gold mine of information for historians of the Civil War and of Black America." — *Historical Journal of Massachusetts*

A volume in the series Blacks in the New World

Illus. Paper, $18.95

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS

www.press.uillinois.edu

(800) 545-4703

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

READING

For Freedom's Sake

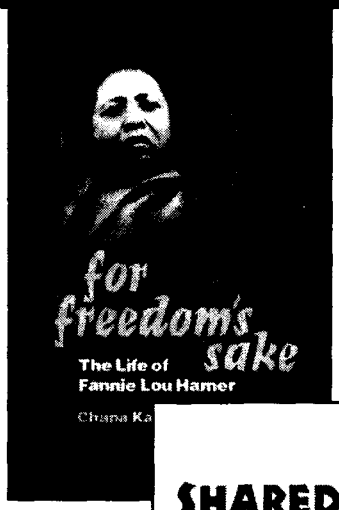
The Life of Fannie Lou Hamer

CHANA KAI LEE

"Chart[s] her growth as an activist and examin[es] the profound impact of gender, sexuality, violence and poverty on the early civil rights movement. . . .This biography vividly brings to light a crucial aspect of the civil rights movement that until now has not been given its due." — *Publishers Weekly*

A volume in the series Women in American History

Illus. Cloth, $29.95



Black Society in Spanish Florida

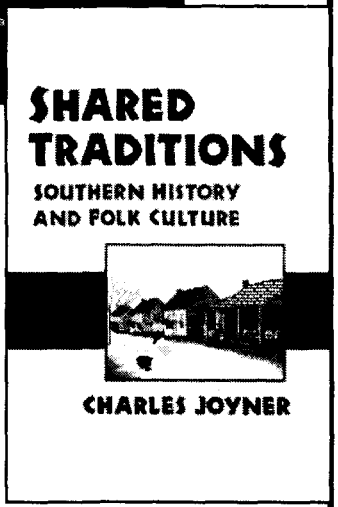
JANE LANDERS

Foreword by Peter H. Wood

"A truly original, beautifully and skillfully researched, conceived, and written work which will have a major impact."
— Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, author of *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*

A volume in the series Blacks in the New World

Illus. Cloth, $50.00; Paper, $19.95



The Bottom Rung

African American Family Life on Southern Farms

STEWART E. TOLNAY

"Contradicts the received wisdom of both the popular media and much scholarship. . . . This is a timely and critical study, important for scholars and for those interested in public policy." — Orville Vernon Burton, author of *In My Father's House Are Many Mansions*

Illus. Cloth, $45.00; Paper, $19.95

Shared Traditions

Southern History and Folk Culture

CHARLES JOYNER

"Joyner is a rare bird: a regional and even local historian who has studied, read, and written on very large subjects. . . . This collection will become the bedside book of the year." — Roger Abrahams

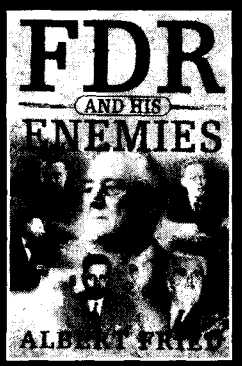
Illus. Cloth, $49.95; Paper, $19.95

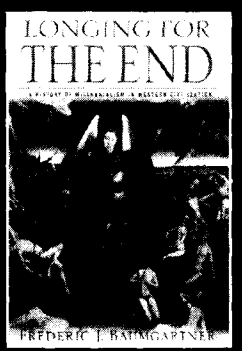
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS

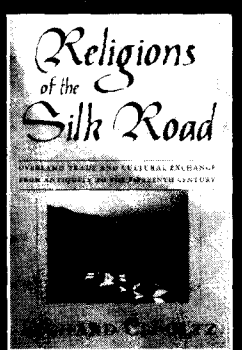
www.press.uillinois.edu

(800) 545-4703

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED







NEW HISTORY BOOKS

FDR AND HIS ENEMIES

Albert Fried

"Convincingly asserts that Roosevelt defeated his critics primarily because he was a superb pragmatist who refused to be hindered by an ideological straitjacket."—*Booklist*

1999 / 273 pp. 0-312-22119-3 $27.95 cl.

THE LOST LOVE LETTERS OF HELOISE AND ABELARD

Perceptions of Dialogue in Twelfth-Century France

Constant Mews

Translations by Neville Chiavaroli and Constant Mews

Examines a fascinating medieval text neglected by most scholars.

1999 / 400 pp. 0-312-21604-1 $49.95 cl.

The New Middle Ages

RELIGIONS OF THE SILK ROAD

Overland Trade and Cultural Exchange from Antiquity to the Fifteenth Century

Richard C. Foltz

"An absolute gem . . ."

—Jerry H. Bentley, Editor
Journal of World History

Tells the story of how religions accompanied merchants and their goods along the overland Asian trade route.

1999 / 203 pp. 0-312-21408-1 $24.95 cl.

THE SEARCH FOR THE NORTH WEST PASSAGE

Ann Savours

A world-renowned author of polar literature provides a history of the search for the North-West passage to the Orient from the 16th to the mid-19th century.

1999 / 354 pp. 0-312-22372-2 $29.95 cl.

LONGING FOR THE END

A History of Millennialism in Western Civilization

Frederic J. Baumgartner

"Makes a complicated topic not only intelligible but also interesting to a broad reading audience."

—Monsignor Robert Trisco

"A lucid and readable survey . . ."

—Paul Boyer
When Time Shall Be No More

1999 / 300 pp. 0-312-21092-2 $26.95 cl.

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

"The Variety of Rites" from Cyrus to Defoe

Edited by John Christian Laursen

"By exploring previously neglected topics such as the treatment of Jews in ancient China, these essays do much to move the discussion of toleration away from the narrow focus that has characterized many recent discussions."

—James Schmidt, Boston University

1999 / 272 pp. 0-312-22233-5 $45.00 cl.

Scholarly & Reference Division
175 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10010
1-800-221-7945

ST. MARTIN'S PRESS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Making History with Southern Illinois University Press

THE CLASS OF 1861
Custer, Ames, and Their Classmates after West Point
Ralph Kirshner
Foreword by George A. Plimpton

"Authors of Civil War books all too often ignore a large proportion of the vast original sources that bear on their subject. Ralph Kirshner, however, has exhaustively mined a rich archival lode on the class of '61. The result is a first-rate book."—**Robert K. Krick**, author of *Stonewall Jackson at Cedar Mountain* and *Lee's Colonels*

ISBN 0-8093-2066-5, $34.95
272 pages, 83 b&w illustrations

HER WAR STORY
Twentieth-Century Women Write about War
Edited by Sayre P. Sheldon

"*Her War Story* immediately engaged me. These women's varied voices underscore how wars seep into the nooks and crannies of everyday life."—**Cynthia Enloe**, author of *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*

ISBN 0-8093-2245-5, $55.00 cloth
ISBN 0-8093-2246-3, $24.95 paper
383 pages

MR. CHAIRMAN
Power in Dan Rostenkowski's America
James L. Merriner

"[*Mr. Chairman*] is a good wrap-up on a key political figure—with more than a few good insights into the person and the process. Too often individuals like Dan Rostenkowski are victims of journalistic overgeneralization—this book provides a more balanced view of one of Illinois's most important twentieth-century congressmen."—**Paul M. Green**, coeditor (with Melvin G. Holli) of *The Mayors: The Chicago Political Tradition*

ISBN 0-8093-2280-3, $29.95
354 pages, 12 b&w illustrations

Now in paperback
THE WORLD WARS THROUGH THE FEMALE GAZE
Jean Gallagher

"Gallagher nicely reveals the process whereby wartime subjectivity becomes gendered, foregrounding the essentially visual nature of war as it is portrayed in its theater. Not overly technical or jargon filled, this study . . . is a crucial addition for women's studies and all general collections."—***Choice***

ISBN 0-8093-2318-4, $19.95 paper
208 pages, 22 b&w illustrations

Shawnee Classics

PRAIRIE ALBION
An English Settlement in Pioneer Illinois
Charles Boewe

Originally published in 1962, this story of the English Settlement in pioneer Illinois is compiled from the eyewitness accounts of the founders, Morris Birkbeck and George Flower, as well as their associates and the many visitors to their prairie settlement.

ISBN 0-8093-2283-8, $16.95 paper
320 pages, 16 b&w illustrations

AFLOAT ON THE OHIO
An Historical Pilgrimage of a Thousand Miles in a Skiff, from Redstone to Cairo
Reuben Gold Thwaites

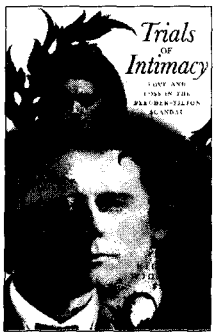
First published in 1897, *Afloat on the Ohio* is a fine example of the American travel narrative, rich in Ohio River personalities, legends, and history as seen through Thwaites's eyes and echoing those journeys taken by early explorers and settlers who opened up the West through river travel from the East.

ISBN 0-8093-2268-4, $14.95 paper
348 pages

Available at bookstores or from
Southern Illinois University Press
Post Office Box 3697 • Carbondale, Illinois • 62902-3697
800-346-2680 • FAX 800-346-2681 • www.siu.edu/~siupress

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chicago



Trials of Intimacy

Love and Loss in the Beecher-Tilton Scandal

RICHARD WIGHTMAN FOX

"The 1875 civil trial of cleric Henry Ward Beecher for adultery and alienation of affection was to its era what the O.J. Simpson trial has been to ours—a never-ending source of confusion, position taking, division, and even, occasionally, clarification of conviction and belief. Now, long awaiting the right historian, the 19th-century scandal has finally found him. . . . A compelling analysis, written by a master hand, of a major event in American culture."—*Kirkus Reviews*, starred review

Cloth $30.00

A Desired Past

A Short History of Same-Sex Love in America

LEILA J. RUPP

"Rupp offers in their distilled essence the themes, struggles, and stories of 400 years of same-sex desire in the New World. . . . The many examples provide strong support and foundation for her argument that same-sex sexuality is a fluid and labile construction, changing and metamorphosing with the cultures it inhabits."—*Kirkus Reviews*

Cloth $22.00

Indian Reservations in the United States

Territory, Sovereignty, and Socioeconomic Change

KLAUS FRANTZ

"Not just a historical overview, this comprehensive analysis, supported in large measure by extensive use of tables and figures, provides an insightful view of the development of the system that supports most rural Native Americans."—*Library Journal*

Paper $25.00

University of Chicago Geography Research Papers

The Construction of Memory in Interwar France

DANIEL J. SHERMAN

"Daniel Sherman's book innovates by examining the creation of a 'commemorative culture' that tried to foster a common collective memory in a complex and divided nation."—Stanley Hoffmann, author of *The European Sisyphus: Essays on Europe, 1964-1994*

Cloth $45.00

The Complete Civil War Journal and Selected Letters of Thomas Wentworth Higginson

Edited by CHRISTOPHER LOOBY

COL. THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, FROM THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, "THE FIRST BLACK REGIMENT," *OUTLOOK* 59 (1898), 523. COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

"This is by far the fullest and best edition of an important set of writings by a significant figure in American literary and cultural history as well as in the drama of black soldiers in the American Civil War. The book's greatest importance lies in the information and insights it offers about the experiment of enlisting black troops in the Civil War. Higginson was determined that it not fail, and his journal and letters offer a fascinating story of his step-by-step efforts to make a success of the experiment. Christopher Looby's edition is unique in its scope and originality."—James McPherson, author of *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*

Cloth $35.00

The University of Chicago Press

5801 S. Ellis Ave., Chicago, IL 60637

www.press.uchicago.edu

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chicago

Men Like That

A Southern Queer History

JOHN HOWARD

"John Howard will compel us to reexamine our most fundamental assumptions about gender, race, and sexuality in the South." —Drew Gilpin Faust, author of *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War*

Cloth $27.50

An American Obsession

Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society

JENNIFER TERRY

"An excellent piece of scholarship, Jennifer Terry's outstanding book on the evolution of scientific thinking about homosexuality is the first to provide a synoptic view of this large and important subject."— Paul Robinson, author of *Gay Lives: Homosexual Autobiography from John Addington Symonds to Paul Monette*

Paper $20.00

Caribbeana

An Anthology of English Literature of the West Indies, 1657–1777

EDITED BY THOMAS W. KRISE

"*Caribbeana* represents a superb blending of early English West Indian voices, black and white, and a balanced mixture of poetry and prose." —Jack P. Greene, author of *Interpreting Early America*

Paper $19.00

The Unsteady March

The Rise and Decline of Racial Equality in America

PHILIP A. KLINKNER with ROGERS M. SMITH

"[An] unflinching portrait of the leviathan of American race relations. . . . The authors' theories will likely spur debate, yet they offer scholarly confirmation of a notion widely held in the black community for many decades. . . . This important book should be read by all who aspire to create a more perfect union."—*Publishers Weekly*, starred review

Cloth $32.50

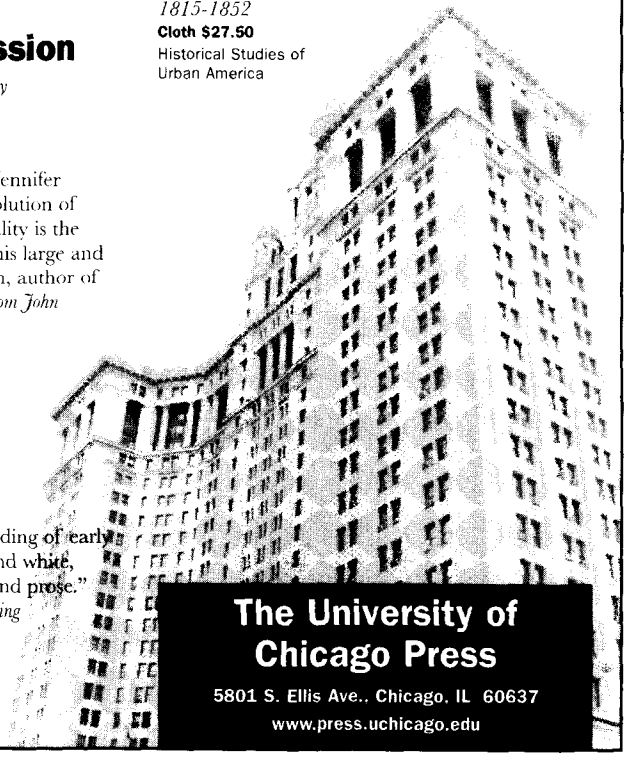
The Creative Destruction of Manhattan, 1900–1940

MAX PAGE

"An excellent, multifaceted analysis of the process of urban development—not the inevitability of development but the choices individuals, organizations, and developers made that transformed Manhattan. The politics of place was, Max Page convincingly argues, an ongoing battle to define and thereby control the evolving shape of the city."—David Schuyler, author of *Apostle of Taste: Andrew Jackson Downing 1815-1852*

Cloth $27.50

Historical Studies of Urban America



The University of Chicago Press

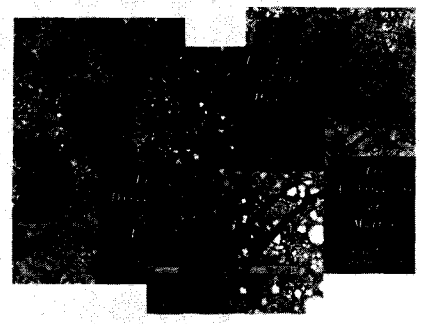
5801 S. Ellis Ave., Chicago, IL 60637

www.press.uchicago.edu

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chicago

By Stephen Toulmin and June Goodfield



Conceived as three companion volumes that form an introduction to the central ideas of the modern natural sciences, these books—intelligent, informative, and accessible—are an excellent source for those who have no technical knowledge of the subject.

The Fabric of the Heavens

The Development of Astronomy and Dynamics

"I cannot remember when I last went through a book, any book, with such all-devouring zest. . . . *The Fabric of the Heavens* is, in every sense of the word, an eye-opener."
—Peter Green, *The Yorkshire Post*
Paper $15.00

The Architecture of Matter

"*The Architecture of Matter* is to be warmly recommended. It is that rare achievement, a lively book which at the same time takes the fullest possible advantage of scholarly knowledge."
—Charles C. Gillispie, *New York Times Book Review*
Paper $15.00

The Discovery of Time

"A subject of absorbing interest . . . is presented not as a history of science, but as a chapter in the history of ideas from the ancient Greeks to our own time."—*Times Literary Supplement*
Paper $15.00

Divided in Unity

Identity, Germany, and the Berlin Police

ANDREAS GLAESER

"A book of extraordinary virtues, *Divided in Unity* has important implications not only for the German problem, but also for the negotiation of cultural difference and identity in the contemporary world generally."—Robert Bellah, coauthor of *Habits of the Heart*
Cloth $27.50

The Origins of Japanese Trade Supremacy

NOW IN PAPERBACK

Development and Technology in Asia from 1540 to the Pacific War

CHRISTOPHER HOWE

"No other work in English approaches Christopher Howe's combination of a sweeping historical perspective with a comprehensive yet in-depth analysis of factors underlying Japan's pre-1940 economic 'miracle'."
—Steven J. Ericson, *American Historical Review*
Paper $22.00

The Autonomy of History

Truth and Method from Erasmus to Gibbon

JOSEPH M. LEVINE

"Joseph Levine is one of the most distinguished intellectual historians in the English-speaking world, and these essays embody his virtues as clearly and fully as his earlier work. Lucidly conceived and finely executed, the writings in this collection reveal Levine's ability to lay out complex scholarly issues fairly, clearly, and briefly; and his detective's flare for ferreting out quotations that amuse and entertain as well as inform."—Anthony Grafton, author of *The Footnote: A Curious History*
Cloth $27.50

The University of Chicago Press
5801 S. Ellis Ave., Chicago, IL 60637
www.press.uchicago.edu

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chicago

Commemorations of Scientific Grandeur

The Politics of Collective Memory

Edited by PNINA G. ABIR-AM and CLARK A. ELLIOT

This collection analyzes a number of commemorative rites (the centennials of Pasteur, Darwin, and Planck, among others) and how national culture, disciplinary tradition, epistemological choice, and political expediency affect the construction of such commemorations.

Paper $25.00

A Short History of the Future

Third Edition

W. WARREN WAGAR

"*A Short History of the Future* reads with ease, raises provocative possibilities and presents challenging occasions for thought and argument."
—*Chicago Tribune*

Paper $19.00

Books of the Body

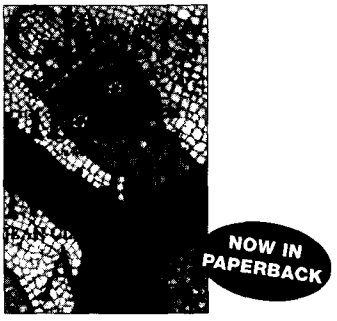
Anatomical Ritual and Renaissance Learning

ANDREA CARLINO

Translated by John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi

"A thought-provoking new account emerges from [Carlino's] combination of analysis of textual and iconographic tradition with the results of his archival research into the practice of anatomical dissection in Renaissance Rome."
— Nancy G. Siraisi, author of *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*

Cloth $29.00



Ghosts in the Middle Ages

The Living and the Dead in Medieval Society

JEAN-CLAUDE SCHMITT

Translated by Teresa Lavender Fagan

"A fascinating study of the growing prevalence of ghost imagery in ecclesiastical and popular writing from the fifth to the fifteenth century."
— *Choice*

Paper $18.00

Maps and Civilization

Cartography in Culture and Society

Second Edition

NORMAN J. W. THROWER

"The premier one-volume history of cartography. . . . *Maps and Civilization* should be a close companion for anyone interested in maps: where they came from, where they are now, and where to go for more detail."— John P. Snyder, *Mercator's World*

Paper $18.00

Beyond Joseph Needham

Science, Technology, and Medicine in East and South East Asia

Edited by MORRIS LOW

Devoted to the history of non-Western science, technology, and medicine, this path-breaking volume analyzes the political and economic imperatives behind knowledge systems in Eastern Asia, their cultural contexts, and how they have coexisted along with those in the West.

Paper $25.00

The University of Chicago Press

5801 S. Ellis Ave., Chicago, IL 60637

www.press.uchicago.edu

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW FROM
WASHINGTON

Imagining Russian Jewry

Memory, History, Identity

Steven J. Zipperstein

"The near-mythic heder, the shtetl, the Holocaust, the extent of Jewish learning in Eastern Europe—these elements, bordering on the sacrosanct in recent Jewish memory, are the focus of this remarkably insightful work by Steven J. Zipperstein, who, using newly discovered archives, takes us, with stylistic clarity and scholarly self-control, into a startlingly new and challenging landscape of Jewish history and history writing."—Chaim Potok

The Samuel and Althea Stroum Lectures in Jewish Studies

Clothbound, $30.00 Paperback, $14.95

Power and Place in the North American West

Edited by Richard White and John M. Findlay

Western historians continue to seek new ways of understanding the particular mixture of physical territory, human actions, outside influences, and unique expectations that has made the North American West what it is today. This collection of essays tackles the subject of power and place from several angles—Indians and non-Indians, race and gender, environment and economy—to gain insight into major forces at work during two centuries of western history.

Published with the Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest

Clothbound, $35.00 Paperback, $19.95

Northwest Lands, Northwest Peoples

Readings in Environmental History

Edited by Dale D. Goble and Paul W. Hirt

This wide-ranging and provocative collection of essays explores the environmental history of the Pacific Northwest, addressing questions of how humans have adapted to the northwestern landscape and modified it over time, and how the changing landscape in turn affected human society, economy, laws, and values.

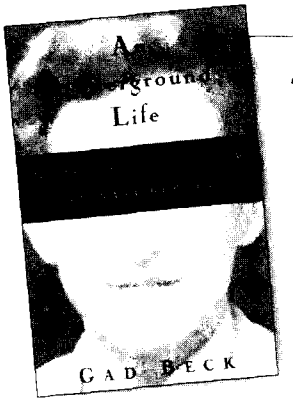
Clothbound, $60.00 Paperback, $29.95

Available from your local bookstore or call 1-800-441-4115

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS
P.O. Box 50096, Seattle, WA 98145-5096 http://www.washington.edu/uwpress/

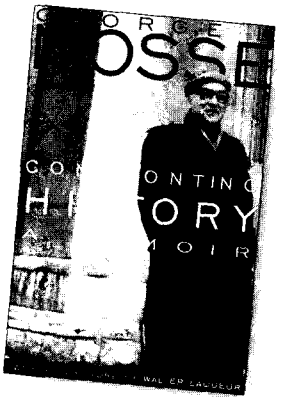
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New titles



An Underground Life

Memoirs of a Gay Jew in Nazi Berlin
GAD BECK
Written with Frank Heibert, Translated by Allison Brown
"An excellent antidote to the stereotyping of Germans under these conditions."—George Mosse
Cloth $24.95

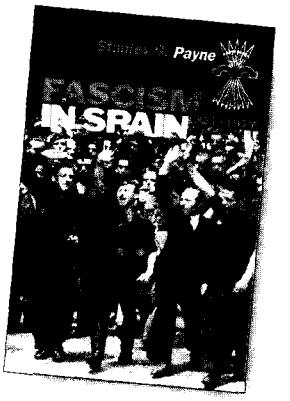


Confronting History

A MEMOIR
George L. Mosse
With a Foreword by Walter Laqueur
"Plumbs the depths of the inner man and leaves those who knew him as well as those who wish to get to know him better for having read it."—Sander Gilman
Cloth $27.95

Requiem for a German Past

A Boyhood among the Nazis
JURGEN HERBST
"A sensitive and illuminating portrait of a tragic period in the history of a nation and a culture."—Theodore S. Hamerow, author of *On the Road to the Wolf's Lair: German Resistance to Hitler*
Cloth $34.95



Fascism in Spain, 1923–1977

STANLEY G. PAYNE
"The last word on Spanish fascism and the model study of fascism anywhere."—Robert Kern, coeditor of *The Historical Dictionary of Modern Spain*
Cloth $65.00, Paper $24.95

Also of interest

The Crusade for Justice

Chicano Militancy and the Government's War on Dissent
ERNESTO B. VIGIL
Cloth $60.00, Paper $24.95

When Government Was Good

Memories of a Life in Politics
HENRY S. REUSS
WITH A FOREWORD BY JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH
Cloth $22.95

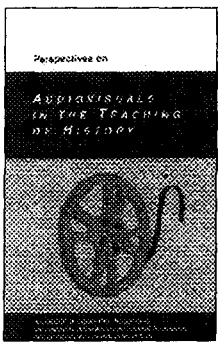
THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN PRESS
www.wisc.edu/wisconsinpress/

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New

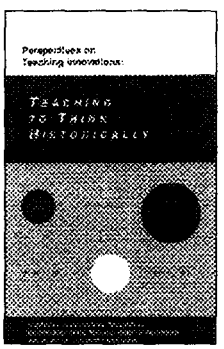
teaching pamphlets from the

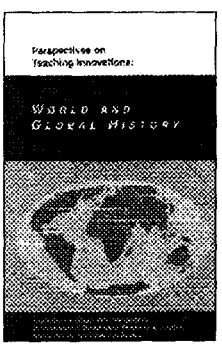
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION



PERSPECTIVES ON AUDIOVISUALS IN THE TEACHING OF HISTORY
Essays from Perspectives, *1989–99, with an introduction by Robert Brent Toplin*

PERSPECTIVES ON TEACHING INNOVATIONS: TEACHING TO THINK HISTORICALLY
Essays from Perspectives, *1987–97, with an introduction by Robert Blackey*





PERPSECTIVES ON TEACHING INNOVATIONS: WORLD AND GLOBAL HISTORY
Essays from Perspectives, *1989–98, with an introduction by Robert Blackey*

To order, contact
400 A St., SE
Washington, DC 20003-3889
202-544-2422; fax 202-544-8307
e-mail pubsales@theaha.org
web page http://www.theaha.org/pubs
$6 members; $8 nonmembers

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
THE PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR ALL HISTORIANS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

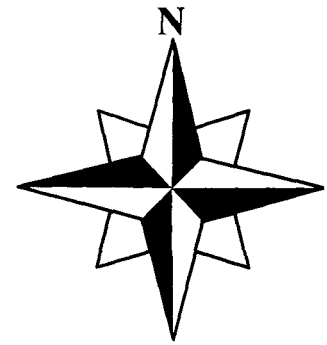
FIND YOUR WAY IN THE PROFESSION

WITH RESOURCES FROM THE

AMERICAN

HISTORICAL

ASSOCIATION



NEW EDITIONS AVAILABLE FALL 1999

Directory of History Departments and Organizations in the United States and Canada

With more than 15,000 historians, their fields of specialization, and contact information, including e-mail addresses, the *Directory* is the most complete guide to the profession's membership.
1999-2000 edition: $55 members, $75 nonmembers

Grants, Fellowships, and Prizes of Interest to Historians

Offering information on more than 450 funding sources for all scholars, from undergraduate to professor to public historian. The guide includes fellowships, scholarships, and awards for written work, as well as suggestions for writing funding proposals and a bibliography of other funding sources for historians.
1999-2000 edition: $8 members; $10 nonmembers

Directory of Affiliated Societies

Guide to the officers, activities, addresses, and publications of more than 100 specialized societies affiliated with the AHA.
1999-2000 edition: $7 members; $10 nonmembers

For full publications catalog, and to order online, visit
http://www.theaha.org/pubs
Or contact the AHA at 400 A St., SE, Washington, DC 20003-3889
(202) 544-2422, fax (202) 544-8307, e-mail: pubsales@theaha.org

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Index of Advertisers

American Historical Association 52–53

Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press covers 2 and 3

Basic Books 22

Cambridge University Press 8–11

Catholic University of America Press 7

Cornell University Press 12

Greenwood Publishing Group 13

Harvard University Press 14–19

Indiana University Press 20

Johns Hopkins University Press 3, 23

Louisiana State University Press 27

Oxford University Press (Academic) 28–29

Oxford University Press (Trade) 24–25

Penn State Press 26

Princeton University Press 34–35 and cover 4

Routledge 31

Rowman and Littlefield 32–33

Rutgers University Press 30

St. Martin's Press 44

Southern Illinois University Press 45

University of California Press 37–39

University of Chicago Press 46–49

University of Illinois Press 42–43

University of Nebraska Press 36

University of Pennsylvania Press 40

University of South Carolina Press 41

University of Washington Press 50

University of Wisconsin Press 51

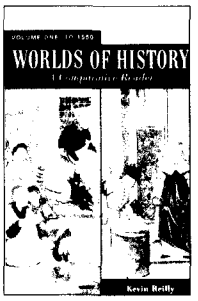
University Press of Kansas 21

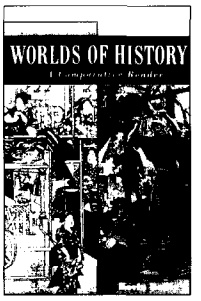
Wayne State University Press 6

Yale University Press 4–5

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Comparative Reader with a Skills Focus





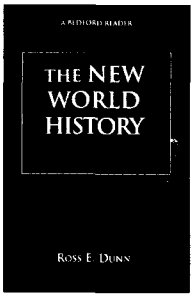
WORLDS OF HISTORY
A Comparative Reader

Kevin Reilly *NEW!*
Raritan Valley College

Available Now!
VOLUME I (TO 1550): 1999/PAPER/544 PAGES
VOLUME II (SINCE 1450): 1999/PAPER/544 PAGES
NEW INSTRUCTOR'S MANUAL (2 VOLUMES)

A comparative reader that offers a dynamic balance of primary and secondary sources, *Worlds of History* invites students to make connections across cultures while teaching them to think like historians. The 90 readings in Volume 1 and 96 readings in Volume 2 combine global coverage, topical balance, and new scholarship, expanding on the features of Kevin Reilly's popular *Readings in World Civilizations.*

An Important New Resource for Instructors



THE NEW WORLD HISTORY *NEW!*
A Teacher's Companion

Ross E. Dunn, *San Diego State University*

Available Now!
1999/PAPER/656 PAGES

As more and more schools add the world history survey to their curriculum, the need for a practical and authoritative guide to teaching issues becomes more pressing. This collection of articles includes some of the best thinking about teaching world history, organized around important concerns of both new and seasoned instructors.

"The general introduction is so well written that it makes me want to purchase a copy of the book as soon as possible and perhaps to recommend that faculty members in school districts working on the design of world history courses use it as required background reading."

— Warren Solomon, *Curriculum Consultant for Social Studies, Missouri Department of Elementary and Secondary Education*

For Examination Copies | **1–800–446–8923**
www.bedfordstmartins.com

BEDFORD
ST. MARTIN'S

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRINCETON

Thank You, Comrade Stalin!

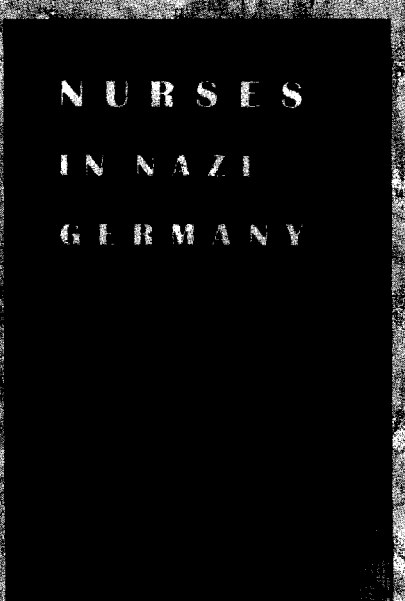
Soviet Public Culture from Revolution to Cold War

Jeffrey Brooks

"Thank you, our Stalin, for a happy childhood." "Thank you, dear Marshal Stalin, for our freedom, for our children's happiness, for life." Between the Russian Revolution and the Cold War, slogans like these appeared routinely in newspapers, on posters, and in government proclamations. In this penetrating study, Jeffrey Brooks draws on years of research to explain the origins, the nature, and the effects of this unrelenting idealization.

"The book is an important contribution to the understanding of a regime that exerted great influence on the twentieth century."
—Richard Pipes, Harvard University

Cloth $35.00 ISBN 0-691-00411-0 *Due December*



Nurses in Nazi Germany

Moral Choice in History

Bronwyn Rebekah McFarland-Icke

This book tells the story of German nurses who participated in the Nazis' "euthanasia" measures against patients with mental and physical disabilities, measures that claimed well over 100,000 victims from 1939 to 1945. How could men and women who were trained to care for ill patients come to kill or assist in murder or mistreatment? This is the central question pursued by Bronwyn McFarland-Icke as she details the lives of nurses from the beginning of the Weimar Republic through the years of National Socialist rule.

"*Nurses in Nazi Germany* is bold, meticulously researched, and insightfully argued."
—Robert N. Proctor, Pennsylvania State University

Cloth $35.00 ISBN 0-691-00865-5

Princeton University Press

AT FINE BOOKSTORES OR CALL 800-777-4726 • WWW.PUP.PRINCETON.EDU

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED